

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK

JEWISH YEAR BOOK

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Preface

In September 1954 American Jewry launched the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States. In observance of this event the present volume features three special articles on American Jewish history. The first, "Social Characteristics of American Jews, 1654-1954," by Nathan Glazer, summarizes our available knowledge of the socioeconomic position of the Jews in America, at different stages of their history in this country. The second, "The Acquisition of Political and Social Rights by the Jews in the United States," by Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, deals with the theme of Jewish emancipation. It reviews the progress made by Jews in America in achieving full rights as citizens and points to some of the remaining barriers to full equality. The third, "The Spiritual Life of American Jewry, 1654-1954," by Joseph L. Blau, describes the history of the American synagogue, paying special attention to the influence of the American environment in shaping Jewish religious and other moralistic institutions. A fourth article, "A History of Jewish Social Welfare in the United States," by Herman Stein, will appear in volume 57. It is hoped that these monographs will contribute to a better understanding of the American Jewish community and the forces that have shaped its development in the New World during three hundred years.

The editors are grateful to the advisory committee of the Library of Jewish Information of the American Jewish Committee, and to its chairman Benjamin W. Huebsch, for helpful advice in connection with the selection of these subjects. The editors are also grateful to Arnold Gurin, Edwin J. Lukas, Jacob R. Marcus, Ben B. Seligman, and Marshall Sklare, who offered valu-

able criticisms and suggestions on the manuscripts.

The American Jewish community suffered the loss of a number of its distinguished members during 1953 and 1954, among them, Hayim Greenberg, noted Zionist and Jewish cultural leader; Louis Ginzberg, the world-renowned Talmudic scholar of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; and Alexander Marx, the great Jewish bibliographer and librarian of the Seminary. The Year Book is honored to present brief biographical appreciations of these American Jews, prepared by their long-time friends and colleagues: Marie Syrkin, editor of *The Jewish Frontier*; Louis Finkelstein, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; and Abraham S. Halkin, associate professor of Jewish literature and institutions at the Seminary.

In the regular features of the YEAR BOOK mention should be made of the 1954 census of Jewish educational enrollment in the United States, submitted

by the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the U. S. This commission, under the chairmanship of Oscar I. Janowsky, is an independent body set up to supervise a nation-wide study of Jewish education. The study is being sponsored by the American Association for Jewish Education and directed by Professor Janowsky and Uriah Z. Engelman. The editors are grateful to both Professor Janowsky and Dr. Engelman for their cooperation in making this enrollment study available.

The editors again wish to thank their colleagues on the YEAR BOOK staff, Miss Dora Cohen and Mrs. Stella Ettlinger, for their splendid collaboration. They are also pleased to acknowledge the editorial assistance of Maurice J. Goldbloom, the research help of Theodore Leskes, the proof-reading services

of Mrs. Freda Imrey and the reference aid of Mrs. Lotte Zajac.

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NECROLOGY: UNITED STATES

ARTICLES
IN CELEBRATION
OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH
TERCENTENARY
1654—1954



SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN JEWS, 1654–1954

By NATHAN GLAZER

The purpose of this essay is to describe the social characteristics of the American Jews from their arrival through their three hundred years of life in the United States. By "social characteristics" we refer to such things as the numbers of Jews, their geographic distribution, occupations, income, education, style of life, health, and relations with their neighbors. Social groups differ from one another in these and many other characteristics; the sum total of these differences defines the group, whether it be Negroes, Episcopalians, or factory workers. Here we shall try to make the social characteristics of American Jews explicit, to the extent the data available permit. And since prejudice and preconception so often give the misleading impression that a group is characterized by a property which applies to only a small part of it, we shall, wherever we can, depend on statistics describing the whole group or a large portion of it.

Out of this description will emerge the fundamental ground-tone of American Jewish life—the tone of respectable, prosperous, "middle-class" * existence, in fact or aspiration. We must leave it to others to document the impact of this tone on the spiritual, cultural and political life of the Jews. Here, however, we shall try to show by a complete review of the available material that certain common social characteristics do bind together three hundred years of American

Jewish life.

THE FIRST TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS

For the first half of the three hundred years of Jewish experience in America, there were so few Jews that it has been possible to track down almost every scrap of information that exists about each of

^{*}We use "middle-class" to refer both to a social group defined primarily by its occupations (business, the professions, and white-collar work) and to a set of values (emphasizing steady work, sobriety, saving, calculation) which is generally accepted as marking off the middle class from both the aristocracy and the working or lower class. The Jews, as we will see, are in America a middle-class group in both senses of the term.

them; and so much ingenuity and industry has already been expended on this task that we know a great deal about Jewish settlers in the American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These earliest settlers take us back to the late medieval age of Jewish history. They were members of that quasi-caste of merchants that the Jews, Sephardim and Ashkenazim alike, had become by the seventeenth century. In the letters of these first American settlers, we can read of their close connections, both business and personal, with the family they had left behind, in England or the West Indies or Central Europe; of their travels from one colony to another in search of opportunities for trade; of their business ventures, their occasional bankruptcies. Not all were merchants, but there were almost no farmers or common laborers or indentured servants: the least of them, the poor butcher or the poor synagogue employee, was always ready to turn his hand to trade if an opportunity offered itself. Aside from the main body of merchants, the only sizable occupational group among the early Jewish settlers was that of artisans.

The main centers of settlement in those early days were New York, Newport, Charleston, Philadelphia, and Savannah. These were the only towns in the United States that had synagogues before the American Revolution. There were certainly no more than 2,500 Jews in the United States in 1790, and, as Jacob Marcus writes, they formed only one class, "a middle class." Many intermarried and became Christians, proportionately more, it would appear, than did so in the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this handful of Colonial Jews is that they did not die out, and formed a series of communities that have lasted to this day. Where they were settled singly, in villages or in the backwoods, we know that many took Gentile wives, and some became converted themselves. But in the larger settlementswhere, by the end of the Colonial epoch, the largest Jewish community did not number more than a few hundred-the synagogues had a close hold on their members, and almost every Jew one reads of was a member. It was clearly important for the American Jew of that day to feel part of a community, to be sure, for example, of being buried in a Jewish cemetery; hence, the sanctions of the congregation could effectively control him. The congregation itself was not averse to using powerful disciplinary measures. Spinoza's expulsion from the Amsterdam community in 1656 occurred just two years after a small group of Dutch Jews landed in New York, and the Amsterdam Jews who expelled Spinoza were the friends and relatives of the Jews who founded the first Jewish community in America.

The power of the first congregations of Jews in America was a reflec-

tion of the conditions of Jewish life in Europe at that time, where the synagogue was still, in effect, the government of the Jews. Every Iew was as a matter of course, by virtue of birth alone, a member, and the synagogue or congregation or community-they were all then the same thing-had disciplinary power over every Jew. But, in a new land, settled by people sufficiently free of traditional ties to leave their old homes, one is surprised to find that the first synagogues maintained their importance and power. The conditions of settlement helped them. These early Jews came alone-their families followed later, if at all. The congregation offered the only possibility for help in difficulties. They were run by the richest and most powerful, who considered themselves, as part of the congregation, responsible for poor Jews, as well as for merchants who had suffered one or another of the misfortunes so common in seventeenth and eighteenth century trade. Even the richest of them might be brought down by disaster, as Aaron Lopez of Newport was in the early days of the Revolution. The strength of the synagogue thus reflected not only the social position of the Jews everywhere in the seventeenth century, as a legally separate community, but the dangers facing isolated merchants on a colonial frontier.

It is now believed that Sephardim—Portuguese and Spanish Jews who had spent some time in Holland or England or the West Indies—predominated among the American Jews until about 1735.2 But even though Ashkenazim—Central and East European Jews—predominated after that time, there was apparently no religious or social struggle between the two groups, as there was to be between the German and Polish Jews (both technically Ashkenazim) a hundred and a hundred and fifty years later. Intermarriage between the two groups was common (perhaps it was not considered intermarriage) and the Ashkenazim

accepted the Sephardic ritual in most of the early synagogues.

Perhaps the best contemporary equivalent of the Jewish life of those days is to be found in those small towns, far from any major Jewish settlement, that contain only a few or a few dozen Jews. Such communities either cannot afford to maintain a rabbi or he would not come if they could; the same was the case with our Colonial ancestors (there was not a single rabbi in Colonial America). Again, like Jews in contemporary small towns, Colonial Jews clung together to form a community, but there were so few of them that naturally a good deal of their time was spent with non-Jews. And, as in the contemporary small Jewish settlements, intermarriage, whether viewed as a threat or with equanimity, was an ever-present prospect. Because of their small numbers and few types, Jews led a more limited existence in Colonial times than they do today—we do not find Jewish

intellectuals, secular or religious, in Colonial America—but at the same time they were thrust out more into the non-Jewish world than they are today.

The German Immigration

There have been two periods in American history when the steady recruitment from abroad was halted, and the various strands of the American population could settle down to assimilation without the disturbing impact of heavy immigration. The first such period ran from about 1775 to 1815. Immigration, we know, is largely the effect of economic causes—prosperity in the country that receives the immigrants, depression in the country that sends them forth. During this long, forty-year period, a sequence of war (in America), depression (in America), and war again (in Europe), kept immigration low. So the Revolution marks a break, not only in American political structure, but also in the history of immigration. When we next take up the story, Jewish immigrants to the United States are coming directly from Germany, and from those parts of Central Europe under German cultural influence, rather than, as in the eighteenth century, from the West Indies and England.

From 1800 on the few German Jews already settled were being supplemented by small numbers of migrants from Germany and the parts of Eastern Europe adjacent to it.3 But in 1836, the first of the mass emigrations that were to characterize European Jewish history for the next one hundred years began; the impoverished Jews of the small towns of Germany, particularly in Bavaria, finding it impossible to live under the galling load of special taxes and restrictions and affected by a general slump in trade conditions, began to emigrate to America.4 Scenes that were, in later years, to become common in Poland, Russia, Rumania, and other Eastern countries were first played in the southern states of Germany. We read of communities losing a large part of their young and vigorous people in a single year as these decide to remove to America.⁵ The number of American Jews grew rapidly. Estimated at only 15,000 in 1840, there were believed to be 50,000 by 1850 and 150,000 by 1860. Even the great wave of East European Jewish immigration in the twentieth century was not capable of multiplying Jewish population tenfold in twenty years.

If the Jews of the seventeenth and eighteenth century can be called "merchants," the immigration of the mid-nineteenth century may well be characterized as that of "peddlers." As Glanz writes: "We [know] that German Jewish emigrants set out to learn new trades before emigration. Nevertheless, upon arriving in America, practically all German Jews began with peddling." As a contemporary account puts

it—and in the absence of statistics (and often even in their presence) a contemporary is the best guide to reality—"the majority of them became peddlers and petty traders." § Joshua Trachtenberg, in his fine history of the Jewish community of Easton, records the predominance of peddlers in this small trading town on the Pennsylvania-New Jersey border: Between 1845 and 1855, a good majority of the Jews of Easton were peddlers.9

Just as the Arab has many terms for the camel, because it is so important to him, so the mid-century German Jews had many terms for peddling, which was the first step in their efforts to establish themselves. Thus, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise recorded the varieties of basket peddler, custom peddler, pack peddler, wagon baron, and jewelry count¹⁰ The next stage was a store, and, from all one reads, it did not

take many years to progress from pack to store.

The Sephardic (and Ashkenazic) merchants of the Colonial period, with their far-ranging interests, had been found first in one colony, then in another, sometimes on the frontier, sometimes in the West Indies or England. Their permanent settlements, however, had been limited to the Atlantic seaboard, the site of most of the permanent settlements of the American colonies. But the peddler was, in his way, a pioneer. He needed to establish his own itinerary, his own circle of customers, and, ultimately, his own store. While the peddler would naturally think first of a settlement where he already had a friend or a relative, he would, just as naturally, think next of settling where there were not too many friends or relatives-even in a town he had only heard of, perhaps a likely spot some other peddler had passed through, and where no one was established. The period of the German immigration-between 1830 and 1880-was the period when great numbers of American towns were established; it was also the period when most of the American Jewish communities were founded.

So the German immigration became the pioneering immigration in American Jewish history. It is revealing, for example, that during most of this period, we find no tendency for Jews to concentrate in New York City. In 1825 there were still only 500 Jews, out of an estimated American Jewish population of 6,000, resident in New York. By 1848, under the impact of German immigration, New York's Jewish population had grown to the point where it occupied the unquestioned first place among the American Jewish communities, with 12,000 or 13,000 Jews, out of a national population of 50,000. From this point on, New York's Jewish population growth matches that of American Jewry in general. In 1880, New York's 60,000 Jews made up only 25 per cent of the Jews of the country 11—the same proportion as in 1848.

This was the great age of expansion for American Jewry, in all areas. Colonial Jewry had established congregations in five communities—by 1880 there were congregations in almost two hundred communities. Colonial Jewry had been limited to one class and one occupation. German Jews were not only peddlers and merchants, but also manufacturers, intellectuals, politicians, and even workers, active in every sphere of American life. For the first time one finds American Jewish professors, judges, congressmen, doctors, lawyers. For after the Revolution of 1848, many German intellectuals left for America, and there were German Jewish intellectuals among them.

For the first time, American Jews begin to play a role in American political life-and it is interesting and important to realize that those Jews who became congressmen and judges towards the end of the nineteenth century did not have the character of representatives of an ethnic group that they often have today. The Jews were too few and too scattered to be regarded as an important voting group before the twentieth century. Indeed, here we deal with an interesting feature of American social structure, which tends to "integrate" a smaller group more successfully than a larger one, politically and otherwise. A larger group raises the problem for other groups of definition, and of self-definition in relation to that definition by other groups: That is to say, the way a larger group understands its peculiar character is modified by the way in which other groups characterize it. Either the larger group demands political representatives from the established parties, or else these parties, in their search for votes, insist on putting up members of that group as representatives. So when an American ethnic group looks back on the time when it was relatively small as a golden age of acceptance and integration, it is not deluding itself. The first Italians, the few Negroes in the North before the great migration from the South, the smaller community of German Jews, did have a less problematic relationship to American social and political life.

Thus when one reads the memoirs of the period (for example, the autobiography of Annie Nathan Meyers), one gets a picture of Jews with a more integrated relation to American life than they have had since (even taking into account Mrs. Meyers' very high social position). Reform Judaism, which for a while seemed on the way to unifying American Jewry, was in tune with developments in upper-class Protestant sects. Jews had no important special interests in those years that marked them off from the rest of the population. They did not spend much time worrying about and combatting discrimination and anti-Semitism, because these did not become a problem until the end of the nineteenth century. 12 Nor of course, were they agitated by

Zionism or anti-Zionism until well into the twentieth century. On the whole, Jews lived comfortable lives, had large families and servants, entered professions, and met with very little discrimination. Those were the days before Americans in general worried much about being respectable—and consequently Jews were more respectable. When the newest multimillionaire might be some barbarian who had no table manners, it hardly mattered if he was a Jew. Certainly it did not seem to matter in the West, where the few Jews often seemed to

end up as leading citizens.

In short, before 1880 or 1890, there were too few American Jews for them to constitute a question. Hence, one can understand the feelings of dismay of the earlier German Jewish immigrants as the Russian Jewish immigration, which had spurted upwards at the beginning of the 1880's, showed no signs of abating, and indeed grew larger. It is as if a man who has built himself a pleasant house and is leading a comfortable existence suddenly finds a horde of impecunious relatives descending on him. On the other hand, the German Jews did indeed feel themselves to be relatives: They did not say, "What have you to do with me?", but threw themselves into the work of finding homes and jobs for the vanguard of the East European Jewish immigration—despite the unhappiness that some of them voiced at having to do so.

American Jews Around 1880

It is one of those fortunate accidents of history that the first attempt at a census of American Jews was carried out on the eve of the great migration from Eastern Europe that was to transform American Jewry. One discovers, in this census, Jews located in every state in the Union, and in every territory save Oklahoma. They were settled in 173 towns, and, more remarkably, they formed a higher percentage in the West than in the Northeast—they formed 1.6 per cent of the population of the West, and only 0.6 per cent of

the population of the Northeast.14

This bare recital of numbers and places is elaborated in the report by John S. Billings on the vital statistics of the Jews published in 1890, the only effort to collect social statistics on Jews alone ever made by the United States Government. Ten thousand Jewish families, including 60,000 individuals, the great majority of whom were German immigrants who had arrived in the fifties, sixties, and seventies of the nineteenth century, supplied information on themselves. So Billings' statistics concern the same Jewish population, more or less, as that surveyed in the census of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1877–79. And how well these

immigrants had done since they had arrived in the United States as peddlers! Of the 10,000 families, almost 4,000 had one servant, 2,000 had two, 1,000 had three or more. Almost half of the men were in business-as wholesale or retail merchants. One-fifth of them were accountants, bookkeepers, clerks, collectors, agents. One-tenth were salesmen. One out of every twenty was in the professions, and there were some who were bankers, brokers, and company officials (2 per cent) and others who were farmers and stock raisers (2 per cent). One out of every eight was engaged in some kind of manual work-there were many tailors, clock and watchmakers and jewelers, cigar makers, butchers, and printers. Perhaps one-half of one per cent were laborers and servants, and about one out of every hundred was still a peddler. (Since people in lower-class occupations, like peddlers, laborers, and servants, very often do not answer questionnaires, they were certainly a larger group than these figures would indicate.)

Jewish families were large—perhaps even larger than the large families of the day. The mothers of these 10,000 families had on the average almost five children. But parents who had been born in the United States had fewer children than those born abroad. Their birth rate was declining with residence in the United States, and in the preceding five years had been below the national average. But their death rate was also far, far below the national average, and at every age their life expectancy was greater. As a result, they were a group that was still growing in numbers.

The East European Jews Around 1900

We have gone into such detail in reporting this study because, as we have said, it permits us to see the German Jewish community at a period when it had settled down to a comfortable middle-class existence, and just before it was transformed by the flood of migration from Eastern Europe. There was a fairly heavy immigration from Eastern Europe throughout the 1870's. But in 1881, in the wake of a wave of pogroms, a series of harsh and restrictive decrees, and generally miserable economic conditions, the numbers of East European Jewish immigrants began to spurt upward. It is estimated that by the end of the nineteenth century (when the government started keeping records of arriving "Hebrews") one-half million or more East European Jews had arrived in the United States; another million and a half had come by the time of the outbreak of the World War in 1914; and still another 350,000 came before national quotas were imposed and the mass immigration came to an end in 1924. Between 1899 and 1914 more than 90,000 Jews a year entered

the United States, and all but one out of fourteen stayed on.¹⁶ And, as we know, these immigrants brought their wives and children with them.¹⁷

The over-all picture of American Jewry was changed, and its main features today are those stamped on it by this immigration. American Jews increased from about 0.6 per cent of the population in 1880, to 3.5 per cent in 1917—and the proportion of Jews in the population of the United States has remained remarkably constant since. From being a group fairly well distributed through the land, with a sizable concentration in New York City, American Jews became a group overwhelmingly concentrated in the Northeast, with almost half its numbers in New York. The identification of the Jew in general American folklore as a New Yorker dates from the great East European immigration. In 1880, the Jews made up only 3 per cent of the population of New York City. By 1920, they constituted 30 per cent of its population, and they have maintained a similar

proportion ever since.18

But the biggest change of all was in the social character of the new immigrants. The Jewish Encyclopedia estimates that during the 1870's about 4,000 Jews a year came to the United States from East Europe, and "up to the 1880's the Russian Jews were principally peddlers, shopkeepers, and manufacturers." 19 In effect, before 1881 it was neither easy nor fruitful to draw a line between "German" and "East European" Jews. The latter tended to come from the German-influenced parts of Eastern Europe, and followed the same economic pursuits as the German Jews. But this pattern was upset by the post-1881 immigrants. They became workers, concentrated in the largest American cities, and particularly New York City. In 1900, three out of every five of the Russian Jews were engaged in manufacturing, almost all as workers, and more than half of the workers-that is, more than one-third of the Russian Jews-were workers in a single industry, the manufacture of clothing. One-fifth were in trade-one-half as proprietors, another fourth as peddlers. Only one-tenth were in clerical work or the professions. In comparison, in 1890, only ten years before, onetenth of the German Jews had been workers; three-fifths of the German Jews had been in trade (if we include the salesmen); and only a fraction were still peddlers.20

Enough has been written about the horrors of the sweatshop and the overcrowding of the Lower East Side; I do not plan to add anything on that subject. The interesting question for this study is why the Russian Jews of the post-1881 period did not follow the pattern of those who had preceded them, put pack on their shoulders and go off to try their luck in some small town. The explanation—and this

is true of all immigrant groups—is that the immigrant does what is at the moment rewarding, what his training and experience fit him for, and what he can afford to do.

Thus, at a time when new towns had been springing up like mushrooms to service vast new farming areas, German Jews had gone out
to service them as peddlers and store keepers. But now, when light
industry, particularly the industry of clothes making, was taking over
some of the functions that had once been taken care of in the home,
the new immigrant Jews entered those industries, either as entrepreneurs (the longer established German Jews), if they had the capital,
or as workers, if they did not (the new East European arrivals).

Nor was this type of work foreign to the experience of East European immigrants. The German Jewish immigrants had been, characteristically, the traders and, to a smaller degree, the artisans of the small towns of Germany (an artisan is also a merchant). While some of them were emigrating to America to continue as merchants and peddlers, others were emigrating to the burgeoning German cities to transfer their trading and merchandising activities to a more promising environment. But the Jews of East Europe, though they too had begun as the traders and artisans of the small towns, with the coming of the industrial revolution became in ever larger measure workers. For one thing, the Czarist state kept Jews out of some of the most rapidly growing Russian cities, where the best business opportunities existed. For another, the Jews were so impoverished that when they migrated to cities they could only take work as wage workers. Many East European Jews were thus clothing workers before they came to America. According to the Russian census of 1897, almost one-fifth of the Russian Jews in cities over 100,000 were already working in the clothing industry.

In addition to the opportunities offered by the economic landscape which the immigrant is entering and the economic experience with which he arrives, there is another factor—the individual's economic capacity. The Italian immigrants came to a land which could use farmers and from a land where they had been farmers, but they were so impoverished that they could only take work as day laborers. Similarly, peddling declined in importance among East European as compared with German Jews because many of them were too poor to put up even the minimal stake that peddling required. In 1900, the average Jewish immigrant landed with \$9—in that year, the

average for all immigrants was \$15.21

In absolute numbers, probably as many or more East European Jews as German Jews ended up as peddlers and store keepers in the small towns of America. But the East European Jewish peddler formed only a very small part of the huge number of East European Jewish immigrants, and most of them became workers in the light industry of the rapidly growing cities. For the clothing trade in America offered an opportunity for an unskilled man to make what was in those days a living wage, even if it was earned under conditions that, by American standards, were inhuman. On this wage the Russian Jewish immigrant saved, and brought over wife and child, and could even often "go into business for himself." For reasons which are not completely clear, Jewish immigrants earned rather more working at the sewing machine than did those of other national groups. Apparently, the Jews were pioneers in the "task system," the breaking down of the garment into a number of parts by a team of workers: but the contemporary observers of the time also believed that the Jews simply developed more dexterity and worked harder and longer hours. Whatever the reason, there is no question that Jews earned more than did non-Jews.22

The fact is that horrible as conditions in the clothing industry were, for the immigrant Russian Jews who had lived in abysmal poverty in the Old Country, the clothing industry was no trap. They could earn wages high enough to permit a very large number of them to leave the industry, or at least to keep their children from entering it; and they could afford to educate their children. Just as peddling was no trap for the German Jew, but rather the first rung on a ladder to established middle-class security—similarly, for the Russian Jews, the sweatshop was the first step on their way up. This, in any case, was the way it looked to the dean of American labor economists, John R. Commons, who puzzled over this problem for the Industrial Commission in 1901. He wrote at that time:

The Jew occupies a unique position in the clothing trade. His physical strength does not fit him for manual labor. [A common belief of the time.] His instincts lead him to speculation and trade [change "instincts" to "experience" and this is true enough]. His individualism unsuits him for the life of a wage earner, and especially for the discipline of a labor organization. [The kernel of the truth in this statement is that, whether because of individualism or not, the Jewish immigrant did not remain a wage earner as long as other immigrants did.] For these reasons when the Jew first lands in this country, he enters such light occupations as sewing, cigar-making, shoe-making, etc. Only about 11 per cent of the Jewish immigrants were tailors in Europe.²³ The reason that so many of them take up that occupation in America, is because the work is light. They begin as helpers and advance to full-fledged mechanics. After they have worked for some time and have learned the trade, they open con-

tractors' shops. They can begin with a capital of \$50. From that

they go into the wholesale manufacture of clothing. . . .

Jewish women are employed to a much less extent than the women of other nationalities, and their children are kept in school until 15 or 16 years of age. It is quite unusual for Jewish tailors to teach their children their own trade. The younger generation seek other callings. . . . [For this and other reasons] it seems that the future clothing workers in this city [New York] are not likely to be the Jews, but the Italians. . . . The standard of living of all nationalities has been gradually raised after their immigration to this city. Probably the Jewish immigrant changes his standard of living soonest.²⁴

This passage is interesting because it was clear, as early as 1900, and to John Commons at least, that the Jewish worker was not like the other workers. Just why this was so Commons did not know, and his explanations (instincts, etc.) are not very convincing. But his ob-

servations were right.

The difference between the Jewish and other immigrants could be seen in many other characteristics. In 1890 there were no Russian Jewish almshouse paupers in New York, the proportion of Jews in workhouses was much below their proportion in the population, and the same was true of penitentiaries.²⁵ Jewish families were larger than other families,²⁶ and the Jewish death rate was considerably lower.²⁷ The death rate for Jewish children under five was less than half of that for the city as a whole.²⁸ Further, the Jews enjoyed school, and did well at it: "In the lower schools," an observer for the Industrial Commission writes in 1900, "the Jewish children are the delight of their teachers for cleverness at their books, obedience, and general good conduct." ²⁹

Unquestionably, despite Industrial Commissions and Immigration Commissions, though they lived five and ten to a room, the Jews throve in their crowded tenements—and in a shorter time than any other group, the Jews left the tenements: "Economic advancement comes to these poverty-stricken Hebrews with surprising rapidity," to quote from the report of the Industrial Commission of 1900. "... Many tenements in Jewish quarters are owned by persons who formerly lived in crowded corners of others just like them ..." 30

From 1900 to the Great Depression

We have described the situation of the East European Jewish immigrants in 1900, at a time when there had been heavy migration at a rate of about 30,000 a year for almost twenty years. Did the same situation prevail during the hectic period between 1900 and the out-

break of the first World War in 1914, when Jewish immigration av-

eraged more than 90,000 a year?

Between 1900 and 1920, it can be argued, more American Jews were engaged in a really difficult struggle for existence than at any time before or since. As a result of a long-continued and heavy immigration of impoverished elements, the more prosperous part of American Jewry, which had bulked so large in 1880, was, statistically speaking, submerged. Even when expanded, the philanthropic services that had been able to ameliorate the condition of a relatively small number of poor Jews could do little for very large numbers. The Jewish immigrants still maintained a small advantage, in weekly and annual earnings, over other immigrants; 31 but it was a very small advantage indeed. The Jews were scarcely distinguishable from the huge mass of depressed immigrants, illiterate and impoverished, that was pouring into the United States at a rate of 1,000,000 a year before the first World War. One even finds Jewish children having a hard time at school: in 1908 more of the East European Jewish children were retarded than was the case among the children of the foreign-born in general.³² Nevertheless, we can see that, hard pressed as they were, the Russian Jewish immigrants were, so to speak, storing up virtues for the future. Thus, we find that more of them than of other groups were learning English.38 Even more significant as a sign of Jewish preparation for the future was the large numbers that were going to college. When the Immigration Commission surveyed seventy-seven institutions in 1908, no less than 8.5 per cent of the male student body was composed of first-and-second generation Jews (Jews at this time made up about 2 per cent of the American population). Jewish students already made up 13 per cent of those studying for law, 18 per cent of those preparing for pharmacy. But at this time they dared not, as yet, think of such expensive studies as dentistry or medicine. Only 6 per cent of the potential dentists and 3 per cent of the potential doctors were Jews in 1908.34

There is no question that the East European Jews who immigrated during 1900-14 showed the same flexibility and ingenuity as the earlier immigrants from Eastern Europe and the still earlier ones who had come from Germany. Yet, in contrast to the German immigrant, it was to be a long time before the majority of East European immigrants would reach the respectable level of trade and the professions. The German Jewish immigrants had risen in the social scale rapidly, and without any apparent difficulty; the East European Jewish immigrants, for the most part, had to leave it to their children to move beyond the position of wage worker. In many cases, of course, an immigrant could earn enough money to go into business himself;

in many cases, the small financial advantage that he held over other immigrants permitted him only to keep his wife out of the factory, or to keep his children in school for a longer time. So, while the proportion of Jewish needle-trades workers fell, it remained very substantial, on the whole; we do not find the majority of them moving out of their occupation in a single generation, as did the German Jewish immigrants who began as peddlers. Most of the Jewish clothing workers of the first decade of the twentieth century remained clothing workers until their death. But their children had advantages, in terms of better home care and longer period of education, that permitted a great advance in the second generation. The East European Jews who immigrated into the United States required two generations to accomplish what the earlier German Jewish immigrants had done in one.

As a result, the division between the generations, between the immigrants and their children, was much sharper among the East European Jews than it had been among the German Jews. One can detect this division as early as 1900, when the Immigration Commission, analyzing the census returns of that year, tried to discover what changes had occurred, between first and second generation, in the pattern of occupations followed by immigrants and their children. In 1900, there were few children of Russian Jewish immigrants who were old enough to have started work. The statistics showed about 15,000 sons of Russian immigrants already engaged in occupations. Almost 10 per cent of the native-born children were already clerks and copyists, as compared with only 2 per cent of the immigrant fathers. Almost another 10 per cent of the children were salesmen, compared with 3 per cent of the immigrant fathers. Almost 20 per cent of the immigrant fathers were tailors, compared with 5 per cent of their native-born children. In 1900, it was, of course, far too early for the professions to play any role, either among the immigrants or their native-born children-2 per cent of the Russian immigrants were engaged in the professions, and 3 per cent of their children.35 Many of these immigrants, we know, were not Jewish; yet the striking differences between the occupations of immigrant fathers and sons reflect the changes among the large majority of Jews in the Russian immigrant group.

This, then, was the pattern of social advance that was followed by the East European Jews: The immigrant fathers, on the whole, remained workers. Part of the energy that in earlier stages of American Jewish history had gone into individual betterment seems to have gone into an attempt to better the condition of the entire Jewish working-class group; and this attempt was remarkably successful. The garment trades were organized in a series of great strikes before World War I, and became a model of trade-union organization, quite con-

founding Professor Commons' analysis that Jewish individualism did not lend itself to labor organization. The small advantage in wages that dexterity, hard work, and perhaps superior organization of work had won for the earlier Eastern European Jewish immigrants was preserved for the later Jewish immigrant clothing workers by superior labor organization.

Of course, many members of the older generation were not workers: even in 1900, as we have seen, one-fifth of the Russians in large cities, whom we assume to be Jews, were in trade. And when the Immigration Commission surveyed a group of representative immigrants in large cities in 1908, more than one-third of the Jewish immigrants were already in trade. Still, the greatest change in the social characteristics of the East European Jew was reserved for the next generation.

The upward mobility of the immigrant generation was, for the most part, an economic mobility in terms of a better standard of living and higher wages, not a social mobility altering occupation and status. After World War I and during the Twenties, the modest prosperity of the immigrant generation was reflected in a phenomenally rapid desertion of the old congested centers of settlement. In 1916, the Lower East Side of New York held, it was believed, 353,000 Jews; in 1930 it held 121,000.³⁷ Between 1914 and 1920, the number of Russian-born (Jewish immigrants) in the old ghetto area of Chicago was more than halved.³⁸ Of course, other immigrant groups were also leaving their first areas of settlement, but, again and again, we find the Jews, when they follow a common American pattern, doing so more rapidly. Thus, the Jews left their first areas of settlement earlier, and in greater numbers, than other ethnic groups did.³⁹

It was in the Twenties, too, that for the first time the Eastern European Jewish group began to show the characteristic demographic features of the American middle class. The Jewish immigrants around the turn of the century had, as we have seen, larger families than the non-Jews, a higher birth rate, and a lower death rate, and in particular a lower death rate for children. So a good part of the huge increase of Jewish population between 1880 and 1927 (from about 250,000 to about 4,225,000—though the latter figure is probably somewhat exaggerated) must be due to the fact that Jews had the high birth rate of the poor and the high survival rate of the rich.

The American Jews have never lost their high survival rate. But, as early as 1925, when the mass immigration from Eastern Europe had just come to an end, the Jews of New York began to show a lower birth rate than the rest of the population. This pattern was to characterize the Jewish population of the United States persistently. In 1925, 8 per cent of the New York Jews were under 5 years of age, as

against 11 per cent of the general American population; 9 per cent of the New York Jews were in the 5-9-year-old group, as against 10 per

cent of the general population.40

In all this, of course, we are describing changes that took place in American society in general, as well as among the Jews. In the United States as a whole the years before World War I were difficult ones for workers. We find large-scale strikes, the organization of trade unions, the growth of a strong Socialist party. The Jews, as workers—and in those years most of the Jews were workers—shared in all these movements. The same improvement that took place in the condition of Jews after World War I also took place throughout American society. True, the Jewish birth rate dropped faster than the general birth rate in the 1920's; but the general birth rate was nevertheless dropping too, and the same factors were affecting the birth rate among Jews and non-Jews—the cutting off of immigration, which had introduced a very fertile element into the population, the growing prosperity, and the reduction in the number of the most impoverished.

The changes we have described in the numbers, distribution, and economic characteristics of the Jews as a result of the great immigration from Eastern Europe could not help but affect Jewish relations with non-Jews. We have described what appear to have been the easy relationships that prevailed between Jews and non-Jews in the United States in the 1880's. In those days, when Jews were portrayed on the vaudeville stage they were considered as Germans, and no one bothered to make very fine distinctions. There were not enough Jews, they were not visible, and they created no social problems. But after 1900, it was very clear what a Jew was-and that he was neither a Russian nor a German. The distinctively Jewish characteristics of the East European immigrants reacted back upon the established German Jewish community and made it, too, willy-nilly, more Jewish. The Reform temple, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from a Unitarian church, revised its course. This was not only because the East European Jews, rising, joined the temples and insisted upon a more "Jewish" service; it was also because the East European Jews, by creating a community where there was a continual and intense discussion of Jewish issues from many points of view, made it impossible for a kind of unconscious or half-conscious drift away from Jewish life to continue. With newer Orthodox synagogues-quite different from the older established American Orthodox synagogues-springing up on every side, it was not possible for Reform Judaism to remain unaffected. It could have separated itself more sharply from traditional Judaism, or modified its drift; Reform Judaism chose the latter course. At the same time, the East European Jews brought with them Jewish politics on a large scale-Zionism, Bundism, Yiddishism, all became part of American Jewish life.

Similarly, the German Jew who rose to high political position now had to become aware of a huge constituency of fellow Jews. The German Jewish professional—doctor or lawyer—found a ready-made clientele (sometimes as charity cases, but also as paying clients). If one went into politics, the Jews were a possible source of votes, and of problems and issues—immigration, labor conditions, Sunday laws, laws dealing with kashruth. This meant that the aspiring Jewish politician tended to be identified more as a Jew by others. For who else but a Jewish political figure was to speak and act on Jewish problems? The concern of the German Jews for the Jewish immigrants, whether it took the form of social work or politics, meant that the German Jews became more concerned with Jewishness.

One outcome of this development was that tendencies toward assimilation, the complete loss of one's identity as a Jew, seem to have become weaker after 1900. The evidence for this is of the most tentative sort; but it seems fairly clear that the rate of intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles in the United States has been rather lower than in other countries (such as those of Western and Central Europe) where the Jews have been culturally assimilated to the dominant population.41 It is less clear, but also likely, that this rate was higher in the nineteenth century, when Jewish communities were smaller and Jews were more closely identified in culture and language with the countries from which they came and with a large non-Jewish element of the population of this country, and, by the same token, less distinctively Jewish. The East European Jew, on the other hand, was distinguished in language and culture as well as religion from the population of the countries from which he came, and more of his values and attitudes were distinctively Jewish. Further, the conditions of American life were less receptive to the assimilation of new elements after 1900. Unitarianism and universalism had long since lost their power. The cult of respectability was growing, and the effort to create an aristocracy of the nouveau riche, aped to some extent by those who were less rich, made American social life more snobbish, more "exclusive," and less open.

But it was not all a matter of rejection by non-Jewish society. As the numbers of Jews increased, and as it became easier to satisfy one's needs, no matter how individual, within a community of Jews, relations between Jews and non-Jews became less frequent and less intimate. The Jewish congregations of the nineteenth century were not social organizations; they did not have clubs and centers and parties.

This kind of development belongs, again, to the decades following the great immigrations from Eastern Europe.

THE JEWS IN THE 1930's

If the East European Jewish immigrants of 1900–14 could, on the whole, look forward to no more than a moderate success as workers themselves, their children could contemplate a really startling change from the occupational and social status held by their fathers. These native-born American Jews, who were in their teens in the 'Twenties, and in their twenties in the 'Thirties, entered the labor market during the greatest depression in American history. But they showed a most amazing ability to find economic openings, and established a community that today (1954) consists largely of well-to-do professionals, merchants, and white-collar workers.

Their first move was into white-collar occupations and business—the former often as a preparation for the latter. During the Thirties, they came under the lens of social investigation a number of times. In 1935, the Jewish youth of New York City and Detroit were both the subject of extensive study. It is interesting to compare them with

their parents, as well as with their non-Jewish age mates.

In New York, almost one-half of the young people came from homes where their fathers were still workers, one-third from homes where their fathers owned their own businesses or were managers and officials in other enterprises; in one-tenth of the homes the fathers were clerks, and in fewer than one-twentieth they were professionals. Here we see the typical distribution of the East European Jewish immigrant group, with a few more businessmen and professionals, and fewer workers, as a result of twenty or thirty years of change. But 60 per cent of the children were engaged in "clerical and kindred" work, and many of them, we may be sure, were headed for an independent business. The Jewish youth, who constituted 31 per cent of the youth of the city, also constituted 56 per cent of the young people who had their own businesses or were managers and officials; the Jewish youth constituted 43 per cent of the young people who were in clerical and sales work, 37 per cent of the young people who were in the professions. In terms of their proportion to the city youth, the Jewish youth had less than their share in skilled and unskilled work (24 per cent), and they made up only one-tenth of those young people who were engaged in unskilled work. Fewer of the Jewish youth were on relief (12 to 15 per cent). Many more of the Jewish youth than of the others had had some kind of business and vocational training. It can be

said that in bad times the Jewish youth were better off than the other youth.42

In Detroit the situation was much the same. Of the Jewish youth 12 per cent were in the professional and "proprietor, manager, official" category, as against 4 per cent of the non-Jews. Forty-six per cent of the Jewish youth were in clerical work, and only 21 per cent of the non-Jewish. On the other hand, three-fifths of the non-Jewish youth were engaged in semi- and unskilled labor, while only one-third of the Jewish youth was engaged in such work. In Detroit, of course, a much larger percentage of the Jewish fathers-almost half-were proprietors, managers, and officials than in New York (in general, the larger the Jewish community, the larger the proportion of Jewish workers). Two-fifths of the Jewish fathers and roughly the same percentage of their sons were workers. But it must be realized that the sons were at the beginning of their occupational careers, and 1935

was the middle of a depression.

The Jewish youth of Detroit were starting out with far more of an education than the non-Jewish youth; 70 per cent of them had at least a high school education, while only 40 per cent of the non-Jewish Detroit youth had graduated from high school. This, of course, helped explain the head start of Jewish youth. But it also appeared that no matter what the educational level, Jewish youth did better than the non-Jewish. Thus, of those Jewish young people who had had an elementary school education of eight years or less, 64 per cent were engaged in manual labor; but of the non-Jewish youth who had had an elementary school education or less, 87 per cent were engaged in manual labor.43 As in New York, in Detroit, too, we find fewer of the young people among the Jews unemployed. "Jewish workers can get jobs younger, to some degree, and hold them at older ages, than [other] Detroit workers. Likewise, unemployment affects them relatively less at the extreme ages." 44

Thus Jews maintained significant advantages, small as they may have appeared at the time, in a generally stricken community. Because the Jews had, even in large cities, a relatively strong concentration in trade (they formed one-fifth of persons in wholesale and retail trade in Detroit, while making up only one-twentieth of the population), young Jews tended in general to know more people who might know about jobs, and tended to have relatives who could put young people to work at something in a business. This is why the Jewish community of the time showed, as a complement to a relatively strong representation in trade in the older generation, a very strong representation in clerical and sales work in the younger generation. The non-Jewish factory worker (in Detroit, more than half the non-Jews, less

than one-fourth of the Jews, were in "manufacturing and mechanical work") would tend to have a more limited range of acquaintances who would be likely to know about job opportunities; in any case, the industries that the factory worker and his acquaintances would be likely to know about, were terribly depressed. In general, in a depression the highly organized branches of industry, like heavy manufacturing, tend to cut production and employment to keep up prices. The unorganized branches—like agriculture and retail trade—tend to

cut prices and keep up the number of people employed.

It is this fact that led many observers in the 'Thirties to take the position that, even though more Jews were technically employed, they were employed at running losing businesses, and were no better off than the unemployed non-Jew. But again, the figures show a different story. In Detroit, the Jewish median income in 1935 was more than \$100 more than non-Jewish median income (\$1,139 as compared with \$1,027). It was true that Jewish clerks and salesmen (the young men and women laboring away in a relative's store at a purely nominal income) earned less than non-Jewish clerks and salesmen, Jewish workers earned less than non-Jewish workers. But Jewish proprietors earned as much as non-Jewish proprietors and Jewish professionals earned more.45

We have gone into such detail on Detroit, first, because we have two excellent studies of the Jews of that city during the Depression, but equally important, because it is a representative Jewish community, containing a larger number of workers than most of the smaller Jewish communities, and fewer than the huge Jewish population of New York.

This movement of immigrant children into work as clerks and secretaries, salesmen, and other white-collar jobs, caused this category to loom very large in almost every study conducted in the middle 'Thirties. In Buffalo (1938), Detroit (1935), and San Francisco (1938) "clerks and kindred" constituted the largest group when the Jewish working population was broken down by the kind of occupation followed. When the Jewish working population was broken down by the branch of industry (a less useful type of breakdown, unfortunately used more widely in the studies of the 'Thirties), trade bulked largest—but we know that a large part of those engaged in "trade" were actually clerks and salesmen.

This concentration in white-collar work was particularly evident among Jewish women. This was the age of the Jewish secretary—now disappearing almost as fast as the Jewish manual worker. Thus, one study in 1933 showed large numbers of New York non-Jewish women in domestic and personal work (34 per cent), clerical and sales work

(29 per cent), and in professional work (16 per cent); but more than half of the Jewish women—51 per cent—were engaged in clerical and sales work.⁴⁶ In other cities this concentration was even greater: In Buffalo in 1938, 78 per cent; in Detroit in 1935, 66 per cent; in Passaic in 1937, 63 per cent of the employed Jewish women were engaged in clerical and sales work.⁴⁷

Two other aspects of Jewish occupational distribution in the late

'Thirties are interesting.

(1) In view of the Jewish youth's consistently better education, one might expect to find a large proportion going into government service. Indeed, during the Depression the government service was attractive to all groups, and particularly to the Jews. With the rise of an independent civil service, one would expect Jews, always looking for kinds of employment where personal prejudice would not touch them, to rush into government work. There was a considerable movement of this kind, and in New York Jewish young women did gradually replace Irish young women in the teaching force. But, despite the attractions of government service, Jewish representation remained small. In seven cities for which this information is given (for 1935-38) in the volume of studies edited by Robison, one per cent or fewer of the employed Iews were engaged in government work in six cities; in one city, Pittsburgh, 6 per cent of the Jews were in government work (but one suspects an error). For the United States as a whole, almost 4 per cent of the working population were in public employment in 1940. In proportion to their number in the general population, in Detroit in 1935 only three-tenths as many Jews as non-Jews were engaged in government work; in New York City, in 1937, there were two-thirds as many Jews as non-Jews in this work.⁴⁸ (Probably rather more Jews, proportionately, tended to work for the Federal government than for local government; the picture would be somewhat altered if we had figures for Washington.)

In general, the tendency of Jews was to stay out of the bureaucracies of government and private corporations. In the case of the large corporations, anti-Jewish prejudice played an important role in restricting the number of Jews (in 1937, only one-eighth as many Jews as non-Jews, proportionately, were working in public utilities in New York City). 49 But even where prejudice played no role, or practically none, Jews seemed to prefer occupations where they were less dependent on others and had a chance eventually to become completely

independent.

(2) We have already pointed out that as early as 1908 there was statistical evidence of the large attendance of Jews in colleges, and their particularly strong interest in studying for the law and pharmacy.

Dentistry and medicine were as yet too expensive to attract Jews in large numbers. Ten years later the situation was quite different. In 1918–19, law was still very popular among Jewish students, but dentistry was hardly less popular, and medicine was even more so.⁵⁰ In the early 'Thirties about one-eighth of the entering classes in American medical schools consisted of Jews; it was only the institution of a subtle and extensive discriminatory system in most medical schools

that reduced this percentage in the late 'Thirties.

In the middle 'Thirties, the period we are describing, the great interest among Jewish students in the "free" professions of law, medicine, and dentisty-professions, it may be pointed out, which do not generally require employment in large organizations-bore fruit in the presence of an amazingly large number of Jews in these professions in most communities. In San Francisco 18 of every 1,000 Jews were lawyers or judges, 16 doctors (among non-Jews, 5 out of every thousand were lawyers or judges, and 5 were doctors). In Pittsburgh 14 out of every 1,000 Jews gainfully employed were judges or lawyers, 13 doctors (among non-Jews, the proportion was 4 out of 1,000 engaged in each of these professions). The situation was about the same with dentists. In Trenton, there were ten times as many Jews as non-Jews (proportionately) who were doctors, six times as many (proportionately) who were lawyers.⁵¹ In general, a somewhat larger proportion of Jews were in the professions than non-Jews; and in the professions Jews favored medicine, dentistry, and the law, as against such professions as engineering, architecture, and teaching. These Jewish professionals had a somewhat smaller income than their non-Jewish colleagues; but this was not unusual in view of the fact that few of the Jewish professionals had gone to good schools, many were foreignborn, and few inherited the established practices of parents and relatives.52

One further characteristic of American Jews in the 1930's should be mentioned. We have already spoken of the drop in the Jewish birth rate, which, it became evident around 1925, had begun to dip below the general American birth rate. Of course, we speak of the East European Jewish birth rate—the birth rate of the German Jews was already below the general birth rate in the 1880's. It was to be expected that, as the middle-class character of the Jewish population became accentuated, the birth rate would drop. The surprising thing, perhaps, was that this lower birth rate was already clear in New York City in 1925, when there was still a very large Jewish working class. But this was only one of the many middle-class social features that have always seemed to characterize the Jews, both as working class and middle class: Jews have almost always shown less juvenile delin-

quency,⁵³ and less adult crime,⁵⁴ than the rest of the population; they have generally shown a more stable family life,⁵⁵ a higher proportion attending school and for a longer period,⁵⁶ and fewer deaths from accident and violence.⁵⁷

The studies of the 'Thirties reveal a very large drop in the Jewish birth rate. Here we should speak of a persistent feature of Jewish sociology: the great volatility of social movements among the Jews. These reflect the general movements of society, but are more emphatic. Thus, if there is a general movement away from manual work, among the Jews it becomes a flight; and when the general birth rate dropped during the Depression, the Jewish birth rate plunged downward. Ben B. Seligman has calculated "fertility ratios" in eleven communities where studies were made between 1930 and 1940 (Chicago, Detroit, Passaic, Trenton, New London, Norwich, Minneapolis, Buffalo, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Erie).58 The "fertility ratio" is the proportion of children under 5 per 1,000 persons aged 20-54. For United States whites this figure was 153.5 in 1940; for the ten Jewish communities studied in 1930-40 it ranged from 81 to 122. On the basis of these and other studies, sociologists were predicting, not long ago, that the Jewish community in the United States would begin to decline. In the late 'Thirties, it seemed fair to conclude that a modicum of relative prosperity had been accompanied by a very rapid drop in the size of the Jewish family.

AFTER WORLD WAR II

We have described a Jewish community in the 1930's where probably at least half of the first generation were still workers and at least half of the second generation were clerks, office workers, salesmen, and the like. We have spoken, of course, of the East European Jews—not that they were distinguishable in any of the statistics from the longer

established German Jewish community.

Fifteen years of prosperity have wrought great changes, and created the Jewish community we know today. The effect of these changes has been to raise the East European Jews—the immigrants of 1880—1924, their children and grandchildren—more or less to the level achieved by the German Jews in 1880. These changes have wiped out most of the economic and occupational distinctions between the two elements, and along with other developments, have in large measure merged the two formerly distinct elements into a single community.

In these fifteen years, the older generation of East European Jewish immigrants, with its large proportion of workers, has been further reduced by the natural effects of age, while the younger generation

has risen in the social scale. Perhaps a majority of the younger generation is now composed of businessmen and professional men. This community of businessmen and professional men is a better educated and wealthier element of the population—probably as well-educated and as wealthy as some of the oldest and longest established elements in the United States.

Outside of New York City, the homogeneous character of the Jewish communities is beyond dispute. Between 1948 and 1953 local Jewish communities conducted surveys in fourteen cities-Camden, N. I., Charleston, S. C., Gary, Ind., Indianapolis, Ind., Los Angeles, Cal., Miami, Fla., Nashville, Tenn., New Orleans, La., Newark, N. J., the suburbs of Newark (considered as a separate community), Passaic, N. J., Port Chester, N. Y., Trenton, N. J., and Utica, N.Y. This is a fair random sample of the existing types of Jewish communities. It was discovered that the proportion of Jews in the non-manual occupations (that is, of those working in the professions, as proprietors, managers, and officials, and as clerks and salesmen) ranged from 75 to 96 per cent.⁵⁹ For the American population as a whole, the proportion engaged in this kind of work was about 38 per cent of the gainfully employed in 1950. Even if we add to this group the farm owners and tenants, who might be considered a rural social equivalent of the Jewish shopkeeper, we find that only 48 per cent of those gainfully employed in the general population were in non-manual work or owned and managed farms.60

Of course, it is only in the largest cities that one finds fairly substantial proportions of Jewish workers. Yet it appears from a number of studies that even in New York City two-thirds of the gainfully employed Jews, both immigrants and native-born, are engaged in non-manual work. Certainly the proportion among the native-born elements alone is much smaller. Among the non-Jews of New York, only

one-half or fewer are engaged in non-manual work.61

The distinction between manual and non-manual work is today considered a crucial one for determining the social status of individuals and groups. (Of course, there is a considerable amount of movement across the line.) Yet it is also important to know where in the non-manual group American Jews fall. Here too the evidence is decisive: they are high in the group, and an extremely large proportion of them are professionals. Large as this proportion was in the 1930's, it is considerably larger today. Thus, if we compare the fourteen communities that were surveyed in 1948–53 with another group of ten communities surveyed during 1935–45 (Buffalo, N. Y., Detroit, Mich., Erie, Pa., Grand Rapids, Mich., Jacksonville, Fla., New Orleans, La., Passaic, N. J., Pittsburgh, Pa., San Francisco, Cal., and Trenton,

N. J.),⁶² we find that the proportion of professionals has risen, on the average, from about 11 per cent of the Jewish gainfully employed in the earlier group to about 15 per cent in the later group. One might argue that the two groups of cities are not strictly comparable. However, three of the cities—New Orleans, Trenton, and Passaic—were included in both groups. In New Orleans, the proportion of professionals rose from 15 to 21 per cent of the Jews gainfully employed; in Trenton, the proportion rose from 12 to 19 per cent; in Passaic, there was no change. In 1950, about 8 per cent of the general American population were professionals.⁶³

This rise in the proportion of professionals has been accompanied by a fall in the number of Jews engaged in the lower levels of white-collar work—as clerks and salesmen. Comparing our two groups of Jewish communities, we find that in the 1935–45 group about 36.5 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews were clerks or salesmen; in the 1948–53 group, the proportion was only about 27 per cent. The rapid decline in the numbers of Jewish secretaries and salesmen in recent years is a phenomenon apparent to the naked eye; the available

figures support this impression.

What has happened, in effect, is that the great Jewish economic advantage, already perfectly obvious in the 'Thirties, because of superior education, and a higher proportion of self-employed persons, has borne fruit in the fifteen years of prosperity since 1940. The proportions of Jewish doctors and lawyers has probably not risen greatly (it was very high, as we have seen, in the 'Thirties). For one thing, the number of Jewish doctors has continued to be artificially held down by discrimination. The greatest increase in the number of Jewish professionals has been in other categories—there are more Jewish journalists, authors, engineers, architects, college teachers. In short, one finds a rapid rise in the number of Jews engaged in all intellectual occupations in recent years.

One interesting example of this Jewish professionalization is afforded by Charleston. In the middle 'Thirties, the Jews of Charleston—an element long-established in the city, with a relatively low proportion of immigrants—included one doctor, one dentist, several lawyers, two pharmacists, three or four teachers, and one rabbi. In 1948, there were eight doctors, seven dentists, eighteen lawyers, five pharmacists, nine teachers, eighteen engineers, seven social workers, four accountants, three radio commentators, three writers and editors, three artists, an orchestra leader, and four rabbis. All this in a community

of less than 2,000 persons.64

At the same time there has been little sign of change in another of the characteristics of Jewish occupational distribution. The Jews are

largely still proprietors of their own businesses-whether they be pushcarts, junk yards, groceries, or factories-rather than managers and executives of enterprises they do not own. There are a number of reasons for this. As we have already said, the American Jew tries to avoid getting into a situation where discrimination may seriously affect him. In a great bureaucracy, he is dependent on the impression he makes on his superiors and, increasingly in recent years, dependent on the degree to which he approximates a certain "type" considered desirable in business. The Jew prefers a situation where his own merit receives objective confirmation, and he is not dependent on the good will or personal reaction of a person who may happen not to like Jews. This independent confirmation of merit is one of the chief characteristics of business, as against corporate bureaucracy. In Abraham Cahan's The Rise of David Levinsky, we read how the young immigrant going into business could, despite his accent, produce clothing as good as that produced by longer established Americans, and more cheaply. Only a rare businessman would not buy Levinsky's goods because of his accent. But if David Levinsky had been trying to rise to the vice-presidency of a huge corporation, he would certainly have found the going harder.

Before we proceed, let us document two other aspects of the Jewish community which are closely related to this concentration in professions and business. We have spoken of the Jewish advantage in education. In New York City, two studies, in 1948 and 1953, showed that about one-sixth of the Jews over 18 had completed college, compared with a little more than about one-twentieth of the non-Jews—and this even though considerably fewer of the Jews were native-born. In other cities, with smaller percentages of foreign-born Jews, their relative

percentage as college graduates was even greater.65

As to the question of Jewish wealth: Again, we may look at New York City, which has the largest proportion of Jewish workers and Jewish foreign-born. In 1951, according to one study, 12 per cent of the Jewish households of the city had incomes of more than \$10,000 as compared with 5 per cent of the non-Jewish population. At the other end of the scale, 29 per cent of the Jewish households and 49 per cent of the non-Jewish households earned less than \$4,000. It is true a larger number of the Jewish households than of the non-Jewish households refused to divulge their income—15 per cent as compared with 10 per cent. Yet this could hardly change the over-all picture. The evidence on this point would be multiplied ad infinitum; but it is most impressive that New York Jews, still the most varied and differentiated of all American Jews in their social range, nevertheless surpass their neighbors in wealth.

Finally, one other group of Jewish statistics is revealing evidence of the character of the Jewish experience in America. These statistics demonstrate that the rise in the social and economic position of the Jews has been extremely rapid, far surpassing that which can be shown for any other immigrant group, and indeed surpassing, for the same period, changes in the socio-economic position of long-settled groups. A study of American college graduates made in 1947 showed that more Jews than non-Jews became professionals (excluding teachers, who, though professionals, generally have a smaller income than other professionals); more Jews became proprietors, managers or officials; fewer Jews became any type of white-collar and manual workers.67 Yet, if we were to look at their parents' occupations, we would find that fewer of their parents than of the parents of non-Jews had been professionals, and proprietors, managers, and officials.68 This same point is demonstrated in a study of 1,500 gifted children in California during 1921-23. When studied twenty years later, the Jewish children showed the same more rapid rise than the non-Jewish. Of the Jewish children, 57.5 per cent became professionals; of the non-Jewish, 44 per cent. Yet only 15 per cent of the Jewish fathers, as compared with 35 per cent of the non-Jewish parents, had been professionals. In other words: in this group, in a single generation, the Jews had increased their proportion of professionals by close to 400 per cent, the non-Jews only by about 25 per cent.69

One further fact derived is interesting, and will prepare us to consider the causes of this prosperity of the Jews in America. In the study of Jewish and non-Jewish college students, it was found that, on the whole, the Jewish graduates tended to enjoy a higher income than the non-Jewish. 70 The careful researchers tried to determine the cause of this disparity. Knowing that Jews tend to settle in large communities, and that large incomes are more easily obtained in big cities, the researchers held the factor of size of city constant, and compared small-town Jews with small-town non-Jews, large-city Jews with large-city non-Jews. Again, the Jews had larger incomes in the small towns, as well as the large cities, and in every size of community. The researchers then tried to find out whether the higher Jewish income was a product of the fact that more Jews were concentrated in the high-paying professions. But even in the professions, Jews earned more than non-Jews. It appeared that the Jewish superiority in earning power could not be ascribed to any objective social characteristics -at least not to any that had come within the purview of this study.

In fact, the whole body of information on the socio-economic position of the Jews that we have attempted to summarize in this article leaves us with one unanswered question: What is the explanation for

the greater success—measured in the objective terms of income, and the commonly accepted status of different occupations—of the Jews in the United States?

The question is interesting not only in itself, but also because its answer will suggest whether we may expect this prosperity to continue. The modern student of social phenomena cannot stop at psychological explanations. We know that Jews get (or used to get) better marks in school. We know that Jews work (or used to work) harder at getting an education, when they work for someone else, when they work for themselves. But again, what is the explanation for these traits?

Ultimately, social explanations must resort to history, and explain a present peculiarity by discovering an earlier one. We think that the explanation of the Jewish success in America is that the Jews, far more than any other immigrant group, were engaged for generations in the middle-class occupations, the professions and buying and selling. It has also been said that the urban experience helped them, but we think that experience is much less important. For in any case, very large proportions of Jews, German as well as East European, came from small towns and villages that were scarcely "urban." Now, the special occupations of the middle class-trade and the professionsare associated with a whole complex of habits. Primarily, these are the habits of care and foresight. The middle-class person, we know, is trained to save his money, because he has been taught that the world is open to him, and with the proper intelligence and ability, and with resources well used, he may advance himself. He is also careful-in the sense of being conscious-about his personality, his time, his education, his way of life. The dominating characteristic of his life is that he is able to see that the present postponement of pleasure (saving money is one such form of postponement) will lead to an increase in satisfaction later. Perhaps the most significant findings of Alfred Kinsey's study of male sexual behavior was on this point: The person who postponed sexual pleasure, Kinsey discovered, was already essentially middle class; for even if such a person was now working class, he was going to rise into the middle class.

Now, since the end of the Middle Ages, and particularly since the French Revolution, it has been those with training in the middle-class virtues who have reaped the greatest rewards in society. The world has indeed been open to persons with enterprise and capital, and the United States has been perhaps more open than most countries. The peasant and the worker, no matter what philosophers and moralists have to say about the virtue of manual work, never stand high in society. In primitive society, it is the chief and priest who dispose of the greatest wealth; in feudal society, it is the warrior and churchman;

in modern society, it is the businessman and intellectual. Consequently, it is in modern society that the Jews, who had been stamped with the values that make for good businessmen and intellectuals, have flourished; and it is when society reverts to a more primitive state, where force and those who wield it receive the greatest rewards,

that the Jews are again thrust back to a low social position.

But what is the origin of these values that are associated with success in middle-class pursuits? Max Weber argues that they originated in a certain kind of religious outlook on the world, the outlook of Calvinism. There is no question that Judaism emphasizes the traits that businessmen and intellectuals require, and has done so since at least 1,500 years before Calvinism. We can trace Jewish Puritanism at least as far back as the triumph of the Maccabees over the Hellenized Jews and of the Pharisees over the Sadducees. The strong emphasis on learning and study can be traced that far back, too. The Jewish habits of foresight, care, moderation probably arose early during the two thousand years that Jews have lived primarily as strangers among other peoples. Other features of Jewish religion and culture tended to strengthen the complex of habits leading to success in trade and the professions. One scholar has argued that the very strong interest of the Jews in medicine, both in ancient and medieval times and today, in the Arabic world as well as the Christian, comes from the orientation of Jewish religion to the good things of this world conceived not in hedonistic or epicurean, but in sober, moderate, Apollonian terms.71

These are the origins of what we have called the "middle-class" values as held by the Jews. But certainly the Jewish economic experience since the beginning of the Christian era can only have strengthened the bent given to them by religion and culture. Until the nineteenth century the Jews were characteristically a group of traders and businessmen and scholars (the term professional is hardly applicable to the medieval doctor or teacher). They numbered a very large group of artisans, but, in contrast to the Christian artisans, the Jewish artisans were not members of guilds and corporations, but rather independent craftsmen and artists; consequently in large measure the Jewish artisans too were tradesmen. It is not easy to evaluate, in the creation of a Jewish character strongly influenced by middle-class habits, the relative influence of religion and that of occupations followed for centuries—both influences worked in the same direction.

The Jewish immigrants who came from Eastern Europe to the United States during 1881–1924 numbered as many workers, and as many impoverished workers, as any other ethnic group. But they carried with them the values conducive to middle-class success and

could, under the proper circumstances, easily return to the pursuit of trade and study, and thus to the ways of their fathers and fore-fathers. What is really exceptional, in terms of the large perspective of Jewish history, is not the rapid rise of these Jews in America, but the extent to which, in the Czarist Empire and Eastern Europe in general, they had been forced out of their age-old pursuits and proletarianized. This process was to a certain extent a response to the industrial revolution: everywhere peasants and artisans and small traders were forced to become workers. But in the Czarist empire, where the bulk of East European Jews lived, artificial measures were taken to drive them out of their traditional occupations—Jewish taverns were closed, Jewish students were artificially limited in the schools, Jews were not permitted to live in the expanding capital cities.

As a consequence, then, of governmental anti-Semitism and the industrial revolution, the East European Jews arrived in this country either as workers or luftmenshen-businessmen and traders with neither stock nor capital. But they were not like the other workers who immigrated with them, the sons of workers and peasants, bearing the traditionally limited horizons of those classes. The Jewish workers were the sons-or the grandsons-of merchants and scholars, even though the merchants had only their wits for capital, and the scholars' wits were devoted to feats of memory. This background meant that the Jewish workers could almost immediately-as Commons saysturn their minds to ways and means of improving themselves that were quite beyond the imagination of their fellow workers. Business and education were, for the Jews, not a remote and almost foreign possibility, but a near and familiar one. They, or their friends or relatives, had the necessary experience and knowledge; with the prospect of success beckoning, it became worthwhile for the Jewish immigrants to work harder and save more than other immigrant groups.

In any case, the pattern of foresight and sobriety so essential for middle-class success was so well established in Jewish life that it was maintained even when there was no prospect of going into business. The Jews did not drink; the Jewish students were docile, accepting—as lower-class children rarely do today—today's restraints for tomorrow's rewards; the Jewish workers stayed out of jail. When we look at the working-class Jewish neighborhoods of the great American cities of the 1920's and 1930's, it is clear we are not dealing with ordinary workers. It was not dangerous to walk through the New York slums at night when they were inhabited by Jews. The Jewish workers violated most of the patterns of lower-class behavior, and

were in many important ways indistinguishable from the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish middle class. Thus, a study of voluntary organizations in New York City in 1934–35 revealed—as other studies have—that the higher the class, the larger the number of persons active in organizations. But the Jewish workers break this pattern—more of them belong to organizations than do Jewish white collar workers. A study in Chicago six years later told the same story: "Whereas among Protestants and Catholics working-class persons belong to fewer associations, among Jews the relationship is reversed." And a study of political activity in New York City in 1945 showed that low-income Jews wrote more often to their Congressmen than did even high-income Protestants and Catholics.

In the early 'Thirties, J. B. Maller compared the social characteristics of the solidly Jewish neighborhoods of New York City with those of the rest of the city. The Jewish neighborhoods were, economically speaking, representative of the city: the average rent in the Jewish neighborhoods was about that of the city as a whole. Yet no matter what statistics we look at, we find a more markedly middle-class pattern of behavior in the Jewish neighborhoods than elsewhere. Thus, the homicide and the accident death rates among Jews was half of that for the whole city (the lower class is much more subject to fatal accidents than the middle class). The infant mortality rate was lower, the IQ of school children higher, the school attendance rate higher, the juvenile delinquency rate less than half of the general city figure.⁷⁵

One more study is worth quoting on this point. In 1935, one out of every ten youths in the city of New York was interviewed. Here is a description of the leisure-time activities of the Jews among them:

The principal recreational activities of Jewish and non-Jewish youth are the same, but more of the Jewish than the non-Jewish had participated in them. . . . More of them had participated in athletic games, had gone swimming, played tennis or golf, attended concerts and lectures. More (though the differences were not so great) had hiked, gone to dances, and visited museums. Fewer had spent any time on manual diversions such as sewing or knitting, or doing carpentering, or putting a radio in condition, or repairing a motor.⁷⁶

What this means is that twenty years ago the Jewish youth of New York City, half of whom, according to this study, came from working-class homes, showed in their leisure-time activities the pattern of the middle class—just as their fathers, who would never be anything but workers, showed a middle-class pattern in their leisuretime activities.

CONCLUSION

The story we have set out to tell has two addenda, which do not change any part of the main line. Another two migratory waves succeeded the great immigration from Eastern Europe. Between 1936 and 1943, about 150,000 Jewish refugees entered the United States from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other Central European countries that had been overrun by Hitler. The new immigrants were of uniformly high social and economic status and formed a cross section of the prosperous and cultured Jewish communities of Central Europe. Naturally, these newcomers had all the difficulties of adjustment of new immigrants, combined with the pain involved in the loss of wealth and position and of familiar cultural surroundings. Many of them-the doctors and scholars, for example-rapidly achieved positions in the New World in every way the equivalent of those they had held in the Old. Others-the lawyers were perhaps the hardest hitfound it more difficult. But by 1954 there is no question of the generally high economic and social position speedily achieved by this stratum of the American Jewish population.

An immigration of this size would have had a great impact on the American Jewish community if it had come at any time before 1900. But coming as it did at a time when there were 4,500,000 Jews in the United States, its impact was not great. Perhaps its most important effect was in the sphere of culture, where it has helped widen Jewish

intellectual perspectives.

After World War II another, and the latest, wave of immigration reached American shores—about 100,000 Jews who had survived Hitler. They came with nothing, or less than nothing, but they came to a community that was able to spend tens of millions of dollars to help establish them. Most of them today are workers; many have been helped to start businesses; some are studying. There is no question that these Jews, the remnant of the once populous Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, will follow the path of their relatives who were fortunate enough to arrive in the United States before 1924. Most of them will remain workers for the rest of their lives. But the perspective of education and business is as attractive to them, and to their children, as it was to the East European Jewish immigrants of fifty years ago, and in a generation this latest immigration will be merged almost indistinguishably into the whole body of the American Jewish community.

What is the significance of this history for the relation of the Jews to the United States? We have pointed out those characteristics in which the American Jews have differed from the "general American

population." It is useful to compare Jews with "average Americans" (3.5 per cent of whom are Jewish) because in this way we can define what is characteristic of Jews. But we should realize that the "average American" is even more of an abstraction than the "average Jew." If we were to leave out such underprivileged groups as the Negroes and Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the Jewish advantages we have chronicled would become less striking. If we were to compare Jews with Episcopalians or Presbyterians, we might find that the proportion of Jewish professionals was lower than that of professionals in these high status denominations. Indeed, one study conducted in Madison, Wis., showed just that. Among the Episcopalians of that city, no less than 36 per cent of those gainfully employed were professionals, as

compared with 16 per cent among the Jews.77

The groups that make up America differ very little from each other in their overt culture. But they do differ greatly from each other in many other respects. The fact of cencentration in certain classes or occupations is not peculiar to the Jews; any group in the population which is relatively small, and whose arrival in this country has been concentrated in a relatively short span of time, is likely to have a special economic distribution, different from that of the abstraction we call "the general population." Two factors will determine what this distribution will be: the character of the group at the time of its arrival, and the structure of economic opportunity in the country at the time of its arrival. We have already shown how Jewish religion and culture and occupational experience fitted the Jewish immigrants for business and the professions; it should now also be pointed out that these non-manual occupations were expanding greatly during the period of the greatest Jewish immigration, and unskilled manual work and farming were employing a progressively smaller proportion of the labor force. Between 1910 and 1950, the proportion of the population engaged in non-manual work rose from 21 per cent to 38 per cent.78 Certainly this offered great opportunity to the Jews. But one had to be of the proper social and psychological constitution to take advantage of it-which the Jewish immigrants were. Hence, while America in general became more markedly middle-class in its occupational structure, Jews became even more so.

There is a general tendency for the ethnic concentration in a single occupation or industry to suffer dilution in time, just as the ethnic neighborhood is gradually dissolved as the second generation and third generation moves away. This means that in the second generation of Norwegians we do not find quite so many farmers, in the second generation of Italians we do not find quite so many heavy manual workers, and so on. This dilution is actually a movement upward,

occasioned by the better education and wider knowledge of opportunities available to a native-born generation. But in the case of the Jews, this dilution upward becomes a concentration, for the Jews begin to reach the upper limit of occupational mobility. In order to reflect the heterogeneity of the "general American" population more accurately, it would now be necessary for the Jews to actively oppose their natural inclinations, as well as the natural movement of American society itself, and artificially to attempt to increase the number of farmers and workers and maintain the proportion of office workers and salesmen among them.

This is not going to happen: so we may expect the Jewish community to become more homogeneous in the future, as the number of first-generation workers, and the culture they established, declines.

The future of the Jew in the United States does not, to our mind, raise economic problems, and raises only slight political problems; but it does raise social problems and cultural problems which we have at best only hinted at: There does exist a problem of the proper relation between Jewishness and Americanism; there does exist a problem raised by a social life lived almost entirely within a homogeneous Tewish community; there does exist, most significantly, the problem of whether the active communal life of American Jews should embody "values"—other than the value of sheer survival as a distinct group. All these questions are influenced by, indeed to some extent arise from, the social structure of American Jewry. But the answers to them will not be given by studies of social structure, but by the experiences and commitments of individual Jews, and by the history of the Jewish group in America. Our assigned task, and our method, carries us to the threshold of these questions, but does not permit us to go into them. Hopefully, this pedestrian exposition of the facts of American Jewish social life will make possible a more competent discussion of the truly problematic areas of American Jewish life.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

AJYB—AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK
JE—Jewish Encyclopedia
JSS—Jewish Social Studies
JSSQ—Jewish Social Service Quarterly
PAJHS—Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society
YAJSS—Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science

NOTES

1. My chief source for this section is, naturally, Jacob Rader Marcus, Early American Jewry, two volumes, Philadelphia, 1951, 1953. Marcus speaks of the middle-class character of the eighteenth-century American Jews in Volume II, p. 423. On p. 413, a characteristic type of statistic, reflecting the middle-class character of the Jewish community, makes its appearance for the first time in American Jewish history: In 1775 in Newport, R. I., Jews, "though less than 2 per cent of the total number of taxpayers, . . . paid 8.25 per cent of the amount collected."

2. Marcus, II, p. 390.

3. Rudolph Glanz, "The Immigration of German Jews up to 1880," YAJSS, II-III, 1947-48, p. 84.

4. Ibid, p. 85.

5. "In many a place, out of a Jewish population of 30-40 families, 15-20 people have emigrated." A letter in a German Jewish newspaper, 1839, as quoted in

Glanz, p. 90.

6. The 1840 population estimate is contemporary, and recorded, along with many other early estimates of Jewish population, in David Sulzberger, "The Growth of Jewish Population in the United States," PAJHS, 6, 1897. The estimates for 1850 and 1860 are from Bertram Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War, Philadelphia, 1951, p. 1, who follows Allen Tarshish, The Rise of American Judaism (unpublished doctoral dissertation).

7. Glanz, p. 92.

8. Quoted in ibid., p. 93.

9. Consider the Years, Easton, Pa., 1944, p. 125.

10. As paraphrased in Glanz, p. 92.

11. These figures are from Sulzberger, op. cit., checked against Hyman Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York 1654-1860, Philadelphia, 1945, p. 469. Where there is a large discrepancy in figures, Grinstein is preferred—e. g., the figure of 500 for 1825.

12. Oscar Handlin, "How United States Anti-Semitism Began," Commentary,

11, 1951, p. 541-48.

13. Statistics of the Jews of the United States, Board of Delegates of American Israelites and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1880.

14. H. S. Linfield, AJYB, 30, 1928-29, p. 159.

15. John S. Billings, Vital Statistics of the Jews in the United States, Census Bulletin, December 1890.

16. Sidney Liskofsky, AJYB, 50, 1948-49, p. 753.

17. Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910, New York, 1918, pp. 127-132; and C. B. Sherman, Yidden un Andere Etnische Grupes in die Fareinigte Shtaten, New York, 1948, pp. 242-43.

18. These calculations are based on the standard estimates of Jewish population,

which, since 1900, have been published in the American Jewish Year Book.

19. JE, XII, p. 369.

20. The figures for 1900 are Nathan Goldberg's, based on the very likely assumption that persons identified as "Russians" in the census of 1900, in cities of more than 250,000, were almost entirely Jews. See his Occupational Patterns of American Jewry, New York, 1947, pp. 12-16.

21. Report of the U.S. Industrial Commission, 1901, XV, p. 284.

22. Ibid., pp. 343-69, where shops of different nationality groups are compared.

JE, XII, p. 375.

23. This figure must be an error. The same volume (p. 301) gives 14 per cent of the Russian immigrants of 1890 as tailors. For 1903–04, JE, XII, p. 375, gives 26 per cent. Joseph, op. cit., gives 25 per cent of the Jewish immigrants occupied in 1897–1910 as tailors. Goldberg, op. cit., p. 18, reports that the Russian census of 1897 showed that 17 per cent of Jews in cities over 100,000 were engaged in the manufacture of clothing.

24. Op. cit., pp. 325-27.

25. Ibid., p. 480.

- 26. Nathan Goldberg, The Jewish People, II, p. 27, skillfully analyzes census statistics for the number of children born to Yiddish-speaking mothers, and shows that immigrant Jewish women around 1900 were more fertile than native American white women. See too, JE, XII, p. 377, for evidence that New York Jews in 1903 had more children than New York Catholics had.
- 27. This we will find wherever statistics are available: Goldberg, op. cit., pp. 33-34. 28. E. Lifschutz, "Jewish Immigrant Life in American Memoir Literature," YAJSS, V, 1950, pp. 221-22.

29. Report of the Industrial Commission, op. cit., p. 478.

30. Ibid., p. 477.

- 31. Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, New York, 1912, pp. 370-72; and Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I, 1911, p. 367, 368, 764.
 - 32. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 38.

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48. Ibid., p. 14, 31, 41, 66, 78, 104, 122; and Kinzler, op. cit., for New York City. 49. Industrial Classification of Jews in New York City. New York, Conference on

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52. See Melvin J. Fagen, "The Status of Jewish Lawyers in New York City," TSS, 1, 1939, pp. 73-104.

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55. Thomas P. Monahan and William M. Kephart, "Divorce and Desertion by Religious and Mixed Religious Groups," American Journal of Sociology, 59, 1954, pp. 454-65.

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59. See articles by Ben B. Seligman, AJYB, 51, 1950, p. 28; 52, 1951, p. 12; 54, 1953, p. 14.

60. A. J. Jaffe and C. D. Stewart, Manpower Resources and Utilization, New

York, 1951, p. 190.

61. The author, together with Herbert Hyman and S. M. Lipset, has analyzed two public opinion polls conducted in New York and its vicinity in 1948 and 1951 by the National Opinion Research Corporation, and distinguished by the use of particularly careful sampling methods in order to approximate as closely as possible true random samples. A full report on what these studies revealed about New York Jews is in the files of the AJYB. The following is a summary of the occupational distribution of New York City Jews and non-Jews as revealed by these studies:

TABLE 1

Occupations of Respondents in Two Public Opinion Polls, New York City and Westchester and Nassau Counties, 1948, 1951

		19	148			19	051	
Occupation	Jews		Non-Jews		Jews		Non-Jews	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Non-manual Professional Manager, proprietor, official Clerical and sales Manual Skilled and semi- skilled Unskilled Service, domestic, and protective	16 20 17 15 3	12 15 12 11 	20 24 44 54 8	7 8 14 18 3	20 29 37 24 7	10 14 18 12 3	38 32 85 120 70 categor	7 6 15 21 12 y]
Housewives, retired, students, etc	66	48	121	40	87	42	218	38
Totals	137	100	302	100	204	99	563	99

62. These studies are from Robison, op. cit.; Seligman in AJYB (Grand Rapids, Erie, and Jacksonville), 51, 1950, p. 28; the information on New Orleans is from Julian K. Feibelman, A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community, Philadelphia, 1941.

63. Jaffe and Stewart, op. cit.

64. Uriah Zvi Engelman, "Jewish Social, Educational, and Religious Developments in Charleston, S. C., 1900–1950," The Reconstructionist, 18, March 21, 1952; and Charles Reznikoff and Engelman, The Jews of Charleston, 1950, pp. 263-64.

65. See footnote 67.

66. Ibid.

67. Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West, They Went to College, 1952, p. 187.

The percentages are:

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN COLLEGE GRADUATES OF 1937

BY OCCUPATION

Category	Jews	Protestants	Catholics	
Proprietors, managers, and executives Non-teaching professionals Teaching professionals	45	34 34 12	26 32 13	
and farmers	16	20	29	

68. We have no figures on the occupations of fathers of all Jewish college graduates as compared with the fathers of their non-Jewish classmates. But a study of women college graduates shows a smaller proportion of professionals among the fathers of Jewish students than among the fathers of non-Jewish students, and it is reasonable to assume the same would be true for male college students. See Robert Shosteck, Five Thousand Women College Graduates Report, B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau, 1953, pp. 8-9.

69. Louis M. Terman and Melita H. Oden, The Gifted Child Grows Up, 1947,

p. 298.

70. Havemann and West, op. cit., pp. 187-89.

71. L. Wallerstein, "The Jewish Doctor," Commentary, forthcoming.

72. Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, 11, 1946, p. 686-98.

73. Herbert Goldhammer, Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Organizations, Ph. D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1942.

74. Gerhart H. Saenger, "Social Status and Political Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, 51, 1945, pp. 108-13.

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77. Louis Bultena, "Church Membership and Church Attendance in Madison, Wisconsin," American Sociological Review, 14, 1949, p. 385.

78. Jaffe and Stewart, op. cit.



The Acquisition of Political and Social Rights by the Jews in the United States

By OSCAR AND MARY F. HANDLIN

In September 1954, the three-hundredth year of Jewish life in what is now the United States will have been completed. In those three eventful centuries, the relationship of the Jews to the surrounding society has been entirely transformed. The ancient restrictions upon their freedom to participate in the political and social activities of the whole community have disintegrated; and these people, so long

set apart, have emerged citizens in the fullest sense.

This development was characteristic of the whole western world in the same centuries. But the special circumstances of the New World environment hastened the trend and gave it a force and continuity it enjoyed nowhere else. In America the attitudes, customs, and laws of the Old World were almost at once anachronistic. Although the earliest Americans were transplanted Europeans, the process of crossing the Atlantic and settling the wilderness in time eroded the old assumptions as to what a Jew was and as to how he should be treated. The change was already apparent in the Colonial period, before 1774, when the colonies were still culturally, socially, and politically dependent on the mother country. The rate of change accelerated after the Revolution in the years from 1775 to 1830. The new Republic then struggled to work out a distinctive pattern of relationships between the church and the state; and that effort further freed the Jews from the imputations of inferiority. There followed a half-century of efforts, between 1830 and 1880, to elaborate the social and intellectual consequences of the changes in legal status. By the end of that period the Jews had attained complete political and social equality in the United States.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century there nevertheless remained some ambiguities in the situation. These arose less from any peculiarity in the position of the Jews than from uncertainties in the condition of the whole society. Although church and state had by then everywhere been completely separated in law, there remained perplexing points at which the conduct of religious worship touched upon the operations of government. Generally the Jews in the United

States fought the demands by other religious groups for positive recognition by, and special privileges from, the state. Furthermore, in the years after 1880 the Jews, as a special group, were on the defensive. The great wave of immigration from Eastern Europe magnified the social difficulties of all Americans identified with the newcomers. At the same time the emergence of anti-Semitism as a social and political force threatened the gains of the preceding two centuries.

In the last seventy years, American Jews have struggled with both problems. They have resisted any breach in the wall separating church and state, aware that only thus could they keep from sinking to the position of a tolerated minority. And they have insisted upon social equality as well, calling upon the aid of the government when neces-

sary.

Not all the problems raised in those decades of rapid change were resolved. But the most critical ones were. An understanding of the nature of those developments will supply the perspective within which to view the questions that still trouble many Americans.

THE MEDIEVAL BACKGROUND

The first Americans brought to the New World ideas about the Jews that were inherited from the Middle Ages. Diluted in the crossing of the Atlantic and slowly altered by the passage of time, these concepts nevertheless had their roots in the patterns of medieval

society.

Although in retrospect the Middle Ages give the appearance of homogeneity and uniformity, three distinct strands entered into the formation of Christian attitudes toward the Jews. The popular notion, widespread among the peasantry, the nobility, and the burghers and artisans of the towns, had been formed by actual contacts with the Jews. To most Europeans of the period the Jew seemed to occupy an anomalous position. In a society in which everyone else had an established status, the Jew alone lacked a clearly defined place. Everyone else was the member of an order, a village, a guild, a community of some sort. The Jew was an outsider.

As an outsider, the Jew lacked access to the usual means of earning a livelihood. He could not till the soil, and in many places and for long periods he could follow no recognized craft. Instead, he was compelled to live by his wits. He engaged in kinds of trade that other men would not undertake, took usury which was forbidden to Christians, and practiced arts like medicine which were under no corporate control. For long periods, the Jews lived at the edge of destitution, deep in poverty. Yet, paradoxically, some among them attained great

wealth and considerable power. After the thirteenth century, as capitalism developed, they proved more capable of taking advantage of new opportunities than people of fixed place and established habits; but the appearance of a few international bankers and capitalists only increased the anomaly of the Jews' situation, despised and excluded

yet somehow above the run of other people.

To the settled folk of medieval society, there was something strange and mysterious about the Jews. Hidden within the walls of their separate ghettos, these people, with no recognizable means of support, seemed to possess some fearful demoniac powers that enabled them to persist and survive. In a culture in which learning was closed off to the masses, the Jews who could read the holy language were thought to have at their command the magic of the ancient wisdom concealed in the strange books. No man of the times was so foolish as to question the real existence of spirits; few could fail to believe that the Jews, who obviously thrived despite their social inferiority, must be creatures of the devil.

This popular attitude that regarded the Jews as mysterious aliens somehow related to the devilish forces of the universe occasionally burst forth in angry outbreaks or led to periods of violent persecution. More usually it was restrained by other views of the Jews that were also widely held. Medieval people permitted the Jews to exist in their society because those outsiders played a special role in Christianity and had established a peculiar relationship to the wielders of political power.

The Jews were, after all, linked in with the whole drama of Christianity. To the Church they were also a mystery, but a mystery divine in nature. The Jews were living evidence of the truth of Christianity. Providentially preserved, these wanderers over the face of the earth were witnesses of the truth of the Scriptures and of the validity of the

promises of salvation.

Not, however, in the past alone, but in the future also had Providence assigned the Jews a part. The ultimate development of history pointed to a Second Coming and the millennial salvation of humanity; and these people would then once more be summoned to the center of the stage. Their conversion would herald the return of the Redeemer and would lead on to the climactic events of salvation. Therefore, it was necessary to preserve the Jews and, while keeping them separate, still to permit them to retain their identity in anticipation of the future. The most thoughful theologians and religious leaders of the medieval period consistently fought the popular hostility to the Jews, and the Popes recognized their protected character.

Another safeguard, occasionally helpful against the persecutors, was

forged out of the relationship of Jews to the state. The Jews had no place in the feudal patterns of power, which were wrapped up in land holding, in the ability to make war, and in recognition of the validity of certain bonds of personal fealty. On none of these counts could the Jews be nobles or share otherwise in the disposition of political power. They could not even participate in the more restricted government of the towns, since only Christians were members of the corporations

and guilds that controlled the boroughs. Nevertheless, the Jews were an asset to those who dominated the polity. The Jews held in their hands a substantial part of the uncommitted wealth of this society. At critical times, they could supply those who fought with the sinews of war; and the nobility frequently offered them protection in return for their services as managers and financiers. In Eastern Europe that situation persisted through the centuries. But, in the West, as time went on, the connections were more likely to be with the monarch than with the barons. The centralization of power tended to turn the Jews into king's men. That relationship usually gave the Jews protection and occasionally privileges. It also exposed them to total ruin if they lost the king's favor. Since they lived by the tolerant whims of the royal personage, their security was altogether dependent upon his humors. A good part of their history through these years was the story of fluctuations in royal favor.

The Jews uneasily accommodated themselves to the view the world held of them. They accepted their own separateness and within the ghetto governed themselves. Under these conditions they did not distinguish between religious and secular affairs. Since they were cut off from the state, they developed communal institutions with recognized coercive powers to deal not only with the conduct of worship and the observance of ritual, but also with marriage and divorce, with inheritance and commercial transactions. That was a sign of the complete acceptance of the division between themselves and the society

in which they lived.

By the seventeenth century, when the first migrations to the New World occurred, many changes had transpired across the face of Europe. The manorial agricultural economy had begun to decline, giving way to a thriving order of trade located in flourishing cities. In many places collapse of the guilds had left room for a freer system of enterprise. Education and literacy had spread; and the vulgar languages had come into their own. Everywhere the national state was in process of formation.

Still, the heritage of the old attitudes persisted throughout Europe. The existence of Iews was tolerated, but there was no tolerance for their faith; nor was there any greater inclination than earlier to accept them as equal members of the society in which they lived. In practice, they were still set off in separate communities, still not permitted to engage without restrictions in the economy, still not social equals of the Christians, and still entirely devoid of political privileges. Although the national state, in time, put in place of the feudal relationships a more general conception of citizenship, the Jews were still exceptional.

And beyond the continuing separateness and inferiority of status there still lurked vestiges of the old attitudes—of the popular notion that the Jews were mysterious, demoniac spirits, of the religious conception of the Jews as a mystery, and of the political conception of the Jew as an outsider, related by sufferance to the possessors of political power, but not capable of sharing it.

These were the attitudes and habits that the first immigrants to America brought across the ocean. Neither the ideas nor the practices would find fertile soil in the New World, and, almost from the start, would begin to change.

THE COLONIAL ERA, 1654-1774

The country to which the Jews and other seventeenth-century new-comers came was a colonial wilderness. It was unsettled; and for more than a century, until 1774, it was dependent politically and economically upon Great Britain. Those circumstances, together with the character of the new arrivals themselves, conditioned the nature of the rights accorded the Jews.

Although the first American laws were based on European models, circumstances quickly altered them. Every jurisdiction in North America was subject to the sovereignty of some European monarch. In the area that would ultimately come to be the United States, Spain and France, England and the Netherlands each held sway and each transmitted to the New World its own usages with regard to religion and to religious dissidents, including the Jews.

Yet the laws were not always applicable. Seventeenth-century America was a wilderness. Only a few nomadic tribes occupied the land, and the European population grew slowly. In 1670, after sixty years of effort, only 80,000 souls were scattered along the coastline. One hundred years later their number had grown by immigration and natural increase to over two million. But these sparse settlements were still small. Everywhere, therefore, new additions to the population were in high demand and were welcomed whatever their source. That attitude encouraged settlement not by a single group but by a diverse agglomeration of wanderers from every part of Europe and from many parts of Africa.

Furthermore, on the new continent the Jews were only a handful; by 1774 they numbered little more than two thousand, spread through the commercial cities of the seacoast and occasionally in the interior.

Out of these conditions developed a society radically different from that of the Old World. The first newcomers were Europeans and brought with them ancient attitudes, habits, and regulations about the Jews. But these subtly and steadily gave way to the pressure of the new conditions. In place of a society of status and established ranks, there appeared a highly unstable and fluctuating pattern of social relationships. The communal uniformity and the restrictive authority of the Old World gave way to communal diversity and to a sense of freedom that would culminate in the Revolution at the end of the period.

These changes were the basis for the development of the political and social rights that ultimately made American Jews equal to other citizens. The process went forward not through modifications of theory or law, which long remained European, but rather through the practical pressure of the conditions of life which were American.

The most fundamental right of all was that of residence in the colonies. The privilege of being a denizen, a legally settled inhabitant of a place, was not one that extended automatically to Jews or indeed to any aliens in Europe or in the European colonies. The express consent of the sovereign or overlord was a necessary prerequisite. In Europe, some monarchs had extended and others had withheld that privilege. But in any case, Jews were rarely accorded the permission to migrate to or to trade with the colonies. France, for instance, allowed only Catholics to come to its American colonies.

The question was complicated by the fact that some of the provinces were held not by the Crown directly but by intermediaries, either by proprietors like the Penns of Pennsylvania and the Calverts of Maryland or by trading companies like the Dutch West India Company or the Virginia Company of London. These corporations and proprietors had considerable latitude in making whatever additional regulations they pleased with regard to settlement.

The test of the right of the Jews to take up residence in the New World came in the possessions of the Dutch West India Company. The first handful of Jews reached Manhattan Island in September 1654, and immediately presented the commander of that post with the problem of whether to admit them or not. Governor Peter Stuyvesant acted in accordance with accepted European practice. He clapped some of the newcomers into jail for debt and ordered all of them to prepare for deportation.

The developments that followed revealed the interplay of motives

that reshaped the attitude toward Jews in America. Stuyvesant reported to the Company that the newcomers were "very repugnant to the inferior magistrate, and also to the people"; he had therefore required them to depart. He asked that the Company approve this action so that "the deceitful race—such hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ—be not allowed further to infect and trouble this new colony."

In reply, the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company acknowledged that there was a basis to Stuyvesant's fears, but also observed that his action was "unreasonable and unfair," since some Jews were investors in the Company. The Governor was, therefore, ordered to see to it that "these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherland and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the Company or to the com-

munity, but be supported by their own nation."

This order was, in some measure, a precedent. Yet further extensions of the privilege of residence came not by the explicit action of the governments or proprietors but by the gradual acquisition, defacto, of the right. In the next century, the records do not mention the direct grant of the privilege. Yet in those years the number of Jews grew steadily if slowly. Individuals settled and communities sprang up; and the right to exist where they were was not even challenged. The desirability of a growing population in the wilderness was too evident to permit anyone to quibble over differences of antecedents or of faith.

But it was another matter when it came to civic rights. The conception of citizenship was still unformed and was particularly difficult to apply in the colonies and to a group as alien to its privileges as the Jews. Nevertheless, without formal legislation they earned those rights gradually in the course of their first century of residence in the New World.

In Europe, in the past, the Jews' right to residence had generally been qualified by restrictions upon the group. These had included limitations upon the place of residence, restrictions as to behavior, forms of worship, and clothing, and a variety of other disabilities. In America, there was no conscious effort at the start to depart from these patterns.

In many parts of the new continent, the influence of the religious element in colonization was strong. Religion was one of the accepted objects of civil government, and the colonies, with few exceptions, each supported an established church, financially, and by a code of laws that confirmed its precepts. The ties between church and state were most intimate in New England. The Puritans had come to

America to establish a Bible commonwealth; and they wished no disturbing, dissenting strangers to live among them. The entrenched zealots in control of these colonies harried out Quakers, Baptists, and

any other folk who failed to conform.

The notion of a Bible commonwealth did not exist south of New England. Nevertheless, even in seventeenth-century Virginia, Maryland, and New York, the motives for settlement had religious elements; and the concept of establishment was widely accepted. Church and state were not separated but joined; and government was obligated to supply secular sanctions to religious precepts.

These attitudes relegated Jews to the position of an underprivileged minority, and subjected them to legal requirements often contrary to

their faith.

Through the Colonial period, therefore, the Jews lived under a wide range of disabilities. Such discriminatory measures were not directed at them as a group; rather these were concomitants of their position outside the established church, a position the Jews shared with other dissenters. Only the established church could conduct public worship. It alone found support from the taxes levied on all. Whether they wished it or not, Jews, like all others, were compelled to obey the laws for Sunday observance. Public fast and feast days were couched in religious terms, and similar regulations touched on every other sphere of life.

Significantly, the Jews themselves did not protest. This was the prevailing pattern of religious organization they had known throughout the world; they expected no different treatment in America.

The complaints came in more general terms and emanated particularly from sects that objected to establishment in principle. Already in 1645, in New England, there were serious proposals "to allow and maintaine full and free toleracon of religion to all men that would preserve the civill peace," extending the privilege even to Turk, Jew, or Papist. The governor of Plymouth would not allow these radical suggestions to come to a vote, "as being that indeed would eate out the power of godliness." But the mere advancing of such ideas indicated the approaching decay of the old assumptions. The growth in numbers of the Baptists and Quakers created a body of colonists in principle opposed to establishment and dedicated to the dissolution of the old ties between church and state.

As the seventeenth century advanced, the impulses toward change became stronger. In the eighteenth century those impulses carried all before them. A combination of new influences profoundly altered the place of Jews in American society by 1774. By that date, the churches everywhere were still established. But the consequences of that establishment were altogether different. The influences responsible for the change sprang in part from developments in the colonies, in part from more general cultural trends, and in part from a transformation in the

position of the Jews themselves.

In New England, Puritan zeal declined after 1670. The founders died off, and their American-born sons were not moved by the same fiery convictions. The rigid Calvinism of the first settlers now yielded to more relaxed religious attitudes. The doctrine that only the Saints, providentially elected to salvation, had rights in a godly society disappeared. In New England and elsewhere that notion vanished in the face of widespread latitudinarianism, the belief that any man, whatever his faith, could win salvation by leading an ethically good life. The shift in emphasis left room for recognition of a multiplicity of faiths, all compatible with the welfare of the state and all entitled to recognition by it. Since men of every creed were capable of salvation, they were all equally capable of taking part in the activities of society.

Practical considerations increased the difficulty of maintaining the old relationship between religion and the state. In some parts of the continent, the government was in the hands of adherents to sects which suffered from the connection. Thus in Maryland Lord Calvert, a Catholic, feared that establishment of the Anglican Church might prevent his own co-religionists from settling in his colony. The Act for religious toleration he promulgated in 1649, limited as that was, attempted to mitigate the harshness of establishment, at least for Christians. So too the Quakers and Baptists, strong in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, had themselves too often been victims of persecution and discrimination to wish to see the principle of establishment planted in the New World.

Rhode Island, under the influence of Roger Williams, early decreed that "all men of whatever nation . . . shall have the same privileges as Englishmen, any law to the contrary notwithstanding." Although the measure was ambiguous, it furnished the basis for the thriving Jewish community of Newport. William Penn's First Fundamentals of 1682 and the Frame of Government a year later also provided for freedom of worship. Colonies like Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island created little islands of toleration in America, and their prosperity seemed impressive evidence of the propriety of their course.

By the eighteenth century, the proponents of tolerance were no longer exceptional. Religious diversity was becoming characteristic of Colonial life. The Church of England was still the largest single denomination, although the Congregational churches of New England had by now decisively separated themselves from it. But, in ad-

dition, there were already also substantial numbers of members of the Dutch Reformed Church, of Catholics, Jews, Baptists, and Quakers; and as the years went by there arrived also Scotch-Irish and French Presbyterians, German sectarians of various sorts, and Lutherans. Within this mosaic of faiths the pretense of uniformity was difficult to maintain. Since social and economic power was, to some degree, accessible to all, invidious religious distinctions were still more difficult to justify.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the trend had also begun to receive the support of the Enlightenment, the great revolution in western thought that exalted the conceptions of human rights and human reason. John Locke's letters on toleration and a long line of English and French writings on the separation of church and state were widely read in the American colonies and their injunctions

quickly applied.

The general diffusion of the idea of tolerance was advantageous to the Jews at it was to other Americans. It went hand in hand with the practical acquisition of civic privileges. The ancient restrictive laws were not often repealed. But the new attitudes made the discriminatory provisions increasingly anachronistic and imperceptibly but steadily endowed Jews with the civic and religious rights of other colonists.

The process began early. In 1655 the New Amsterdam Council had decided that the Jews were a separate "nation" and not to be "counted among the citizens, as regards train bands," after the practice of Amsterdam and other cities at home. In response to a protest, the council would go no further than allow those who were aggrieved to depart. At the same time it affirmed restrictions upon the freedom of Jews to engage in trade and upon their right to own real estate.

These restrictions were not accepted but fought. A vigorous protest to the parent company elicited the order that the Jews be permitted "quietly and peacefully" to carry on their business, although they were still excluded from the mechanic occupations and retail trade. They won also the concession that they "enjoy the burgher right" in other respects. These privileges were renewed after the English conquest of the colony. The distinction between wholesale and retail trade then still persisted, but dropped away as the seventeenth century closed. There were, after all, no entrenched guilds to insist upon such anachronistic restrictions, and before long Jews found it possible to engage in every calling. The development in other colonies was less notable, because it was less eventful. As groups of Jews appeared in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and elsewhere, they assumed full civic rights as a matter of course.

In the decades that followed the turn of the century the Jews also acquired some political rights, were chosen to local office, and able to vote in some elections. Recognition of their legitimate place in this society came decisively in an Act of Parliament of 1740, which provided that foreigners who had resided seven years in the colonies could be naturalized and thus acquire all the privileges of native-born subjects. At home, that process had called for subscription to an oath no Jew could conscientiously take. But in the case of the colonies the law specifically exempted those "who profess the Jewish Religion" from the test. The requirement of other oaths still excluded them from the highest Colonial and imperial offices; and an occasional colony now and then put temporary difficulties in the way of naturalization. But the Jews advanced further in America than anywhere else in the western world.

Under these circumstances, the conception of establishment became irrelevant. There was no direct assault upon the principle, particularly in view of the continued dependence upon Great Britain. But the practical disabilities all but vanished.

Religious laws remained on the statute books. But they were simply not enforced and were often all but forgotten. Long before, in 1658, the case of Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo in Maryland had foreshadowed the pattern of future developments. The doctor's difficulties sprang from the "act concerning religion" of 1649 which deemed those who denied "the doctrine of the Trinity" guilty of blasphemy and punishable by death. Lumbrozo, accused of this crime, admitted his guilt. Yet, the courts were apparently unwilling to convict him, and he never was punished. The law there and elsewhere continued in effect. But no Jews suffered as a result of it.

Almost unobtrusively, without any decisive test or crisis, the Jews also secured recognition of the fact that their faith stood on an equal footing with every other. Back in the seventeenth century, when they were admitted to New Amsterdam, they were permitted to "exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses." To that end they were enjoined to build their homes close together on one side of town. A synagogue they could not have. As late as 1685 they were told by the English Governor of New York that "publique Worship" was a privilege only of those "that professe faith in Christ." From that position there was no official withdrawal. Yet before the decade had ended there was a synagogue in New York and shortly synagogues appeared also in each of the towns in which Jews were settled and grew steadily in size and prominence.

That trend was characteristic. In 1774 the Jews were still a tiny minority in a society in which the church was formally established and

where the law recognized a variety of religious distinctions. But in practice, they had already begun to escape the most onerous burdens of discrimination. And, shortly, the Revolution and independence from European domination would bring the law into accord with practice.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF INDEPENDENCE

Several distinct strands entered into the achievement of American independence. The Revolution involved, in the first instance, a total separation from England. But the break entailed also the destruction of an ancient system of authority; and that called for justification. The Americans who were pulling down an empire were anxious also to establish a nation. They felt the compulsion to set forth the reasonable, orderly, legal grounds for their actions. They based their thinking on the conceptions of natural rights and law derived from the Enlightenment and from the heritage of their own experience. And the intellectual revolution that ensued had profound implications for the general relationships between church and state and also for the position of the Jews in the United States.

The logic of the Revolution had elevated reason above tradition and the natural rights of the individual above constituted authority. It was no longer possible to regard the established church as other than an outmoded vestige of the past. The theory in the Declaration of Independence explained what Americans had already learned in practice, that religious faith involved an exercise of individual choice

in which the state ought not to interfere.

Furthermore, in most parts of the continent the established church was a vestige of the imperial connection—the Church of England—and vulnerable on that account alone. Earlier, while they were still colonists, Americans had resisted the establishment of an episcopate that would tie them further to Britain. Now citizens of an independent nation, such a link was still more abhorrent. The fact that the Anglican clergy had generally been loyal to the Crown and had resisted the Revolution was additional evidence of the necessity of dissolving the established church, indeed of divorcing entirely the church from the state.

The decisive steps came in Virginia. As the states, each in turn, came to frame a constitution, they were most likely to seek a model in that of the Old Dominion where so many of the great leaders of the Revolution were at home. What happened in Virginia therefore was important far beyond its own borders, indeed far beyond the borders of the United States.

The first test came quickly in 1776 as the Virginia state constitutional convention considered a Bill of Rights. At the urging of James Madison, a clause providing for the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion was rejected. In its stead, the Bill of Rights proclaimed, "All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." The emphasis was not upon toleration merely, but upon the equality of all sects.

The position of the Virginia churches remained ambiguous for some years, however. No state grants were made to the Anglican Church; such grants no doubt were contrary to the intent of the Bill of Rights. But it was an open question as to whether the Bill also precluded equal grants by the state to all the recognized sects. That might leave the way open for the establishment of Christianity, rather than any form of it, as the established religion. Thus, in 1784 a bill proposed to tax every citizen for the support "of some Christian church."

Once more Madison was moved to action. "Who does not see," he asked, "that the same authority which can establish Christianity to the exclusion of all other religions may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians in exclusion of all other sects?" His opposition helped defeat the proposal and, with Jefferson, he secured the enactment of the statute establishing religious liberty. That law was deliberately phrased broadly enough to comprehend the Jew. Believing that "the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinions," the Virginians had completely severed the ties between church and state.

From Virginia the principle was rapidly extended to other states and to the Federal government. The Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 and the New York constitution of 1777 called for religious equality. The Northwest Ordinance adopted by the Continental Congress in 1787 set forth the same principle. Article VI of the new constitution of the United States forbade any religious test for national office; and the first amendment, Article I of the Bill of Rights, prevented Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The purpose of these constitutional barriers was, as Jefferson put it, to build "a wall of separation between Church and State."

By and large, progress in these terms, by 1790, justified the tone of self-congratulation in which George Washington and the various Jewish congregations of the country greeted one another. All Americans, the first President pointed out, in August 1790, "possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class

of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

The President's assertion was slightly exaggerated. In a few respects, Jews still suffered from disabilities that were the products of surviving traces of establishment in some of the states. Those disabilities were

slower to disappear.

The development of the principle of separation had been slowest in New England. Their distinctive role gave the established churches a longer life there than in the rest of the nation. The Congregationalists had not been tainted with an English connection. Indeed, many ministers had been in the forefront of the Revolution and had thus acquired patriotic status. Moving toward liberal, often Unitarian or Universalist, affiliations, they were also in accord with the spirit of the times. The dissolution of the ties between church and state was therefore more gradual in New England, particularly since here the number of Jews and other dissenters was relatively small.

Moreover, although full separation of church and state was not yet achieved, the discriminatory consequences had already been substantially eliminated or mitigated. The members of churches other than the orthodox were allowed to direct their taxes to be appropriated to the use of the ministers or the religious institutions of their own denominations. This tolerance extended to the Jews, as to others. Thus in 1808 Moses Michael Hays appeared before the magistrates of the City of Boston and declared that he was a member of a synagogue of the Jews, and ought not to be taxed to support the Congre-

gational Church.

With time and with the appearance of schismatic divisions among the Congregationalists, establishment became ever less meaningful. One state after another took the inescapable road to disestablishment. By the 1830's the process was complete; Massachusetts, the last state to act, divorced church from state in 1833. A rear-guard action by conservatives like Joseph Story who wished to substitute a general establishment of Christianity for the particular establishment of any sect failed as it had failed almost fifty years earlier in Virginia. The trend was irresistible. In the process, the religious equality of the Jew was made legally complete. Their congregations were eligible for incorporation and treated in law like the associations of every other sect.

The religious disabilities under which the Jews suffered after 1833 were not explicitly directed against them, but were rather the indirect result of vestiges of older practice left in law. Although the general

attitude toward Jews was friendly, public opinion often was slow in

rectifying these discriminatory features.

In some of the states, for instance, the formula for oaths included references to belief in the Trinity or the New Testament, to which Jews could not conscientiously subscribe. Several such oaths—as for jurors or witnesses—were altered with little difficulty. But now and again, a more serious problem arose with regard to the oaths required of the holders of elective office.

By the end of the Revolution, Jews had been chosen not only to local posts in some cities, but had also been selected for more responsible positions in many parts of the country. There was no inclination to bar these people from public office and generally the question of the offensive oaths had only to be raised to be resolved. Thus the Jews of Philadelphia, in 1783–84, protested as a "stigma upon their nation and religion" the requirement that members of the General Assembly take an oath affirming belief in the New Testament. The revised constitution of Pennsylvania, a few years later, explicitly barred the disqualification on account of religious sentiments of any person "who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments."

In states like Maryland and North Carolina, however, where the number of Jews was small, the issue was not systematically raised by any organized community. The oaths remained in use unnoticed, unquestioned until the election of some Jewish official or the conscientious scrutiny of some Christian legislator unexpectedly brought the matter into the open. Then emotional obstacles sometimes temporarily stood in the way of the logical solution. But such obstacles rarely were strong enough to perpetuate injustice, nor did they long

delay the trend toward equality.

Thus, in 1809, Jacob Henry, reelected to the North Carolina House of Commons, found the right to his seat challenged because he was a Jew who would not take an oath affirming the divine character of the New Testament. After a spirited defense, Henry was nevertheless permitted to keep his seat; a legal subterfuge made it possible for him to do so without a change in the requirement. Traces of the old provisions lingered in North Carolina until they were completely eliminated by the state constitution of 1868.

A similar test in Maryland extended over a long period and evoked a penetrating discussion that clarified the most significant issues in-

volved.

The Maryland constitution of 1776 had made "a declaration of a belief in the Christian religion" requisite to holding office. A petition by the Jews in 1797 for relief from this provision had been found rea-

sonable by the House of Delegates, but had led to no concrete measure of relief.

The question was raised again in 1818 by Thomas Kennedy, a Scotch Presbyterian immigrant and member of the legislature, who took up the cudgels on behalf of the Jews out of a sense of the injustice of the legal position to which they had been relegated. Year after year he introduced his bill to give them equality of status and thus to extirpate the remnants of the prejudice of centuries, until he was finally successful in 1826. His own interests were purely altruistic, representing as he did a constituency entirely without Jews. He was moved, as other Americans were, by a consciousness that religious equality and the separation of church and state were among the proudest achievements of the Republic. "America," he said, "has wisely relinquished it to the insidious policy of regal governments, to make an instrument of religion," by having "forever sundered the spiritual from the temporal concerns of men."

As the second third of the century opened, the last traces of establishment had all but disappeared in the United States. The way was then open for a further struggle to explore some of the social consequences of the new relationship between government and religion. In many spheres of American life that exploration would call forth an effort to give new and greater depth to the conception of equality.

THE MID-CENTURY CRISIS, 1830-1880

The spreading influence of the American Enlightenment had already evoked its counter-reaction in the first decades of the nineteenth century. After 1800, a persistent uneasiness reflected the fears of some Americans that their country had slipped downward along the path of deism to infidelity and atheism, and that that descent would undermine the foundations of morality. The disastrous course of the French Revolution was a warning of what the future might bring to America were the trend to remain unchecked. Furthermore, the spread of settlement and the difficulties of frontier life led many to long for a faith more consoling and more satisfying than cold reason could afford. That longing conformed also to the general romanticism and emotionalism of the period.

A series of religious revivals spread across the country, mounting steadily in force. The more extravagant manifestations were the riotous camp meetings of the West. But in countless cities and towns also there was a quieter return to the churches, as deism and rationalism lost their attractiveness.

The reawakening of religious interests, however, did not involve a return to the doctrines of the past. Rather, it led to a restatement of the assumptions of the Enlightenment in theological terms, and particularly in terms of the Protestant tradition. The faith to which men now moved stressed ethical behavior above acceptance of a formal creed. It put great premium upon the conduct of an outwardly Christian life. But it joined to those attitudes the insistence upon a formal act of conversion and the affirmation that the Bible was a

literal guide to everyday conduct.

This faith was aggressive and dynamic. It drove Americans to undertake new world-wide missionary activities that reached to Asia and to the Pacific islands as well as deep into the interior of America. At the same time, the religious revivals supplied a startling dynamism to the developing reform movements. Since righteous outward conduct was a critical evidence of conversion, and, in a sense, essential to salvation, it was the duty of the Christian to remove the evils in society, and by furthering the reform of the individual, to further his salvation as well. Evil was not inherent in man but was rather a product of his environment and could be eradicated by social action. To that task devoted men and women gave themselves with truly religious zeal. That sense of dedication filled the ranks of those armies which, in the years to come, labored for the cause of abolition, temperance, education, and the multitude of other humanitarian reform movements that enlivened the decades before the Civil War.

The goal of the reformers was of such transcendent importance that they were not content to rely upon exhortation and education alone. They thought themselves justified in calling also upon the coercive power of government for sanctions. The fact that religious ends were sometimes involved was not an obstacle, for these sanctions were sought from the states; and the Supreme Court had absolved the states

from the limitations of the First Amendment.

Whether the framers of the Bill of Rights intended it to limit the powers of the states is not altogether clear. But John Marshall's court, which was so eager to widen the scope of national powers in other respects, in this matter took the narrowest view. In 1833, the case of Barron v. Baltimore held that the restrictions of the Federal Bill of Rights did not apply to the states; and dealing specifically with the problem of the churches, Permoli v. Municipality in 1845 laid down the rule that the national constitution did not protect the citizens of the states in their religious liberties. In theory, after this decision there was no reason why any state should not have created an established church or have abolished religious freedom.

In practice, of course, every development had been in the opposite

direction. Every state by then had attained complete disestablishment and most states offered some guarantees of religious liberties. But the provisions with this regard in many state constitutions were loose and inconsistent, and left room for a variety of actions that might imple-

ment religious ends.

The reformers took all society as their field of action. Abolition would attract the widest public attention in the years before the Civil War. But this was only the brightest in a galaxy that contained a multitude of other causes as well. Two among the numerous schemes for reconstructing society particularly affected the relations of church and state and, therefore, the Jews.

Preoccupation with reform thus revived the old concern with observance of the Sabbath. The Colonial blue laws had, almost everywhere, become anachronistic in the eighteenth century. Although some states allowed those statutes to remain on their books, provisions

for enforcement were usually lax or nonexistent.

The religious revival and the reform impulse both seemed to create an urgent need for putting life into these dead measures. Religious and humanitarian arguments pointed in the same direction. Conduct of a Christian life required the total dedication of one day to God; and reasons of health and moral well-being called for a twenty-four-

hour period of rest each week.

The same forces also freshened the interest in public education. The schools had languished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, impoverished and unsustained by public support or interest. Now, however, learning seemed increasingly to have value as a means toward both salvation and good citizenship. Vigorous organizations that grew steadily in strength devoted themselves to sustaining and improving the educational system. In some cities, like New York and Boston, private school societies had assumed the direction of some branches of education, aided by public funds. Elsewhere there were efforts to work out other arrangements on similar lines.

Significantly the reformers turned frequently to the government for assistance. The proponents of Sunday observance and of public education depended not merely on exhortation or advice; they hoped also to use the power of the law and of public funds. But the resort to the sanctions of the state involved them occasionally in conflicts with groups that did not share the same social objectives or religious assumptions. From time to time, those conflicts deeply concerned the

Tews.

The Jews had by now substantially increased in number. From perhaps 20,000 in 1830 they had grown to some 300,000 in 1880, largely as a result of immigration from Germany and Central Europe. They were therefore no longer a negligible political or social factor. Newcomers with a background that was predominantly German, and prosperous as a result of their successful resettlement, the Jews had little sympathy with the reform movements. The enthusiastic radicals seemed dangerous, and the Protestantism that nurtured their zeal was altogether alien to the Jews. These general factors added bitterness to the disagreement over specific questions.

Furthermore, the Jews were not in a position to choose the most effective strategy of defense. The vast majority, as well as the lay and secular leadership, was foreign-born; and they came only slowly to understand the nature of the American separation of church and state. Most frequently, they thought in terms of European precedent and sought in the New World as in the Old to work toward some recognition of their religious difference that would exempt them from the unpalatable regulations, rather than to press for total repeal of the discriminatory regulations.

The Jews objected to the Sunday laws because those laws compelled them to acquiesce in public observance of a religious occasion that had no significance for them. Furthermore, the same laws diminished their ability to observe their own Sabbath on Saturday since they were

thereby deprived of income on a second day of the week.

In the nineteenth century, the Jews phrased their opposition in terms of the second rather than of the first objection. They were less likely, that is, to protest against the Sabbath observance laws as such than to claim exemption for themselves as observers of a different Sabbath.

There was a certain tactical advantage to the choice of this ground of protest. Most Christians recognized the special character of the Jewish Sabbath, and exemptions on its behalf had often been made in the United States—even exemptions from military duty. It was possible to argue, as a whole line of judicial decisions did, that the intent of the law could be stretched so that the Sabbath, in the case of the Jews, referred to Saturday not to Sunday. Thence it was held that a man who rested on the one day could not be compelled to rest on the other.

Although partially successful, this pattern of defense nevertheless contained several dangers. Hostile courts could argue that these enactments were in the nature of police measures, promulgated for the good of society and not for the support of religion. As such, they were general in their purview; and since they did not in themselves compel the Jew to desecrate his own Sabbath, they admitted of no exceptions.

Or alternatively, hostile authorities could assert flatly that the laws were intended to advance religious interests. But they could add that

"the day of rest" could only refer to Sunday, since America was "a Christian community" and recognized only the Christian Sabbath. Potentially, this reasoning was a threat to the whole Jewish position in the United States.

In this period there was no clear-cut resolution of the question. Since the matter was entirely within the jurisdiction of the states, the outcome varied from place to place, depending on the whims of the various legislatures and courts. Some states permitted a Jew to plead his observance of Saturday; others did not. Still others drew a shadowy line between manual labor, which was permitted to Jews, and selling, which was not. Meanwhile, another body of decisions had liberated from restriction a whole class of occupations considered necessary, although without clear definition of necessity. The core of the issue—the propriety of Sabbatarian legislation as such—was not raised, and the question would linger irritatingly on into the twentieth century.

The Jews demonstrated a similar inability to choose the most appropriate grounds of defense with regard to religious intrusions into public education. The requests by private organizations for government funds met occasionally favorable responses through the early decades of the nineteenth century. Yet sectarian influences were often strong in the school societies, since Protestant ministers were among their most prominent and active members. Often that influence directly and indirectly affected the curriculum and the character of instruction and thus subjected the children of Jews to religious training of which their parents did not approve. However, the reaction of the Jews frequently was not to oppose all such grants of funds, but to request similar ones for their own parochial schools. In New York, for instance, where the issue was most sharply drawn, such appeals were made between 1811 and 1840. Successful or not, these requests prevented the Jews from resisting effectively the denominational impact on the public schools.

Fortunately the Jews were not the only ones to confront the problems of either Sabbatarianism or sectarianism in education. Powerful allies in other sectors of American society came to their support. The Puritan Sabbath had been offensive to many Christians, like the German-born, who objected to the stern, joyless conception of Sunday. And many other Americans were even more concerned than the

Jews over Protestant domination of the public schools.

In New York, the Catholics under Archbishop Hughes, also objected to the markedly Protestant character of the School Society and, at first, also sought a solution by which Catholic institutions would receive a share of public funds. But after 1842 it was apparent that the only feasible arrangement was entirely to divorce public education

from religious control and to expend all state funds through state institutions.

This position was most cogently argued by the social groups, like those involved in the various workingmen's parties, that had the greatest stake in public education. The nature of the proper relationship between the state and the schools was most clearly perceived by secular reformers like Horace Mann. Mann argued that every sectarian influence on education was deleterious both to the school and the church. During his tenure as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, he fought a long and winning struggle to make the schools entirely secular. The result, in Massachusetts and other states, was to relieve the Jews and other groups from the disabilities they had suffered when one denomination or another of Christians had controlled public education.

Remnants of sectarianism, it was true, persisted all through the nineteenth century, for the issue had not altogether clearly been drawn. Thus the question of Bible reading now became troublesome. The Bible, in its King James version, had long been used as a text in classroom instruction, or had been read regularly in school exercises. Massachusetts, in 1826, had actually fixed such a requirement by state law. With the growth in number of dissenters-Jews who found the New Testament offensive and Catholics who objected to the Authorized Version-a long process of local agitation began. The question, often brought to the courts, was whether the reading of such passages constituted the use of public funds for sectarian purposes. Cases in Maine, Massachusetts, and Ohio between 1854 and 1872 were inconclusive. On the other hand, as a result of local political pressure, a gradual pattern of administrative compromise emerged in the same years. In places where Jews and Catholics were most numerous, there were agreements either to drop Bible reading entirely or to select passages offensive to no one. Elsewhere the question remained troublesome for many years.

If the Jews were slow to raise the question of the separation of church and state with regard to the new issues produced by the religious revivals, they were still slower to protest against old practices sanctioned by time, but of dubious constitutionality. Again their reaction was to seek particular recognition of their distinctiveness rather than to raise the general question. By long usage religious property was free of taxation; Jews acquired the same privileges for themselves. Similarly, there was no complaint against the practice of appointing chaplains to government institutions. These religious functionaries, in military and civil positions, had official status and were often supported by public funds. They were, almost as a matter of course,

Protestants. Catholic priests found it difficult to secure access to the inmates of charitable and penal establishments even on an unofficial basis, although there was some improvement, in this respect, in the 1850's. The problem then did not greatly concern the Jews, however, and was scarcely considered by them.

The Civil War brought the question of the chaplains to public prominence. A substantial number of Jews were in the armed services, and by then there were enough rabbis available to cater to them. There were forceful representations against what amounted to dis-

crimination against the Jews in this regard.

Once the question was raised, there was an immediate and evident desire to accommodate the needs of the Jews, within the necessities of the military situation. The law was quickly amended to make room for rabbis among the chaplains; and the rabbis thereafter served in the armed forces on an equal basis with Protestant ministers and Catholic priests. As the century advanced Jews also came to share the burdens of chaplaincy in those civil public institutions where their communicants were numerous enough.

Such prompt concessions were significant. Despite the heat engendered by the debate of particular issues, these decades were quite free of expressions of animus against the Jew. There were brief outbursts of nativism—of resentment against foreigners—in the 1830's and 1840's. And between 1854 and 1856 such xenophobia produced the short-lived Know-Nothing Party. But these movements were not directed against the Jews as such; their primary target was the Catholic Church. Indeed, now and then a native Jew took an active part in them.

Throughout the period, the Jews profited by the continuing trend toward secularism in public affairs. They themselves did not see the dangers in the renewed efforts to use the government for religious ends; and they consistently preferred to seek the equal aid of government for themselves rather than to resist these efforts directly. That circumstance would create continuing difficulties for the future. For the time being, however, there were many Americans of all creeds concerned enough with the traditional liberties of the Republic to resist excessive encroachments in this field.

The labors of such Americans, shortly after the Civil War, introduced a new factor of transcendent importance. Concerned with the necessity of giving personal and social security to the freed Negroes, an influential group of Congressmen sought some way of extending the protection the Federal Bill of Rights offered to guard the citizen against arbitrary action by the state. To do so it was necessary by a constitutional amendment to overrule the judgment of Barron v.

Baltimore (1833) which had held that that protection applied only

against the acts of the national government.

In an effort to attain that objective, the Fourteenth Amendment, among its other provisions, forbade any state to "abridge the privileges and immunities" of citizens. The clear intent of the framers of that clause was to make the limitations of the First Amendment and of the other articles of the Bill of Rights as binding upon the states as upon the national government. That would have been an important bulwark to religious liberty and would have cut away at one stroke all the perplexities that were yet to arise around the question. The actual development of legal interpretation did not take that simple course, however. In the Slaughterhouse Cases of 1873, the Supreme Court, dealing with altogether different problems, rendered a decision that nevertheless vitiated the intention of the Fourteenth Amendment and, for the time being, left the states as uninhibited as they had been before.

For the moment, however, this was not of paramount importance in the relationship of Jews to their society. The actual development of American life encouraged religious equality. A year earlier, in Watson v. Jones, the Supreme Court had itself proclaimed

In this country the full and free right to entertain any religious belief, to practice any religious principle, and to teach any religious doctrine which does not violate the laws of morality and property, and which does not infringe personal rights, is conceded to all. The law knows no heresy and is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect.

And before the decade was over, the Court in Reynolds v. United States had reconfirmed the complete separation of church and state laid down in the First Amendment.

With justice, James Bryce, a perspicacious observer, summed up his impressions a few years after the close of the period. Noting that half the troubles that vexed Europe arose "from the rival claims of Church and State," he concluded, "This whole vast chapter of debate and strife has remained unopened in the United States. . . . All religious bodies are absolutely equal before the law, and unrecognized by the law, except as voluntary associations of private citizens."

THE POSITIVE APPROACH TO THE STATE, 1870-1930

The conception of equality was not static but dynamic. It proved difficult to anticipate its implications, for concessions that seemed adequate before they were granted often had consequences that opened up whole new ranges of demands.

In some matters, it had already become apparent that equality called for more than a purely negative attitude on the part of the government. The state could not simply abstain and refuse to recognize differences among its citizens. To further their equality before the law and to guarantee the rights of all, government was sometimes compelled to take account of the real differences among the governed.

The problem first emerged in the relations of American citizens with foreign nations. In its intercourse with other countries, the United States had always insisted upon its completely secular and unreligious character. As far back as 1796, a treaty had noted that "the government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion." Consistent with that position it had always held that the interests of its Jewish citizens abroad were to be treated on the same basis as those of all others. That was a source of genuine difficulty in the case of powers which discriminated against

Jews, whether resident or foreign.

A long controversy thus arose at the mid-nineteeth century out of the action of certain Swiss cantons that forbade the entrance or residence of Jews, a controversy that long disturbed the relationships between the Confederation and the United States. In 1885, a sharp exchange of notes followed the failure of Austria-Hungary to accept Anthony M. Keiley as minister because his wife was Jewish. Secretary of State Bayard and President Grover Cleveland forcefully defended the American tradition. The most serious dispute however stretched out for two decades after 1890 and involved Russia. The Czar's government refused to recognize the American citizenship of Jews and discriminated seriously against them. It limited their ability to travel through the Russian Empire, in violation of the terms of the commercial treaty with the United States that assured equal treatment to American citizens. After a long, fruitless exchange of notes, the United States took the decisive step in 1911 of abrogating the treaty.

In such actions, the government recognized the unique problems of the Jews and took exceptional action to assure them equality of rights. Indeed, it was often willing to go even further. The government understood that the interests of its citizens abroad were not limited to property or to the right of personal travel but were broad enough to cover the ties of sentiment that linked them to persecuted co-religionists. It was on this account, as well as on general humanitarian bases, that the American government was led from time to time to protest against anti-Semitic actions in Morocco, Rumania, Russia, Turkey and elsewhere.

The nature of these positive measures on the part of the diplomatic arm of the state was well-established by the end of the nineteenth century. But by then the government was also confronting analogous problems in other spheres at home. Two great changes—in the structure of the Jewish community itself and in the character of American society—brought to the fore the very serious question as to how far the state had to go in recognizing the peculiarities of the Jews in order

to assure them equality.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the great mass migration of Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States took form. The flow continued beyond the turn of the century and, after the interruption of the First World War, until 1925. Set off by a great economic and social transformation and stimulated by poverty and persecution, by war and revolution, the movement added substantially to the total Jewish population of the United States, which rose from less than three hundred thousand in 1880 to almost five million fifty years later.

In that fateful half-century, the United States also changed. It grew, at an astounding rate, in population, in wealth, in power. Massive industrial cities came to dominate its life; and agriculture expanded steadily, although at the cost of repeated dangerous crises in the life of the farmers. These changes were often painful. They broke many lines of continuity with the past, unsettled large numbers of people,

and left them the victims of personal and social tensions.

Both the change through immigration in the Jewish community and the change in the nation through industrialization and expansion significantly affected the political and social rights of the Jews. The hundreds of thousands of newly arrived Jews viewed the problems of religion from the perspective of the *shtetl*, the East European village. They were therefore likely to be drawn into actions that came occasionally in conflict with the state. On the other hand, the tensions of social change elicited altogether new currents of thought and new movements that questioned the place of the Jews in American life.

The Jewish immigrants had left a society that was restrictive and discriminatory, but one that recognized the peculiarities and distinctiveness of Jewish law. Indeed, in many parts of Eastern Europe, autonomous Jewish courts had acted with all the force of law, passing judgment on cases touching on every aspect of life. There had been no recognition whatsoever of any distinction between religious and secular subjects; business and family affairs as well as the order of worship could be regulated by interpretations from the Talmud. All were alike guided by religious precepts.

It was natural for the East European Jewish immigrants to expect to transplant the same practices to the United States. Since these were religious in nature, they were assumed to have universal validity and to be as binding in the New World as they had been in Poland or Spain or Babylonia. In actuality, however, the effort was significant only in the areas of intensive Jewish settlement; elsewhere fewness of numbers compelled an accommodation to existing conditions. But in the large cohesive settlements of New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, there were earnest efforts to reestablish the old ways, and these efforts often led to difficulties with the state.

The success of the effort at transplantation varied greatly. In some cases American soil was completely inhospitable; in others it transmuted the replanted institution; and in still others it proved com-

pletely capable of sustaining the alien growth.

For a time, widespread uncertainty arose from the attempt to secure recognition for the Beth Din, the traditional Jewish court of the rabbi. Often Jews, still dubious as to the quality of secular justice, appealed to the rabbinical court in business, family, and personal disputes among themselves. But this institution, accepted in many parts of Europe, had no legal status in the United States where the laws were consistently hostile to such private jurisdictions. A succession of decisions, generally in inferior courts, made that clear; and there were few appeals to the appellate benches, for there was no basis in American statutes or practice for sustaining these religious tribunals.

Since the state refused to recognize the law that many Jews accepted as binding, it could take no cognizance of actions justified by that law but not by the secular codes. The most serious conflicts of law arose from the divergence of regulations with regard to divorce. In Jewish law the marriage contract could be dissolved almost at the will of the husband, who had only to deliver to his spouse a written statement, a get, to terminate the relationship. No formal proceedings of any sort were essential, although in East European practice the divorce had usually been sanctioned by the rabbi who also prepared the get.

In the United States, divorce was a civil proceeding, judicial in nature, that depended not so much upon the will of the individuals as upon a ruling by a competent court that the conditions of marriage—in a manner and to a degree specified by law—had been violated. Only such a ruling justified disruption of the marriage partnership.

Given the high rate of Jewish mobility and the separations induced by migration, conflicts of law were frequent. Men who thought they had freed themselves of old marital obligations by the get and ventured into new alliances found themselves involved in prosecutions for bigamy. Wives shunted aside in the old manner could turn to the civil authorities and secure relief. Often family status remained uncertain for long periods. In this matter, however, the power of the state was paramount. In time Jewish law and practice steadily yielded to the American. The get alone became invalid and civil divorce was recognized as valid, even in the absence of the get, even when initiated by the wife, and even when granted for reasons not recognized in the religious law. Although a theoretical question of religious freedom may have been involved, the issue was never raised on those grounds. Perhaps the unlucky experience of the Mormons a little earlier was enough to indicate such an appeal would not, in any case, have been successful. Reynolds v. United States (1878), and the later cases that sustained its ruling, had held that the plea of religious freedom could not justify a practice that the law proclaimed contrary to public morality.

The accommodation was somewhat less painful in the case of differences in the marriage law. In the traditional Jewish codes, marriage was in the nature of a contract between two individuals. It was solemnized, according to stated forms, before witnesses, but it required the services neither of a religious nor a civil functionary. Nor did it call for any kind of ban or license. By American law, marriage was a civil agreement, which however had to be solemnized after licensing by a duly appointed religious official or civil magistrate. Conflicts might arise from the assumption of the right to conduct these ceremonies by unauthorized persons or from negligence in adhering to legal formalities. The problem was largely resolved through the willingness of the state to extend the power to perform marriages to every variety of Jewish minister-to cantors and rabbis as well as to others. The only important controversies after 1900 were within the Jewish communities and involved disputes as to who should properly officiate at weddings. But in the relationship to the state there had been ample room for accommodation.

The ability of the state to support religious precepts and its willingness to do so when no conflict of rights was involved was shown more clearly still in the response to appeals for aid to the Orthodox in observing kashruth, or the dietary laws. The difference between the metropolitan life of America and the village life of the Old World, the strangeness and the mechanical quality of food production and consumption, made it impossible to apply the traditional safeguards. Yet the government, which had the power, at first refused to interfere in the matter; the rule here as in other matters was caveat emptor, let the buyer beware. As that doctrine gave way, after 1900, with inspection laws and other provisions to protect the consumer, it seemed more reasonable to take steps also against fraud in kashruth. Explicitly, or through laws against misrepresentation, the law began to take cognizance of offenses against kashruth, although that opened

up other puzzling questions as to who was competent to define and enforce the usage.

This development had shown that the evolving conception of rights was not merely negative, that it did not merely involve the absence of discriminatory treatment and inferiority of status. In time the conception came also to call for positive action by the state to further the religious interests of the Jews as of other citizens. That did not entail a subordination of secular to religious law; indeed, as in the case of divorce, the conflict generally produced the contrary result. But, as in the case of marriage, an accommodation was also possible; and, as in the case of kashruth, the state could support religious injunctions by recognizing their validity, insofar as they did not interfere with the rights of others.

The growing security of Jewish rights in these spheres was particularly important in this half-century; for in the very same years, from altogether different grounds, a massive and dangerous attack was being prepared that threatened the very existence of the Jews in the United States.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND SOCIAL BARRIERS, 1880-1954

During the first two centuries and more of Jewish life in America, the problems of equality confronted by the Jews were entirely religious. They arose from the persistence in the United States of prejudices, habits, and institutions derived from Europe's medieval past. The course of American development, from the time of the first settlements, had been such as to weaken that heritage and eliminate the inequalities derived from it.

During that whole period the Jews were never regarded in any other light but as members of a religious community. Whatever disabilities they suffered were incidental to their faith, and could be relieved if they chose to change their creed. Although they were occasionally referred to as a "nation" and were endowed with a stereotype as a group, the attribution was figurative. Traditional images attached to the Jews at times produced thoughtless slurs and insults, the most notorious being General Grant's Order No. 11, that seemed to brand Jews as a group as disloyal. Whether these reflected any genuine hostility or not, they had no deep significance. So long as the Jews were reckoned simply a religious group, the general trend toward religious equality and freedom was one that liberated them and added strikingly to their rights.

¹ The order expelled traders from behind the Union lines in terms that held the Jews as a group responsible for dealing with the enemy.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, that whole struggle seemed to be coming to a successful conclusion. There were still areas of doubt and uncertainty. But viewed in the total perspective of what had already been achieved, these were of small moment. Yet it was precisely then that the battle shifted to an altogether new front. The development of hostility toward the Jews, and then of overt anti-Semitism, created an altogether new threat, based not on religious but on presumed racial differences. These new trends called for a significant redefinition of the rights under attack, and also for a fresh estimate of the goal of equality.

In the next seventy-five years, there would actually be involved not one but four overlapping processes that first put the situation of the Jews in jeopardy, and then showed them, together with other Americans similarly threatened, the way to safeguard and expand their

rights.

The source of the first danger was the profound series of changes that transformed American life in the wake of the Civil War. The strains induced by the conflict and by the expansion of the 1870's and 1880's bore heavily upon every group in the society, but particularly upon those who sought some measure of order and stability against the pressure of the constant flux of the times. The poor were helplessly inarticulate and the middling folk found their ends in life clearly defined in terms of dreams of success. But often precisely those whose dreams had become real were most likely to confront blankly the question, for what purpose had they striven.

Many a man having earned a fortune, even a modest one, thereafter found himself laboring under the burden of complex anxieties. He knew that success was by its nature evanescent. Fortunes were made only to be lost; what was earned in one generation would disappear in the next. Such a man, therefore, wished not only to retain that which he had gained; he was also eager for the social recognition that would permit him to enjoy his possessions; and he sought to ex-

tend those on in time through his family.

But it was difficult in the new society of the United States to acquire aristocratic attributes. In Boston and Philadelphia a few families could trace their position back to the beginning of the nineteenth century or earlier, and had already acquired the homes and manners that marked their distinctiveness. Elsewhere all these symbols of status had to be created afresh and out of most intractable materials.

The last decades of the nineteenth century therefore witnessed a succession of attempts to set up areas of exclusiveness that would mark off the favored groups and protect them against excessive contacts with outsiders. In imitation of the English model, there was an

effort to create a "high society" with its own protocol and conventions, with suitable residences in suitable districts, with distinctive clubs and media of entertainment, all of which would mark off and preserve the wealth of the fortunate families.

At first, the response of Jews was much like that of other Americans. All men of wealth then were swayed by much the same goals; and Jews were not infrequently among the founders and prominent members of the elite societies and clubs formed in the 1860's and 1870's. But a subtle change in attitude after that period altered their position.

After 1880 the longings for exclusive, quasi-aristocratic status increasingly found satisfaction in associations with an hereditary basis. The stress upon desirable ancestry influenced the character of the prestige clubs, societies, and other organizations that emerged during these years. And generally the definition of proper ancestry stressed Yankee and presumably English antecedents.

Several factors were responsible for the definition of desirable ancestry in these terms. In the economic and social life of most American cities, New Englanders and their children were in fact dominant; and their attitudes and tastes were often decisive. Furthermore, this identification engendered a feeling of possessiveness about the whole country; it seemed, by pushing the roots of the fortunate families back to the Colonial past, to give Americans a greater sense of belonging. Finally, it emphasized the ties to England, whose aristocracy and church were increasingly models for Americans.

Nevertheless, the presumption of common ancestry was not a bond of sufficient cohesive strength. Often these groups found it easier to hold together by excluding an outsider than by discovering a common identity. The most available outsider was the Jew, made so by traits which had almost nothing to do with his religion.

The fact that Americans held a clearly defined, stereotyped image of the Jew made him available as an object of exclusion. In part that image had religious sources, connected with the mystery of Israel's survival. In part it was drawn from the old conception that connected the "Hebrew" with usury and ascribed to him a pervasive concern with money. But these vague general outlines were filled in by actual contact with the millions of new immigrants concentrated in their own ghetto-like quarters in relatively few cities and distinctively marked off, it seemed, by their peddling and pawnbrokering, by appearance, speech, manners and habits, as well as by faith.

But this image was only one of many in terms of which Americans viewed themselves. Alongside it were other stereotypes of the Yankee, the German, the Irishman, and others. No stereotype was intrinsically

hostile, although there were derogatory elements in each one. Yet the

Jew was most decisively singled out for exclusion.

He earned that distinction most of all by the exceptionally favorable character of his adjustment to American life. Every element in the background and experience of the Jews combined to draw them to the rising cities and to lead them into trade. Accustomed to the ways of commerce, they were capable of seizing the opportunities presented by American expansion. More than any other large group of immigrants, the Jews succeeded in a brief period in establishing themselves economically. The majority of all American Jews, certainly down to 1930, were still proletarians. But a very large percentage had become a part of the prosperous middle class and a substantial number had earned respectable fortunes. By their excessively rapid rise in one generation or two, some Jews therefore were placed in an economic position that justified the highest social aspirations while all the marks of their foreignness and of their humble origins were still upon them. High society, in the 1890's, was no more willing to take a Negro or an Irish Catholic to its bosom; but it was spared the necessity or opportunity for exclusion because few members of these groups attained the means of demanding admission. In the case of the Jews, however, their high rate of mobility created the need for a systematic policy of exclusion.

To this must be added the consideration that many Jews, even those of great wealth, refused to pay the price of acceptance by cutting themselves off from their antecedents. Faith, or stubbornness, or a feeling of integrity about themselves and their past, made them unwilling to disown their ties to the East Side peddlers and garment workers. The fear that such people might bring the dank air of the ghetto onto the beaches of Newport or into the boxes of the golden horseshoe was further justification of exclusion.

The means of exclusion were at hand through the development over several decades of the conception that large areas of social activity were private, in the sense that they were devoid of public interest and not subject to governmental interference. Earlier, a corporation or an inn or a railroad had been regulated either by general rules or by particular licensing agreements that specified the interest of the community, often with the proviso that such establishments must serve all comers. After mid-century, however, legislatures and courts increasingly held that the owners and managers of such enterprises were alone capable of determining how they should be governed. In the decade after 1873 the Supreme Court confirmed and broadened that trend; dealing with the attempt of the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment to guard the freed Negro against discrimina-

tion, the nation's highest bench ruled decisively against the power of the Federal government to intervene in these matters and indirectly encouraged the tendency to consider such areas altogether closed to

government interference.

The way was thus open for the development at the upper social levels of a policy of exclusion. The famous exclusion of Joseph Seligman from a fashionable Saratoga hotel was probably precipitated by personal disagreements with the hotel's proprietor, and it evoked a storm of protest. But it nevertheless foreshadowed an evolving pattern that became a particular feature of fashionable resort life. It was after all at the beaches and watering places that the putative aristocracy was most anxious to withdraw to itself so that appropriate group feelings would be cultivated and so that the proper friendships among the young people would grow into the proper marriages.

As the century drew to a close, the pattern of exclusion spread back from the resorts to the cities, penetrated the clubs and societies, and even the philanthropic associations. For all these had among their functions that of social differentiation and the validation of accepted

standards of stratification.

More was involved in this development than the offended feelings of a few vain or ambitious families. High society set the standards for the country; the practices of Bailey's Beach before long governed also the tastes of Atlantic City. The middle elements in American society, anxious to be identified with the self-constituted aristocracy and fearful of being confounded with the hordes of immigrants about them, were often dismayed at the number of Jews in their midst and, in self-protection, fell in with the trend toward discrimination.

Shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century, the pattern began to cover residential housing. In the rush away from the overcrowded central districts of the great cities, the desire for respectability was an important consideration. Families moved not only because they sought more commodious quarters and pleasanter surroundings; they were motivated also by the wish to be able to give as their address a neighborhood that bore favorable connotations. That might well affect the jobs they held, the friends they made, the marriages that were available to their children. In this regard the Jews were a threat, in some respects more so than the Negroes, who had not the means to move out to the better districts. Informal understandings and then "gentlemen's agreements" and covenants in the deeds of sale closed off the choice neighborhoods to the outsiders. These, too, were reckoned purely private matters that concerned only the parties to the agreement.

Indeed the scope of private seemed to widen steadily. By the second

decade of the twentieth century it had already come to cover many forms of employment as well. There had always been some measure of ethnic stratification in the American economy, for differences in background, habits, education, inherited capital, and family connections were inevitably reflected in differences in occupation. Like almost every other group, the preponderance of Jews had been concentrated in a relatively small number of callings. But the exceptional individual, attracted by novel opportunities, had encountered no artificial impediments in the way of the pursuit of more advantageous occupations.

After 1910, however, increasingly the Jews came to be discriminated against. Many enterprises refused automatically to consider them for employment, agencies made it a practice not to refer them to openings, and advertisements specified "No Jews Apply" or "White Protestants

Only."

A number of factors were responsible. The general odium now being cast upon the group contributed; and the increased competition for desirable professional, managerial, and clerical employment led the established families to resent the intrusion of newcomers. But equally as important was the circumstance that the pattern of exclusion was cumulative in effect. The very fact that Jews did not live in good neighborhoods, or belong to good clubs, or manifest the external attributes of "proper" behavior made them less useful employees.

Discrimination in employment grew steadily. It probably relaxed somewhat under the impact of the manpower shortage during the First World War. But the 1920's saw its revival and intensification. It had by then become characteristic of many of the nation's largest enterprises. Yet, even when these enterprises were chartered by the state or were public utilities, their policies in this regard were ac-

counted purely private.

After 1910, the situation became most critical in the free professions. In the various branches of medicine, in law, in education, and in engineering, the status of the practitioners was to a considerable degree dependent upon public acceptance of their exceptional position. In the nineteenth century access to these callings had been controlled by various requirements: apprenticeship, education, licensing by the state, and membership in professional societies. These had been accompanied by possession of such symbols as the proper dress, residence, and modes of behavior associated by the public with the professions.

These vocations were enormously attractive to American Jews, particularly of the second generation. Such callings seemed free, that is, open to talent. They offered a mode of movement upward in the social

scale that seemed less dependent on ancestral connections than on education; and the Jews had long had a tradition of dedication to learning. Finally, as other forms of employment available to them narrowed, the ambitious and enterprising Jews were increasingly likely to seek this way up the social ladder.

To those established in the professions, the Jews newly crowding in were a threat. To some degree there was fear of competition and uncertainty as to whether there really would be enough room for everyone. But more important was the unwillingness to risk the loss of status that association with the Jews might entail. The pattern of exclusion had already established the undesirability of these people. Would not an undue number of them transfer their odium to a whole

profession?

Professional discrimination was most difficult to establish in the case of law; it was not easy to argue the private character of that calling. In law, as in engineering, the most imposing obstacles were placed in the way of the admittance of Jews to employment in the most respectable firms. In education, it was easier to be selective. The standards of appointment to teaching positions were subjective and personal and easily malleable to the prejudices of school boards and trustees. Through the whole period, 1870–1930, only a handful of Jews found places in colleges and in universities; and even the less desirable positions at more elementary levels did not open to them in some cities until after the shortages of World War I.

The most serious forms of exclusion developed in the medical profession. At the turn of the century there were already well-founded complaints that the medical societies and the hospitals were refusing to admit qualified Jewish doctors. Although these societies were generally private associations, membership in them was often essential to successful practice. Before the first decade of the century was over the restrictive policies had spread to medical education as well. The number of medical schools and the numbers of graduates fell steadily, and everywhere the first to be excluded were the Jews. In part, this development grew out of the desire to improve the quality of medical education, particularly after the Flexner Report had revealed its glaring inadequacies. But there was also involved the less laudable intention of restricting the number of doctors for competitive reasons, and of excluding the Jews and other groups labeled inferior to protect the social prestige of the profession. In practice all medical schools devised quota systems to keep the number of their Jewish students

By the 1920's the numerus clausus had also found its way into other branches of education. Many liberal arts colleges formally or in-

formally adopted the same practice of restricting the admission of Jewish students to a fixed quota. Like a running sore, discrimination and exclusion had come to infect broad areas of American life. And the means of cure seemed limited indeed, for these areas had all come to be considered private, affected by and affecting no interests but those of the fortunate members of the associations involved.

It took time for the Jews themselves to become aware of the nature of this threat to their security, for substantial numbers of them were slow to feel its impact. The majority of the immigrants were still concentrated in working class trades and in the poorest residential quarters. Discrimination and prejudice at first hardly affected them. Those close to the European background accepted occasional manifestations of hostility as a matter of course; they expected nothing better from the Gentile. Those involved in the labor movement or influenced by Socialist leaders saw the whole problem in terms of class conflict; they expected nothing better from the capitalists. It was not until later, when their own children began to suffer, that the immigrants began to feel the hurt.

The first to react were precisely the most prosperous Jews. Living on the margin of their own communities they were most sensitive to the opinions of others; they suffered directly and personally the slurs of discrimination; and they had most fully accepted the American ideals of equality of opportunity that these practices denied. They were therefore quickest to respond and quickest to devise defensive measures.

They countered first with the argument that Jews ought not to be excluded because they had earned a part in American history. Accepting the premises of their antagonists—that a group's place in the United States was to be judged by the achievements of its ancestors—many earnest Jews set themselves to the endless task of apologia. In 1892, the American Jewish Historical Society was founded toward that end; and a host of enthusiastic pens labored thereafter to reveal the antiquity of the Jews on the continent, their services in the colonies and in the Revolution, and their loyalty in successive national crises.

It did not take long to discover that the prejudicial practices steadily mounting in vigor and broadening in scope did not yield even to the most plausible arguments. The conclusions of the apologists were not refuted, they were simply ignored. After the turn of the century it was abundantly clear more positive acts of defense were necessary.

In 1906, a group of Jews, prominent among whom were Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler, and Jacob Schiff, formed the American Jewish Committee to protect Jewish rights throughout the world. At the moment, that protection seemed most needed in Eastern Europe where an outbreak of pogroms and massacres had opened a long crisis in the lives of Russian and Rumanian Jewry. In time, however, the Committee perceived that Jewish rights needed protection in the United States also, and before long it had begun to deal with a succession of domestic problems. In 1914, B'nai B'rith, a national fraternal order, created its Anti-Defamation League, explicitly dedicated to the struggle against prejudice and discrimination. And in the 1920's, the American Jewish Congress also began to work in this field.

The means available to these groups were limited. They could, on occasion, organize protests; and they could through spokesmen make their positions known on issues which had a public interest. But the most critical areas of prejudice and discrimination were precisely those in which a public interest was denied. Since Jews, like their contemporaries, accepted the conception of *private* as an area of action devoid of public interest, they could scarcely resort to public agitation

for relief.

They fell back therefore upon the age-old tactics of intercession. As in Europe, where from time out of mind the Jews had appealed for or bought protection from popes, monarchs, and nobles, so too in the United States, the influential members of the communities attempted to exert personal pressure at strategic points in the interests of their co-religionists. These efforts went hand-in-hand with apologia, as if the argument that the Jews were good and deserved equal treatment might earn that treatment for them.

At most these activities had a preventative effect. They kept the situation from deteriorating even more swiftly than it did. But deteriorate it did; and as World War I approached, the pattern of social and economic exclusion began to mesh in with a still more virulent form of anti-Semitism that attempted to justify all the discriminatory

practices of the past decades.

American anti-Semitism began to take form in the 1890's among social groups that were experiencing tensions quite different from those which troubled the would-be aristocracy. The farmers in that decade faced a long process of readjustment, whose harsh effects were compounded by the depression of 1893, by droughts, and by other misfortunes. In their crisis, many were attracted by the radicalism of the Populists and particularly by the financial panaceas associated with the free silver campaign. Generally such people had had few or no contacts with Jews; their impressions were derived from the traditional images that associated the Israelites with mysterious powers, with trade and finance. The current prominence of a few great Jewish banking houses in Europe confirmed that impression. As the decade passed without relief and Populist hopes were consistently frustrated,

it was tempting to find the explanation in the villainy of Wall Street acting on behalf of an international Jewish conspiracy to maintain the gold standard. That theory also found support in those strains of Socialist thinking in the labor movement and elsewhere that associated capitalism with the Jews.

Before 1900 these inchoate sentiments of hostility only rarely burst into overt expression. Anti-Semitism did not find its way into the practical program of the Populists or the reformers associated with them. But after the turn of the century, some of the defeated Populists, striving to save their careers by demagoguery, found anti-Semitism a useful tool. In Georgia, for instance, Tom Watson, for whom the world seemed to be plunging hellward, clutched at one object of hatred after another, turning first against the Negro, then the Catholic, and finally the Jew. Watson did not hesitate to preach open violence; and his inflammatory words led to the lynching in 1915 of Leo Frank, a young Jew held on a trumped-up charge of murder.

Whatever wild emotions Watson and his like stirred up from time to time had only a momentary effect. The cumulative consequences were frightening, but they were not yet bound in with any defined practical program of political action. It was the function of the im-

migration restriction movement to supply such a program.

The impulse to reverse the traditional policy of free immigration had several sources, and into it were drawn a number of disparate groups, including elements of the Populist and labor movements as well as more conservative citizens worried about order and stability. What drew these incongruous allies together was the desire to halt the processes of change about them. Dismayed by the growing diversity of the American population, they were convinced the national character was fixed and ought no longer to change. They were also inclined to blame the newcomers for the pressing social problems that seemed to overwhelm the nation.

It was, however, difficult to justify a reversal of the attitudes that for two and a half centuries had helped the country grow. No one believed that American expansion had come to a close. Why then should the United States now reduce the volume of immigration or even attempt to be selective about which people should be admitted

through its gates?

To answer this crucial question the restrictionists set themselves the long and difficult task of proving that the immigrants then entering the country were different from, and inferior to, those who had come before 1880. The earlier, the "old" arrivals, had sprung from stocks that were close kin to those of the original settlers who had made America what it was. The later, the "new" immigrants, were of an

altogether different breed—alien, and therefore incapable of mixing happily with the existing residents or of living satisfactorily under existing institutions. The demonstration took the form of a persistent stream of arguments that proved not only that the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were responsible for every national ill, but also that their deficiencies sprang from ineradicable traits that

originated in the heritage.

Along with the Italians and the Poles, the Jews were prominent in the immigration of the quarter century after 1890; and a good part of the restrictionist argument was directed against them. Outright propaganda and presumably scientific studies alike broadcast the picture of the ghetto Jews, swarming in the slum tenements, unassimilable in their ancient ways, and incapable of conforming to the American manner of life. To the extent, of course, that the spreading pattern of exclusion confined the Jews to separate residential districts and institutions, it seemed to confirm the impression of clannishness and unassimilability.

This explanation of the irreducible differences came from the developing conception of race as a valid biological division of mankind. In their long wrestling with the problem of the Negro some Americans had grown accustomed to thinking in those terms. Others learned to do so from the campaign to exclude the Chinese, and still others from the imperialist writings that justified the permanent subjection of the lands taken from Spain. Many social scientists thought some such classification of humans an essential prerequisite to valid generalizations; and the success of plant and animal breeding based upon the rules of genetics led substantial numbers to wonder why the same rules should not hold for men also. By the period of World War I the belief was widespread that humanity was divided into fixed races endowed with heritable and immutable traits. The Jews were one such race, different from the Anglo-Saxon race which had created America: that accounted for the failure of assimilation in their case. Madison Grant's much-read Passing of the Great Race (1916) painted in horrific terms the tragic fate that awaited the nation if the Jews and other brutish invaders were not strictly controlled.

The war and the common sacrifices it entailed created for the moment a sense of unity that transcended the group divisions. But the disappointments of the peace stirred up and intensified the old bitterness. The sense of betrayal, the feeling that all the difficulties of the struggle had been in vain, led to a turning inward. Disposed to cut themselves apart from the treacherous world, to seek peace in isolation, Americans turned against all that seemed foreign. That xenophobia was woven into the restrictive immigration legislation enacted

in the five years after the war, and was also responsible for a rising tide of hostility to Catholics and Jews, both groups with international connections.

If the history of Europe was at all a warning, there was indeed cause for alarm. Everywhere in Eastern and Central Europe the old regimes had been pulled down by Bolsheviks eager to destroy established institutions. Was it not possible that identical covert forces moved the wild groups of Anarchists, Wobblies, Socialists and other disturbers of order in the United States? A congressional committee heard evidence that it was the East Side Jews who had created the Russian Revolution; and many a man began to reflect that perhaps it was true, as prophetic novelists had already suggested, that the Jewish conspiracy operated on both fronts, through the international bankers and through the international revolutionaries.

This was the explanation advanced by a vicious little volume that began to circulate widely through the nation in the 1920's. The Protocols of the Elders of Zion gave the details of a meeting in Prague at which the whole design had presumably been planned. All the frightening images were present: the mysterious powers of the rabbis, the gold standard, the great bankers, the insidious radicals. The obvious forgery of the Protocols had actually been perpetrated earlier in the century by the Czar's secret police. But it was now accepted literally by thousands of gullible Americans along with a vast array of other racist and anti-Semitic writings imported from Europe.

When coping with familiar problems, Henry Ford was as shrewd a judge of facts and men as anyone; his fortune testified to that, as did the extent to which he had become almost a folk hero. He had made good despite his opposition to Wall Street and the bankers. He was

not one to be taken in by slickers of any sort.

But the upheavals of the period created new and unfamiliar problems and Ford was taken in. The flimsy charges of conspiracy convinced him and he spread the warnings of its dangers through the columns of his *Dearborn Independent* and through his little book, *The International Jew*. These were read and believed not only because they were phrased in terms of images Americans had already learned to accept, but also because of the enormous popular prestige of their sponsor.

It was not easy to understand what was the proper course of action in the face of these vague, insidious enemies. However rigid the exclusions, they seemed not to solve the difficulties of the time. In the face of disorder and social instability, men longed to draw together, if only to find security in each others' company. A little group formed during the war under the name of the old Ku Klux Klan now bur-

geoned into a great national organization boasting at its peak close to five million members.² The Klan proclaimed itself the foe of the Negroes, the Catholics, and the Jews, the defender of 100 per cent Americanism against foreign threats. The local merchants and lawyers donned masks and hoods to meet in secret conclaves. As they exchanged the ritual greetings that gave them unity, they found a momentary satisfaction in the belief that they were assembling the weapons to drive their foes out of American life—by whatever means were necessary.

Against this developing hostility, Jewish defense was almost totally ineffective. How was it possible to prove the nonexistence of a conspiracy? Although Henry Ford was compelled to retract his own accusations,³ there was no way to halt or counter the flood of false charges; the courts held an individual could not be damaged by libel against a group. Apologia did not quiet the irrational fears of the anti-Semites; it may even have stimulated them. And the tactics of intercession were fruitless against mass movements in which deep currents of emotion were involved.

The most that could be done was to prevent these hostilities from penetrating the law or affecting the action of government. This aspect of the struggle was more successful, partly because long-standing constitutional guarantees protected the freedom of religious groups, and partly because the Klan and similar organizations were themselves confused and uncertain about their practical political objectives. They did help enact the immigration legislation of 1921–24. But, short of complete exclusion of Jews and Catholics, which they hoped to achieve, they had no defined aims; and all this agitation and activity through the 1920's left no significant anti-Semitic imprint upon American legislation or political practice apart from that implicit in the quota system.

In the course of these decades, however, American Jews learned two lessons of momentous importance. They came to recognize, first, that their own security would be best preserved not by seeking to adjust to laws which were generally iniquitous, but rather by struggling for the general liberties of all Americans. The most effective strategy for the defense of Jewish rights, it was clear, was the assertion and defense of the rights of all those threatened with discrimination on re-

² The Klan now formed had no connection with the organization of the post-Civil War reconstruction period which had been confined to the South and had directed its hostility against the Negro.

⁸ In 1927, in a letter to Louis Marshall, Ford deemed it his "duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellow-men and brothers... by retracting the offensive charges laid at their door."

ligious or racial grounds. Hence, Louis Marshall considered it necessary to come to the support of the Catholics when their parochial schools in some states were declared illegal; and many Jews, through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and otherwise, became involved in the long battle to free the Negroes from their inferior status.

Many Jews also came to believe in this period that their own security was linked to the success of American liberalism. That had not been the case before World War I; then, indeed, there had been a pronounced strain of anti-Semitism in the radical fringes of liberalism which alienated Jewish support. But after 1918, the conservative wings of the Republican and Democratic parties had directly or indirectly accepted the support of racial and religious bigots. Those who accepted the support of the Klan could not hope for that of the Jews, who after 1928 were increasingly inclined to think that their only reliable defense was a general ideology of which equality and personal liberty were integral parts.

Armed with these convictions, American Jews were prepared to meet the greatest threat of modern times, the threat of totalitarianism that hung over the United States as it did over the rest of the world in the 1930's. The prolonged depression that left some ten million Americans unemployed for most of that decade had a disastrous effect. The shattering insecurity of the times deprived men of faith in themselves and in the traditional assumptions of their society and left them exposed to the lures of demagogues and the peddlers of panaceas. Scores of movements sprouted, purporting to explain all the ills of the universe and offering quick and easy cures. Many of them built upon the hatreds and racial fears of the previous decades and openly preached a war against the Jews.

The anti-Semites were aided by the German government that took power in 1933. The dynamism of Fascism had, from the first, led the Nazi leaders to envision a long course of conflict and conquest, in which anti-Semitism played a strategic role. Within Germany, agitation against the Jews was to unify the nation in support of National Socialism. Abroad it was to draw the *Auslandsdeutsch* to support the

Fatherland and to give other folk a stake in a Nazi victory.

Hitler's government therefore actively undertook an anti-Semitic campaign in the United States, operating both through the German-American Bund and through organizations of native Americans. Material drawn from the Nazi writings and occasional financial aid stimulated the flourishing anti-Semitic movements that grew steadily in number and membership down to 1939. At the core of the propaganda of these years was still the accusation of conspiracy. First evi-

dence of the existence of the conspiracy had been Jewish responsibility for the depression. After 1939, it became more usual for the anti-Semites to ascribe to the conspiracy the blame for the bloody struggle in which the nation was about to plunge. As the war in Europe started and then grew more bitter, the agitation mounted in fervor and intensity. The fact that Jews opposed Hitler and fought the spread of Nazism was taken as a sign that they wished to involve the United States in war; and some isolationist elements found themselves drawn to a position from which they attacked the Jews as a group. By 1941 clear echoes of the doctrines preached and practiced in Germany were being heard on the floor of Congress.

Significantly, although some of the movements used the term "Christian" in their titles, their anti-Semitism was racial rather than religious. They did not seek the conversion of the Jews but rather their

exclusion from national life.

The virulence of this campaign summoned forth the best defensive efforts of American Jews. The experience of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia as the Nazis assumed power was ample evidence of the urgency of the times. The old organizations renewed their efforts and now found support from ever wider sectors of the Jewish community. With the passage of time, the immigrants had come both to see the relevance of discrimination in their lives and in the lives of their children, and also to have a clearer understanding of the ideals of equality that anti-Semitic practices contradicted. The American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the Anti-Defamation League all began, for the first time, to acquire some degree of mass following.

Organized Jewish labor also shed its aloofness. There were still traces of the propensity to consider all questions of prejudice no more than reflections of the class conflict or of economic disorder. But the crisis was so acute and the threat to labor so direct that there was no time to wait for some fundamental social transformation. The leading unions and allied organizations joined, in 1933, in the Jewish Labor Committee, which thereafter worked with the other defense groups

against the common enemy.

The tactics of opposition also broadened in this decade. There was still great emphasis upon the prevention of adverse public measures. But this phase of the problem seemed less critical than it had before, since the trend of government policy under the New Deal had diminished the danger of hostile legislation. Furthermore, there was less enthusiasm now than before in the efforts at apologia and at intercession; to many it seemed the experience of Germany had demonstrated the futility of such efforts.

The dominant defensive energies were expended in two different directions. Some Jewish groups considered the foremost need to be public agitation. They regarded the battle against Fascism as primarily political, and to that end sought to win over as many allies as possible by exposing through counter-propaganda and by appeals for wide public support the motives and the operations of the hatemongers. Other Jews thought that such methods only called attention to the Fascists and their allies and gave them notice they would not otherwise have received. From this point of view, the main task was educational, to be executed through religious, economic, and social groups with the intention of spreading an understanding of the place of the Jews in American life and of the threat of totalitarianism to all free peoples. In actuality, the line between the two positions was not altogether clear-cut; and, since there was no central authority to lay down a single policy for all Jewish organizations, both procedures were followed.

As important as the work of the Jews through their defense organizations were the activities carried forth in active collaboration with other Americans. Efforts to arrive at greater interreligious understanding were already under way in the 1920's; they were pushed more vigorously in the 1930's through the National Council of Christians and Jews and other bodies. On a local basis there were also concerted efforts to reduce the misunderstandings among religious groups.

But the most troublesome tensions of the decade did not have their source in religious differences; they originated rather in hostilities based on racist emotions. It was fortunate, given the circumstances, that the Jews had come to understand the broad basis for their cooperation with other Americans. By the 1930's, they considered themselves one of the "minorities," that is, one of several groups to some degree discriminated against. Along with the Negroes, the Catholics, and many of the foreign-born, they were deprived by prejudice of the equal opportunities of American society. In the elections of 1928 and 1932 most of these minorities had already drawn together under the aegis of the Democratic Party. Thereafter the New Deal offered them the hope of positive action to ameliorate their status, for the enormous expansion of government activity in the public welfare suggested that governmental action might be effective in this area as well.

The legislative achievements of the decade were slim, partly because political alignments limited the effectiveness of the minorities in Congress, and partly because the minorities were themselves still on the defensive, more concerned with delimiting and restraining the spread of racism than with the possibility of taking aggressive action to extirpate the disease. Nevertheless the New Deal alliance was sig-

nificant because it set some of the egalitarian goals of the decade that followed, and because it was one of several factors that limited the growth of anti-Semitism. Despite their mass membership, the Fascist movements were incapable of influencing the actions of government.

Indeed, in perspective, the anti-Semitic organizations, for all their furious efforts, seem to have been condemned to total futility. They represented diverse, and often mutually antagonistic, elements, and were therefore never able to unite toward common ends. Each held forth some total panacea, but none was capable of presenting a practical program that might lead to immediate action. Given the American constitutional guarantees, they could ask for total revolution or nothing; and, although their followers found cathartic release in talk of violent revolution, there was no desire to translate the slogans into deeds. Paradoxically, the example of Nazi Germany was of considerable importance for, while it spread anti-Semitism, it also showed the lengths to which such agitation could lead, and it gave pause even to those who practiced the politer forms of discrimination.

THE EFFECTS OF ANOTHER WORLD WAR

World War II made a decisive difference. The global struggle that began in 1941 called for the union of all Americans; at the same time it totally discredited all those who had accepted the assistance of the Nazis and who preached doctrines similar to those that led Germany to destruction. The barbarities that culminated in the extermination camps horrified every sector of public opinion in the United States. Few wished any longer to be associated even indirectly with their country's foes; and anti-Semitism was now inescapably linked to the tragic events in Europe. The movements of the 1930's withered away and died.

Nor did peace lead to their revival. This postwar period had enough sources of disturbance of its own; but anti-Semitism was not now one of them as it had been in the 1920's. The Columbians and similar groups who wished to set up business again under the old slogans were quickly disillusioned. A few agitators wandered unheeded through the country; a handful of scurrilous journals and books circulated among the still zealous; and an occasional man of new wealth was willing to pay for expressions of his own atavistic hatreds. But thirteen years after the start of the war, it was safe to say that the anti-Semitism of the past had disappeared.

The war had the decisive effect it did because the racism on which the hostility to the Jews had rested no longer misled substantial numbers of Americans. A new generation of social scientists and biologists had demonstrated the falsity of the old assumptions, and a public constantly being educated had become freshly aware of its own heritage of diversity. By mid-twentieth century, it was hard to find any serious defenders of the old ideas.

There remained, however, the hardened patterns of discrimination and exclusion which would not fall away by themselves. Habits and interests created over the years kept them in place even after the reasons that had first called them into being had ceased to exist. Only forceful action could destroy the moldy web of practices that kept some Americans inferior to others.

The growing security of the Jews in the decade of the 1940's enabled them to shift from the purely defensive stance of earlier years and to move actively to the fight for equality of opportunity and equality of rights. They had learned there was a unity of interests and ideals among all minorities, and no longer sought security on their own behalf alone, but rather the affirmation of general rights.

the elimination of all ethnic prejudices.

While there was substantial agreement as to objectives, there were still meaningful divisions of opinion as to means. For a good part of the decade of the 1940's the most important Jewish defensive organizations were drawn together in the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a coordinating and clearing organization. But that by no means led to united action. As earlier, counsels were divided. One influential group sought the remedy in political action and hoped through legislation and appeals to the courts to put an end to discrimination by law. Others believed that compulsion could not be effective in these matters and that equality could only be attained through the elimination of prejudice by understanding and education. Action came on both fronts.

The times were propitious. The expansion of the economy all but eliminated unemployment and made room for newcomers in numerous desirable posts. Renewed mobility during the war and afterward freed many individuals from the binding force of old prejudices. And the necessities of the struggle against Fascist and Communist totalitarianism gave the ideals of personal equality critical importance.

The educational activities directed against discrimination, therefore, fell upon fertile soil. The social and psychological factors in prejudice were subject to scientific analysis; and all the tools of social science were brought to bear upon bigoted behavior. Studies in Prejudice and a mass of other literature attempted to arrive at a working theory that would account for both the personal and environmental elements in anti-Semitism. The results of these investigations were employed in practical campaigns to counteract prejudice by spreading an understanding of its nature. In a more positive sense, serious attention was given the problem of getting Americans to know their own democracy and to remember the place of diverse ethnic groups in it.

It is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of this work. Its results would emerge only over a long term. Undoubtedly, however, it entered into the changed attitudes of the period, attitudes which made it possible to enact laws against discrimination, to begin to enforce them, and, in significant areas, to level the barriers of exclusion even without laws.

The swift advance of government power under the New Deal had begun to undermine the conception of private enterprise in which the public had no concern. Vestiges of the old view lingered, but clearcut Supreme Court decisions, in Nebbia v. New York (1934) and N.L.R.B. v. Jones & Laughlin (1937), had extended the power of the states and of the federal government over industry and had shown a tendency toward a broad construction of those powers. It seemed reasonable to suppose that other entities heretofore considered private might be subject to analogous controls.

There was long precedent for regulation of some kinds of accommodations. In the old statutes for licensing common victualers, innkeepers, and other service establishments, there had often been the requirement that all comers be served equally. During the Reconstruction period and afterward, some states had enacted civil rights laws with the same intent in order to protect the Negro. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century eighteen Northern states had laws that forbade discrimination on account of color or creed in resorts, places of amusement and refreshment, and transporation. The Jews were affected mainly by exclusion at resorts; and with respect to accommodations at those places, prohibitory laws were almost totally ineffectual. After 1945 there was some tightening of the law, often with powers of enforcement given to the attorneys general or special state commissions, and a steady amelioration of the offensive conditions. Significantly, however, the improvement was marked also in the case of clubs and other associations not subject to regulation by law.

Graver difficulties were wrapped up in the problems of discrimination in housing. In this field, shortages were critical during and after World War II, and here ethnic sensitiveness were particularly involved, for upon access to housing depended the character of the neighborhood and of all the social institutions associated with it. Furthermore, heavy subsidies gave the Federal and state governments direct interests in the conduct of many new projects.

The first successes in the battle against discrimination came in connection with ventures in which use of public funds gave the government a clear right to make its wishes felt. Beginning with New York in 1939, nine states forbade their housing projects to differentiate among applicants on the basis of race or creed. In 1950 the same ban began to be extended to urban redevelopment schemes in which the state interest was less direct. Efforts to incorporate analogous provisions into Federal law failed however.

The Jews welcomed these steps. But such laws did not go far toward a solution of their own problems, which centered in the restrictive practices in the sale or rental of private quarters. The restrictive covenant had been allowed to pass almost unchallenged, although a case might have been made against it as a conspiracy. Only one state, Minnesota, had acted to limit its use (in 1919); and the Supreme Court in *Corrigan* v. *Buckly* (1926) had appeared to accept its validity.

Signs of change in law and attitudes came after the end of World War II. In 1948 the Supreme Court held in Shelley v. Kraemer that judicial enforcement of such agreements was state action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. More important was the general relaxation of hostility. It was quite clear that restrictive covenants continued to be written into deeds of sale on an informal basis. But, increasingly, Americans were finding these barriers against the Jews pointless, and neighborhood after neighborhood saw the dissolution

of the old prejudices.

Shifts in law and sentiment also undermined the patterns of exclusion in employment. Again the first steps came in connection with public service. Early measures had occasionally ruled out religious discrimination in appointments to the civil service. In the 1930's a long list of Federal and state laws forbade discriminatory practices on the part of employers whose work was connected with the government: New Jersey in public works, New York in public utilities, Wisconsin in public schools, Pennsylvania in labor unions; and the national government in connection with the defense housing, slum clearance, Public Works Administration, and unemployment relief acts. After 1940, as the volume of defense orders mounted, an ever larger percentage of American industry was tied to Washington and thus subject to similar regulation.

The initiative in securing action was taken by the Negroes, but supported by the Jews and other minorities. A threatened march on Washington led to the issuance by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 25, 1941, of Executive Order 8802, which forbade discrimination because of race or creed in government service, defense industries,

and unions. A Fair Employment Practices Committee was appointed to supervise the Order, and it served throughout the war, although

with limited powers.

Between 1944 and 1952 efforts to make the fair employment practices permanent through Federal legislation failed; successive bills could not surmount the hurdle of Southern filibusters in the Senate. The battle then shifted to the states. New York and New Jersey took the first steps in 1945, and they were followed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Washington, Oregon, and New Mexico in the next few years. Laws were also enacted in Indiana, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Colorado; and in other states similar measures were introduced but not passed. In a number of those recalcitrant states, however, ordinances by municipalities served the same purpose.

The fair employment laws were not a cure-all. Enforcement was difficult and evasion by subterfuge easy. Nevertheless the laws had enormous importance. Overt discrimination became difficult and scarcely worthwhile. Employment agencies and the personnel offices of large corporations were particularly affected, since their records were readily subject to scrutiny. In any case, the fair employment measures helped create a standard of what was legal and just; and since most Americans preferred to act legally and justly, the laws called into question the old unthinking practices based on prejudice. Steadily the prejudices yielded, and Jews found employment, in increasing numbers, in professional and clerical occupations that not

long before had been barred to them.

The relaxation of the pattern of discrimination also influenced education, since exclusion in this area had been closely related to professional and social selection. The war and the G.I. Bill of Rights for veterans brought Jews to colleges and schools throughout the country where they had scarcely been known before; and that alone earned them wider acceptance. Three states (New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey) adopted fair educational practices laws, and although the enforcement power was weak, the importance of the standards thus set was great. The over-all limitation on the number of medical students was still used as a justification for some restrictive practices. But even in this very tense area, there was progress, particularly in the northeastern states.

At mid-twentieth century, American Jews could look back with satisfaction at their recent past. For seventy-five years they had withstood the painful trial of anti-Semitism. The development of the patterns of discrimination and exclusion had subjected them to severe personal and social trials; and for a time organized movements had actually threatened them with violence. The triumph of the healthier

forces in American life offered a release from the tensions of the period that had passed. Jews now acquired a new sense of integration in American life and displayed a fresh confidence in dealing with its

problems.

They were able thus to present their views on government policy without the self-consciousness and uncertainty characteristic of the decades after World War I. The challenge of the displaced persons of the postwar era evoked a quite different response from that presented by the refugees of the 1930's. The Jews now did not hesitate to press upon the government the urgency of relief of the displaced persons, and their support was instrumental in securing the enactment of the successive displaced persons acts.

For the first time in many years also the racist features of the permanent immigration law were brought under attack. All during the war, Jewish organizations had been hesitant to reopen the issue. They now led an unsuccessful fight to bring the law into accord with American principles. Speaking for the most representative groups in 1948, the American Jewish Committee pointed out that Jews had a direct valid interest in the fate of their relatives and co-religionists abroad

and had a right to act and be heard on their behalf.

An analogous right was asserted with reference to the British Mandate in Palestine, and the subsequent State of Israel. Not all Jews were Zionists; not all were even interested in furthering the settlements in the Holy Land. But Jews could now assert—and their assertion was widely accepted—that expressions of such interest did not diminish their loyalty to the United States or divide their allegiance. They had a right as Americans to use all legitimate means to further the objects of their concern throughout the world.

With the same confidence they would turn thereafter to confront once more the problems of their religious differences. As the critical issue of race receded and lost importance, the Jews could take stock afresh of their situation in the face of new developments in the rela-

tionships of church and state in the United States.

THE REMAINING PROBLEMS OF CHURCH AND STATE, 1920–1954

The rise of anti-Semitism had only temporarily obscured the remaining ambiguities in the relationship of church and state in America. The surviving disabilities under which Jews still suffered were, after all, relatively unimportant and did not match in urgency the threats of racism. But the ambiguities nevertheless persisted. Survivals of religious establishment in minor ways still put Jews at a disadvan-

tage. Once free of the major threat, they were free to give these lesser ones their attention.

Both the rising secularism of the 1920's and the 1930's and the revival of religious interests during the war and after complicated the problem. The apparent apathy of the interwar years induced some ecclesiastical bodies to turn to the state for aid in bringing people back to the churches. The widespread growth of church membership after 1940 made other groups belligerently intransigent about any measure that threatened the status quo. By then the more important religious bodies had effectively mobilized their political strength, often maintaining powerful lobbies in the national and the state capitals. It was a rare legislature, or even court, that was willing to take the risk of earning the displeasure of any sect of substantial size. The ecclesiastical authorities could not always have their way when they sought action. But they were almost always able to block action they did not approve; and that tended further to preserve the existing situation as it was.

By now the strategy of the Jews had also been clarified. There was still some evidence of desire to work only in the interest of group security. But the dominant opinion had abandoned that objective entirely. The experience of the past had shown that security was most readily to be reached through a general struggle for the liberties of all Americans. The defense organizations that had conducted the resistance to anti-Semitism were also in the forefront of the fight for religious freedom. The tactics that had succeeded in the one case they hoped would also succeed in the other.

The issue of establishment had long been settled; even the occasional lapses by which officials and public documents had once referred to the United States as a "Christian nation" were not now likely to occur. The Christian Amendment Movement (formerly the National Reform Association) continued its futile agitation to secure the mention of Christ in the constitution, and Senator Ralph E. Flanders of Vermont was led to introduce such a resolution in 1951, and again in 1954. But neither the resolution nor the agitation represented more than local eccentricities.

On the other hand, the period saw the firm limitation of state power in this sphere. Most of the state constitutions had contained provisions for religious liberty and equality, and many also forbade state support of religious institutions. But the Supreme Court of the 1870's and 1880's had frustrated the effort to restrict the states by the Fourteenth Amendment as the First Amendment restricted the Federal government. That damage was mended by a later court. Justice Harlan's dissent in *Patterson* v. *Colorado* (1907) pointed the way. In 1923, the

case of Meyer v. Nebraska interpreted the clause of the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding any state to deprive "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law" broadly enough to cover religious freedom. Two years later the case of Pierce v. Society of Sisters held a state law outlawing parochial schools unconstitutional on those grounds. Thereafter the states were almost as severely restricted as the Federal government, as the Supreme Court made clear in Cantwell v. Connecticut (1940).

The practical application of the principle remained difficult however. Some states were now disposed to treat every religious affiliation as if it were fixed and established, in adoption laws, for example. Elsewhere residues of ancient legislation remained in effect. Thus, many state governments retained on their statute books old blasphemy and sacrilege laws that generally remained unheeded but occasionally were the basis of an explosive incident. Maryland did not repeal its law of 1723 until 1920; and it was not until 1952 that the Supreme Court, in the "Miracle Case," supplied a basis from which it might ultimately be possible to attack the constitutionality of such enactments.

The Sunday laws presented a far more serious problem. Earlier development had left them an unreasonable and unprincipled hodgepodge of compromises. Yet most states retained unrepealed complex codes of permitted and forbidden activities. The old distinction between "labor," which observant Jews could perform, and "selling," which they could not, was adhered to by the courts with some rigor, not for its logic but for fear of being set adrift without any guiding precedents at all. In 1951, the New York courts refused, in People v. Friedman, to rule afresh on the issue; the legislature was unwilling to act a year later; and the United States Supreme Court evaded the necessity of ruling on the constitutionality of the law. For the time being, in New York State and elsewhere the injustices of the Sunday laws were mitigated only by the general and widespread disregard of their provisions. According to the letter of the law, many Jews could not yet feel that they had attained complete religious equality or the recognition of their rights.

The most serious difficulties, however, have come in connection with old and new aspects of the relationship of religion to the public schools. For more than a century, almost all Jews had been committed to public education, and their rights were seriously involved in any measure that relegated their children to an unequal position there.

The practice of reading the King James Bible remained as worrisome as ever. Indeed, as the custom was attacked, state after state between 1913 and 1930 buttressed it by law, sometimes under pressure

from the Ku Klux Klan. Some states barred comments on the part of the teachers; others excused the children of objecting parents; and still others compromised by a variety of expedients. But the unconstitutionality of the whole practice was not seriously questioned until the 1950's, although the highest court of Louisiana in the case of Herold v. Parish Board (1915) had foreshadowed the questionable character of the usage.

In 1950 the New Jersey Supreme Court in Doremus v. Board of Education sketched the outline of a compromise. It ruled that reading portions of the Old Testament without comment was permissible, since that did not favor one sect above another. The same court, in line with that precedent, in Tudor v. Board of Education (1953) held unconstitutional the distribution in the public schools of Gideon Bibles, which incorporated the Protestant version of the New Testament. Nevertheless, in many parts of the country, particularly in the South, the King James Bible continued to be used, whatever the law might be.

Vestiges of other denominational practices persisted elsewhere in the public schools. Thus, in some districts in North Dakota every school was required to display a placard containing the "Ten Commandments of the Christian religion in a conspicuous place." There were states where teachers could appear in class in religious garb, and where parochial schools were made part of the school system. In many parts of the country the celebration of Christmas and Easter centered in distinctly sectarian services. Such habits proved extremely difficult to overcome, although they remained relatively unimportant in the total picture of church-state relationships.

The most acute problem of all, after 1945, was created by various plans for releasing children from public schools for limited periods for the purposes of religious education. These programs were originally projected by Protestant clergymen at the beginning of the century. Gary, Indiana, was the first city to adopt the method just before World War I. The idea spread gradually through the 1920's and 1930's and then more rapidly after 1940. Various plans differed widely. But their essence was the use of the public school as a means of drawing children to sectarian religious instruction.

The Jewish reaction to these schemes was at first equivocal. Some Reform groups were quick to oppose them; back in 1904 the Central Conference of American Rabbis had made its position clear when it recognized the "absolute necessity of separation of church and state" and condemned sectarian practices in the public schools. Other Jewish groups, however, had themselves long been troubled by the difficulty of supplying adequate religious training to the youth and were

tempted to think that the aid of the public schools might be a solution. By the same token, and for the same reasons, the Catholics, who had at first opposed the plan, ultimately became its most enthusiastic

supporters.

The Jews, however, were quick to see the potentially divisive effects. That they themselves might not suffer was not enough. Their whole experience had demonstrated that their own rights could only be safe behind a bulwark of general principles; and released time, in whatever form, threatened to weaken the wall between church and state that by now was their main safeguard. After 1947, all the major Jewish organizations were united in the view that they opposed these programs.

Difficult problems were involved in the question of the constitutionality of released time laws; it was not at first clear to what extent public funds and facilities could be used to further sectarian ends. In 1947 in Everson v. Board of Education, the Supreme Court had permitted a state to supply free bus services to the students of parochial schools on the grounds that these were services to the children and not to the schools. Similar reasoning had already justified Federal and state aid to schools, hospitals, and other institutions, even when

conducted under religious auspices.

The court was, however, not willing to allow the public schools to become the instruments of sectarian instruction. In 1948, only a year after the bus-service decision, McCollum v. Board of Education not only declared the Illinois version of the released time program unconstitutional, but also in a ringing statement firmly set forth the principles of total separation of church and state. Although the case of Zorach v. Clausen (1952) a few years later found a revised form of the released time plan acceptable, it did so without reversing the reasoning of the earlier case on the general principle of the separation of church and state. The continuing agitation to secure public funds for parochial schools seemed blocked off by the clear ruling against any such form of direct aid.

Such problems remain serious. They are often the cause of personal unhappiness and annoyance and of friction among religious groups. Nevertheless, the struggle to eliminate them from American life will undoubtedly continue.

In the perspective of the three hundred years of Jewish settlement in the United States, however, these sources of friction do not loom large. The general development of American free institutions has created an impregnable bastion within which Jewish political and social rights are secure. A survey of the enormous distance the Jews have already come toward the acquisition of equal rights can leave only optimistic expectations for the future. They have left far behind the heritage of law and practice derived from the closed society of medieval Europe and have earned the full rights of men and citizens of the New World. In the process, they have also extended the meaning of Americanism.

For a long interlude between 1880 and 1940, the threat to equality came from racist sources. That threat was vigorously met and subdued. But outside that period the inequality of the Jew originated in the religious differences that divided him from other Americans. To level that inequality the Jews had at hand the great discovery of the Revolutionary generation that, religion being a matter of man's conscience, it ought to be entirely free of the state and the state entirely free of religious interference. With that premise, increasingly accepted by their fellow citizens, the Jews have an unassailable claim to rights identical with those of every other American. To make the claim good in practice is a long and difficult task, and one that is still in process. But so long as the principle, long recognized, is not forgotten, the ultimate issue cannot be in doubt.

In the United States, the outcome has been not only to strengthen the Jews, but to strengthen the nation and religion as well. For, as Hayim Greenberg put it, in words that Jefferson and Madison would have echoed:

Religion . . . must not, if it wishes to remain faithful to its nature, source and purpose, employ or endeavor to employ the State and its instrument for its own purposes. Precisely as power and the opportunity to use power for purposes of coercion is the outstanding characteristic of the State, so the characteristic concern of religion is the liberty of the individual. It is impossible to require that any man shall believe in a given faith if he does not "tend to believe" by virtue of his very personality. The position of persons subject to compulsion . . . cannot be regarded as having any religious value and is, indeed, fundamentally anti-religious. The . . . theocratic state is anti-religious, and, in the last resort, a State without God. Army and police as auxiliaries diminish the Divine Authority and do not extend it. Indeed, this aid serves to violate the very concept of Divine Authority over Universe and Man.

In this sense, it was one of the contributions of the Jews, along with other dissenting folk, to have participated in establishing the line between belief and power, between religion and the state. In that process they have demonstrated that men of whatever religion can with equal rights live together as good citizens of the same state.

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THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF AMERICAN JEWRY, 1654–1954

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There are no two people who would agree on the precise meaning of the term "Judaism." Even if we were to limit ourselves to questioning people who claim to be adherents of Judaism, we should find a wide variety of commitments covered by their assertions of adherence. While it is improbable that many of these commitments would be contradictory, some of them would be so widely divergent that it would be difficult to bring them together into any general description that would be at all definitive. It would be possible, of course, to propose a sort of definition of Judaism by enumerating all its varieties. But an enumeration of this sort, a mere listing of variations, would not provide us with a usable criterion of what is Judaism and what is not.

We can account for this difficulty more readily than we can overcome it. For all the millions of words that have been written over the course of the history of the Jewish people dealing with the religious beliefs of that people, Judaism has very little theology. Its doctrinal positions tend rather to be assumed than to be debated. Debate among adherents to Judaism, internal debate, is concerned with matters on the periphery, with matters of practice and not of theory. Therefore there have been widely satisfactory and acceptable codifications of Jewish law for various times and places, but no widely accepted or acceptable statements of Jewish belief. Exception may be made here of the minimum statements of belief contained in Maimonides' Thirteen Articles of Faith, which have been used in lieu of a creedal formulation for many centuries. If this is an exception, it is one that proves the general rule, for it is a minimum statement. It was produced not as an attempt to define Judaism, but as a definition of the rock-bottom minimum that differentiated a Jew from a Christian or a Muslim in an age and at a place where the three sister-faiths, all descended from the faith of Biblical Israel, coexisted in close contact. Indeed, one might say that the Maimonidean Articles are not so much an expression of what it means to be a Jew as a statement of what it means not to be a Christian or a Muslim.

If there is merit in what we have said thus far, the quest for a definition of Judaism is revealed as fruitless and we are thrown back upon a purely descriptive approach. We cannot tell what Judaism is, and we have, therefore, no criterion by which we can reliably judge orthodoxy or heterodoxy among the Jews of any time and place. We are forced to accept the uncomfortably vague formulation that Judaism is the expression of the spiritual life of those people in any locality and at any period who regard themselves as Jews. We must invert our criterion: instead of using Judaism as a standard of Jewish spiritual life we must use the spiritual life of Jews as a standard of Judaism. In effect, this is an abandonment of the claim so often advanced, and nowhere more insistently than in Professor George Foot Moore's classical discussion of Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,1 that there is a "normative" Judaism. Instead of making this assertion, we shall make the counterclaim that there is a large number of sometimes widely differing traditions; that to each of these traditions its adherents attach the name "Judaism"; and that an additional confusion is introduced by the use of "Judaism" as a class-name for all of these traditions.

Each of these particular varieties of Jewish spiritual life is produced by the combined operation of a multiplicity of forces. These forces are so many and so heterogeneous that it would not be excessive to say that every force that plays upon the life of the Jews in any of their local and temporary situations has its effect upon the final synthesis. It is not inconceivable that the activity of scholars in this field, prolonged for many centuries, might produce a physics of Jewish history, in which the operation of each of these many forces would be reduced to laws, and reliable predictions of new syntheses made possible. In the absence of such a scientific history (and this is as true of general history as it is of Jewish history), all evaluations and predictions must be largely guesswork, infected by the personal preferences and prejudices of the student.

In the meantime, pending the creation of an historical physics, we can readily see that there is no aspect of life as it affects the Jew that does not enter into his conception of Judaism. So, for example, the Jew either is or is not integrally a part of the economic life of the country in which he happens to live at a particular time. If he is not integrated into the economic life of his place and time, he must nevertheless have an economic life; in this case, his economic activities would be largely, if not exclusively, carried on with other Jews. If the economic activities of Jews are fully integrated into the common economic life of the country, they would be largely carried on with non-Jews. In either case, patterns of Sabbath and holiday observance would

be conditioned by the pattern of economic life. Similar generalizations can easily be made for social, political, and cultural forces. The point that we are making here can be argued either empirically, by examining the actual operations of varying economic, social, political, cultural milieus, or rationally, as a deduction from our descriptive "definition" of Judaism as the expression of the spiritual life of those people in any locality and at any period who regard themselves as Jews. By deduction from our definition we reach the prediction that it will be the case that these forces will be influentially operative in determining the current variety of Judaism. Careful examination of historical situations and the varieties of Judaism that have, in fact, developed in these situations confirms the validity of our prediction.

Granting, now, the general validity of the hypothesis that has been put forward, it is beyond our scope here to follow in detail every aspect of the life of the Jews in America and to determine the effect of each aspect on the spiritual life of American Jewry. Indeed, in the present state of American Jewish historiography, to do so would be impossible. It is to be hoped that one consequence of the focusing of attention on American Jewish life in the celebration of this Tercentenary will be a quickening of interest in the writing of American Jewish history. Thus far the barest foundations have been laid; even in these foundations, great gaps appear; the major work remains to be done. At best, then, this essay can be no more than tentative and generalized. And the major generalization from which we would now proceed may be stated thus: There are, at all times and all places where Jews reside, two chief constellations of forces operating to shape the spiritual life of the Jewish people-one of these is the aggregate of external forces working on the Jews from the host-culture, the other is the aggregate of the internal forces of the varieties of Judaism brought by the Jewish group from its previous places of residence. The resultant of these two constellations of forces ultimately is the new variety of Judaism.2

The word "ultimately" as used in this generalization carries a great deal of weight. The creation of a new variety of Judaism does not take place overnight. We seldom think of the centuries that go into the making of a new synthesis; there is still in our thought a too-magical understanding of the historical process as interpreted by Hegel. The magician combines the ingredients of his magical potion; he gives the cup to his victim, and immediately the beautiful princess is transformed into an old crone, the palace into a hovel, the swarm of attendants into a forest surrounding and hiding the lowly hut. Years, nay, even centuries, may be needed for the unmaking of the spell, but it is made in an instant. So, too, when Hegel's dialectic of

history asserts that each historical force (thesis) brings forth out of its inner incompleteness a countervailing power (antithesis), and that these two are then merged in a higher unity that comprehends them both (synthesis), we imagine that this life process is instantaneous. The reverse is more likely to be true. The chances of life may destroy in an instant an historical synthesis that has taken centuries to develop; ³ it is the making that is the slow and time-consuming aspect of historical development. Thus the Babylonian Talmud, the major expression of the synthesis of earlier traditions of Jewish life with the particular conditions under which the Jews lived in the Babylonian cultural setting, contains the fruits of at least three centuries of adjustment. Without careful thought, we tend to foreshorten times past; and because we have done so, we tend to be impatient with the slow-

ness of life processes in the present.

In the case of Jewish spiritual life in America there are many and valid reasons why three centuries have not been enough to produce a Talmud. Some of these reasons derive from the nature of the hostculture; others are the result of the way in which Jews of different backgrounds have come to America. American Judaism seemed closer to realization seventy-five years ago than it does today, and part of what we must do here is to try to understand why this is so. The conditions of Jewish life in America are unique in history. America has been for the Jews a land of diaspora, of Galuth, surely; and yet in America, more nearly than in any other land of diaspora, the social conditions have been those of the homeland, of Eretz. In America alone of all the nations in which the Jews have resided Galuth has not meant strangerhood but a broadened conception of brotherhood. In America alone the emancipation of the Jews has not been necessary, since in America alone the Jews have been from the outset of national life free and equal citizens of the land in which they live. We do not mean to deny here the facts of anti-Semitism and discrimination, but merely to assert that these distortions have received no official sanction in America.

The traditional expositions of Galuth (for example, that by Yitzhak F. Baer 4) seem almost completely irrelevant in the context of Jewish life in America. Although it has been attempted (for example, by Ludwig Lewisohn 5), no one has successfully interpreted American Jewish life into the dialectic of Galuth and Eretz, because America has proved to be both homeland and land of diaspora for the Jew. Paradoxically, this very fact, so difficult for Jews who have not lived in America (even though they may have resided in America) to understand, has been one factor responsible for the slow pace of development of an American Jewish synthesis. Because the Jew in America

has been of America, he has done his work and lived his life and made his contributions to the American cosmopolis rather than to the Jewish polis. Jewish thinkers in America are for the most part American thinkers speaking to an American audience, and the Jewish background of their thought is thus absorbed into the mainstream of American culture. Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin Cardozo and Felix Frankfurter, in other times and places, might have made distinguished contributions to Jewish law; Morris R. Cohen, Horace Kallen, Irwin Edman and Ernest Nagel, in other times and places, might have made distinguished contributions to Jewish philosophy; and so we might continue through the list of poets and playwrights, novelists and critics, scientists, scholars, and historians. In any age and any clime, they would have had something to say to their world, but in other times and places it would have been the Jewish world to which they spoke. In America the lines of communication to the larger American world have been open, and in speaking to this larger world these American Jews have, for the most part, been drawn away from the creation of the American variety of Jewish tradition.

THE AMERICAN CULTURAL SETTING

Despite the often-mentioned and indisputable fact that the American form of government may now claim a longer continuous existence under the same instrument than most other governments of the world, America is still a new country. From the Founding Fathers to our own day is but a matter of a few generations. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams lived until 1826; John Dewey, who was born in 1859, did not die until 1952. We need supply but one intermediate link to carry us from the days of the Declaration of Independence to the days of the United Nations and the atomic bomb. In a perspective such as this, the life of America has been very brief. When, therefore, we generalize about the American cultural setting, we must remind ourselves that insufficient time has elapsed to justify any prediction that the trends thus far revealed will continue. American culture may change its direction; some of the evidences of change that we see about us may become permanent marks of American life.

We must talk, then, about what has been true, or what we see in our own times; we must reserve judgment on the future. The most salient of the influences on American development in the past is what has been called the "openness" of American life. Geographically, this characteristic has been associated with the frontier. As a new country, with considerable amounts of virgin land and a population inadequate to bring this land under cultivation, America has been open, in the

sense of "roomy." Until recently, there has always been a spot somewhere on the continent where a newcomer from the crowded lands of Europe could find a piece of untilled land, at first sufficient only for his own needs, but gradually able to produce a surplus for the use of others. While such land existed, America could well afford to be physically hospitable. Furthermore, in pioneer communities of this sort, made up of new arrivals, traditions of mutual helpfulness readily grew up. Each man came with nothing but his hands and a few primitive tools. Without mutual aid, adjustment would have been slower and productivity delayed. The ability to make a contribution to the growing community was all that was demanded of a new pioneer. No one asked—indeed it might have been unwise and even dangerous to have asked—what his life had been before he arrived in America. No one asked about family backgrounds, for most of the migrants would have had little to tell, and those who might have told more often had good

reason to keep silent.

True, few of the Jewish immigrants became pioneers; their European experience scarcely prepared them for such a life. Only after 1881 was there a conscious and deliberate attempt to settle Jews on the land, and then it was not so much under the conditions of pioneer life as in planned agricultural settlements, which were not too successful.6 But although he was rarely an agricultural pioneer, the Jewish immigrant was nevertheless well-known in pioneer life. For, in his role as peddler, he provided a first link between the actual pioneers and the towns they had left behind. Almost as soon as the pioneer family was settled in its first sod hut or log cabin, the Jewish peddler appeared with his pack on his back ready to supply the small needs of the new settlers and to bring them news of the world they had left behind to build a new world. Frequently, even with his small knowledge, he was the literate in an area of illiteracy; when letters came, he read them, and when letters had to be sent, he was the scribe. He performed a number of services for the newly formed communities and, in that open society where the worth of a man was measured by his deeds, the Jewish peddler was always a welcome arrival. Small wonder that as the community grew and flourished and became a town, the Jewish ex-peddler settled into it and became, often, its leading merchant. He had earned his right to that status in the same hard school in which the pioneer farmer had become the agricultural leader. Long before political cynicism in the large cities had smelled out the possibility of a "Jewish vote" and established the practice of trying to catch that vote by placing a Jewish candidate on the party ticket, the faith of their neighbors in the Jewish merchants of frontier towns had brought the Jews into local political notice, in elective offices ranging

from dogcatcher to governor. Truly, American pioneer society was an open society, hospitable alike to any man, Jew or non-Jew, who could make a contribution to its on-going life.

The openness of the frontier, important as it was in eliminating from the social life of the immigrant Jew the keen sense of strangerhood and difference, was only a special and dramatic case of a form of openness that might better be called inclusiveness. Inclusiveness was a mark left upon the American spirit by the cosmopolitan ideals of the age of reason and enlightenment in which the United States was born. Until that age, with rare exceptions, societies had regarded themselves (as most still do today) as exclusive groups. Many of the names by which peoples called themselves, even in primitive times, symbolized this exclusivism. Ruth Benedict and other anthropologists have pointed out how frequently a tribal name means "human beings" or "mankind." 7 Anyone misguided enough to be born outside the tribe could not be regarded as fully human. Far later, the highly civilized Greeks made the same sort of distinction between themselves and the "barbarians," and even in recent times we have witnessed a similar relegation of the non-Aryan to the level of the non-human. To the everlasting credit of the Enlightenment be it said that it recognized no such distinctions. The enlightened mind could not have debated, as the Spanish colonizers of America had but two centuries earlier, whether the Indians had souls. All humanity was included within the enlightened use of the word "man." Thus when Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, he did not say that "all white Protestant Americans are created equal," but that "all men are created equal." It is in the context of this enlightened use of the term "man" that we must understand not only much of the American tradition, but also such expressions (so often glibly and unintelligently criticized) of Jewish enlightenment as J. L. Gordon's "Be a Jew in your own house and a man outside it," or the later comment of Isaac M. Wise, "For our own part, we are Israelites in the Synagogue, and Americans everywhere." 8

It was, then, as a man with all the rights of man that the Jewish newcomer was officially welcomed into American life. In some local situations, more especially as the impact of enlightened ideas on the American mind faded, individual Jews had to struggle for the realization in practice of the official attitude. Until the twentieth century and the experience of World War I brought in its train a restrictive immigration law that differentiated between man and man on the basis of ethnic origin, the official attitude of welcoming Jews as men rather than rejecting (or, for that matter, accepting) them as Jews was unchanged. It is interesting to note that even when an untraditional

attitude toward unrestricted immigration began to be noised about, one virulent attack on immigration took special and favorable note of the Jews:

The day has long since passed when men come to America with the intelligent and moral purpose of seeking freedom in religious faith and political institutions. The only exception to this statement is the case of the Russian Jews who have come to our shores by the thousands since they were expelled from Russia. Ignorant as these Jews are, they belong to the most literate class of Russia. . . . However clannish the Jews may be in their religious faith, their religion has no tenet in it that may not harmonize with any government; and in whatever country they find a home, they adopt the national language and patronize its best schools and universities. . . . Whatever may be said on minor questions, on the vitally important question of the adaptation to and power to assimilate with our political and civil institutions, we have less to fear from the Jews than from any other class coming to us from continental Europe.9

But we should note that although this statement is not anti-Jewish, it is anti-enlightened because it talks of Jews as Jews, not as men.

In addition to such features of American life as its openness and inclusiveness, this host-culture has certain characteristics that have special relevance to the development of the spiritual life of American Jewry. We are convinced that, with certain minor exceptions like the Mennonites who have segregated themselves from the currents and cross-currents of American life, these characteristics have equally affected the spiritual life of every religious minority in America; moreover, we are convinced that there is no religious majority in America. We are suggesting, therefore, that these characteristics of American life are basic to the understanding of any religious development in the United States and thus applicable to the interpretation of Jewish spiritual life. We shall call attention to three characteristics of American religious life: its pluralism, its voluntarism, and its moralism. Before treating of them, however, we shall make brief mention of the political situation that is, in part, their cause and, in part, their effect.

This political situation, broadly, is the accepted view that the government as such has no religion, and, as a supplement, the view that the religion of the citizen is of no concern to the government. We state this broadly; there are wide differences of opinion about the meaning to be given to these general principles in particular situations. The Supreme Court has drawn fine lines of distinction (compare, for example, McCollum v. Board of Education, 1948, with Zorach v. Clauson, 1952). Different national and local administrations have understood the limits placed upon them by these principles

in different ways. But, for all these differences, it can be stated that the American political system is marked by a sharp break with the tradition of an established church and an equally sharp break with the principle of cuius regio, eius religio, that is, the principle that the ruler of a country has a right to determine its religion, at whatever inconvenience to the citizens. It is within a framework provided by the treatment of religion in the American political system that pluralism, voluntarism, and moralism are characteristic.

Religious Diversity

If there is any large generalization about American life that can be supported by careful and close analysis of the details of American history, it is that the multiplicity of races, creeds, ethnic groups, and cultural antecedents that have entered into the composition of the background of its population have also entered into the foreground of American experience. Nothing is done quite the same in America as its analogue in any other single country. Every activity of any group in America is modified not only by the specific conditions of life in America but also by the opportunities that are forever at hand to see how other groups handle the same activity. Furthermore, this very plurality of alternatives makes the success of any one traditional way of doing things seem less important; if the way one's forefathers did something doesn't work, there are many other ways, and one of the others may work. The fluidity, flexibility, or experimentalism that observers have noted in American life flows from the variety of alternatives open to adoption in all the affairs of life.

We are accustomed to taking this diversity for granted in most of the aspects of secular life in America. Our government is a mixture of elements drawn from various antecedent forms of political organization; its machinery operates rather ponderously and it creaks sometimes; but over a century and three-quarters, with minor modifications, it has worked. Our social organization combines egalitarian and aristocratic elements almost ludicrously, but it works. The structure of our economic life is a hodge-podge that has produced a standard of living such as the world has never known. We might continue to bring forward illustration after illustration to show how the fabric of our national existence has been produced by the interweaving of many strands that often seem hardly congruous. To add to the list is, however, unnecessary, since it is not with these secular matters that we are here concerned.

What is important, and is less often realized, is that the same sort, if not the same degree, of diversification is a central feature of religious life in America. The importance of religious diversity cannot be told

merely in terms of the co-presence, on a more or less friendly and occasionally cooperative basis, of four major religious traditions: Judaism, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and Humanism. Indeed, even if one were to break these major traditions down into sects and denominations and to attempt to interpret the spiritual side of American life in terms of the more than 250 organized groups,11 the effort would be a failure. It is not only through organized religious groups that spiritual values are propagated under the conditions of pluralism in American society. Social, political, or economic organizations may, in part, express the spiritual aspirations of their members; "religious" organizations may, in part, express the social, political, or economic motivations of their members. There is a wide variety of spiritual "outlets" through any of which, or any combination of which, Americans express and expand their spiritual horizons. At no time and place, perhaps, is it completely accurate to identify spiritual values with religious faith or spiritual life with religious organization. In the United States, such an identification would be completely inaccurate.

Another way to say this would be that religious organizations in the United States are not only in free and open competition with other religious organizations, but are also in covert competition with other organizations not generally thought to be religious. William Leggett, the brilliant editorialist of the New York Post a century and a quarter ago, called the American system as it applied in the spiritual area "free trade in religion." 12 The expression is shocking; but it is even more accurate than Leggett intended. He meant, we take it, that each church had an equal chance with every other church to offer its interpretation of religion, its mode of salvation, to the public; that no governmental agency would seriously restrict or minimize that opportunity; and that the success of any church would depend upon the attractiveness of the brand of religion that it was presenting or upon the appeal of the presentation. Neither Leggett then, nor any cleareyed observer today, had any doubt that there would be some who would pass by all the open church doors, finding nothing in any of them to appeal to their natures. But we think that Leggett failed to realize that among those who passed the church door there would be many who found, in some other and "non-religious" activity or organization, some social, political, educational, economic, artistic, or even recreational foundation, a satisfaction of the same spiritual needs that others satisfied in the churches.

To look at the possibility of religious affiliation as a "shopping about" for the best values in spiritual life throws the emphasis upon a voluntary selection by the individual from among a plurality of

possible affiliations.¹³ Thus "the voluntary system," or voluntarism, is the concomitant of pluralism. Each loses the best part of its meaning if the other is denied. If many religious groups are permitted to exist, but no one is allowed to change his affiliation in order the better to meet his own spiritual needs, the interests of the churches or other religious bodies are preserved and protected, but not the interests of the individual. If the individual is in theory free to follow the dictates of his conscientious choice, but only one religious organization is allowed to flourish, then not only are the interests of alternative faiths disregarded, but also the individual is not given a genuine right of choice. Neither pluralism without voluntarism nor voluntarism without pluralism can be just to all interests. American religious life has been both pluralistic and voluntaristic, and it must, therefore, be pronounced just by all who pronounce judgment without prejudice.

What we have said thus far leads to a very difficult question, one the very posing of which rouses all sorts of emotional problems. It is a question that, ultimately, each faith must answer for itself. Every religious faith is an institutionalizing of a program for achieving a good life. Each, however, places a different degree of emphasis upon the institution and upon the program. When institutional values are stressed more than program, we have what we may call priestly religion, or ecclesiasticism; when program is stressed more than institutional values, we have what we may call prophetic religion, or moralism. Among the "high" religions of our world, none is completely an ecclesiasticism, none completely a moralism. Yet there is tension in each between priestly and prophetic emphases, and at different times and places one or the other tendency seems to gain the upper hand.14 Ecclesiasticism has as its supplement ritualism or formalism; moralism has as its supplement pietism. Rarely has any religious movement struck a balance between the two tendencies, and when such a balance has been achieved it has lasted but a brief time. Although each religious movement determines for itself its own place on the spectrum of moralism and ecclesiasticism, the nature of the cultural setting in which the religious movement flourishes affects the determination. Characteristically, until the end of the nineteenth century and perhaps slightly after, the effect of American life on the various religious groups was to incline them towards moralism. From Increase Mather and Jonathan Edwards to Pope Leo XIII's apostolic letter Testem Benevolentiae of 1899, ecclesiastical leaders fulminated in vain against the moralistic influences of Americanism. 15 To the extent that Judaism tends to fall towards the moralistic end of the spectrum, 18 the American tendency has reinforced the characteristic pattern of Jewish religion in America. More recently, however, a counter-trend has set in. More and more American life seems to bring out the formalistic and ecclesiastical characteristics in the religions to which it plays host. What the ultimate effect of this recent change will be it is too soon to say; it is impossible even to say whether there is really a significant change or whether this is just a slight reaction to three centuries of moralism in American religion.

Let us now turn to see how the Jews have fared in the atmosphere of pluralism, voluntarism and moralism that has pervaded the Amer-

ican cultural setting.

SYNAGOGUE AND COMMUNITY

Under the conditions of Jewish life in Western Europe until the end of the eighteenth century and in Eastern Europe into the twentieth century, the basic Jewish institution was the community, the agency for Jewish self-government.17 The Jewish community was primary; synagogues, schools, cemeteries, orphanages, almshouses, slaughterhouses, ritual bathing establishments-all the organizations of Jewish life were secondary and dependent upon the community for their existence and their maintenance. There were good historical reasons why this should have been the pattern of Jewish life. The Jews were an anomaly in medieval Christian society. They, or at least some of them, had to be kept alive as evidence of the unfortunate lot of those who had been given the opportunity to gain eternal blessedness by accepting the revelation of God in Jesus but who, through stiffnecked and stubborn contumaciousness, had refused to avail themselves of the opportunity. At times in European history it fell to the lot of the popes to remind the Christians of Europe of the necessity for leaving the Jews alive; for much of the time, the safest place for a Jew to live was in the shadow of the Vatican. At the same time, however, in the corporate structure of European life in the Middle Ages, the Jews had no real place; since they were not Christians, they could in no way be integrated into a wholly Christian society.

The dilemma was resolved in practice by granting the Jews a corporate life outside of the corporate structure of society. The administrative agency by means of which this neat trick was managed was the Jewish community. The community and its officers became vicegerents for the rulers of the country. Within a framework of "Jewry law," 18 that is, of special national or imperial law granting status to the Jewish community, the internal affairs of the Jews were administered according to traditional Jewish law. Under this traditional law the community officers, lay and rabbinical, superintended all the affairs of Jewish life. They established whatever subordinate agencies were

needed for particular purposes. They served as a link between the government and the Jews and helped to maintain the uneasy and often awkward situation in which the Jews were forced to live. It is important to remember that, except in terms of Christian theology, the situation was not of the Jews' making, and that the Jewry-law was as little of their making. The Jews did not choose this way of life, nor could they avoid it.

And yet this situation, which was not developed with the interests of Jewish life in view, had many advantages. It virtually guaranteed, even where the express terms of the law did not require it, that all Jews would live in the same quarter. In this way it reinforced the social compulsion on Jews to live as Jews. The alternative to living as a Jew was to become a Christian; the road of indifference was not open. Furthermore, under these conditions, to live as a Jew meant to follow in every detail the traditional patterns of the community. No individual could determine for himself what he would observe and what he would not without leaving the community. Any adjustments of the tradition to altered conditions, any allowances or modifications, could be made only by the rabbinical leadership of the community and were made for all members of the community. Over the centuries these adaptations might add up to a considerable difference between community and community, but at no time would they break the inner unity or the sense of continuity within any single community. The synagogue was the subordinate institution in which certain activities of the community took place, not an independent, self-governing congregation. The rabbi was not a professional employee of the synagogue; he was an expert on Jewish law maintained (in part or entirely) by the community. Similarly, teacher, shochet, mohel were communal officers, and neither free enterprises nor synagogal positions.

An altogether different situation developed in the New World and, to an extent, in the Old World after Emancipation. Even after Emancipation in Europe the traditional preeminence of the community in Jewish life was maintained, partly because of satisfaction with it and partly because of the inertia of institutions. In America, however, not the community, for in the European sense there was none, but the synagogue became the basic institution of Jewish life. As long as the Jewish population in America was small, and especially in the Colonial period, the full impact of the shift from one primary institution to another was not particularly noticeable. The synagogues assumed as many of the functions of the community as became necessary. Indeed it is possible that if the Colonial situation had continued unmodified for another century, the original synagogue-community might have been transformed into something that closely resembled the European

Jewish community. The remaining difference would have been an important one. The Jewish community in Europe represented official-dom to the Jews, whereas any Jewish community that developed in America would have required the voluntary support of the Jews. The authority of any Jewish community in America would be limited to what the Jews themselves would be willing to grant to it, unless, at any time, American law were to become, in the older European sense, the law of a Christian community, excluding Jews from status.¹⁹

The first Jews in New York City (then, of course, New Amsterdam), who arrived in 1654, were not permitted by the Dutch authorities to establish a synagogue, and in the absence of records before 1728 we can only guess at their religious life.20 They probably worshipped in private homes from the very beginning. Public services may have been held as early as 1673, and were certainly held by 1682. The first synagogue building of which we have record was the Mill Street Synagogue, built in 1729, but an earlier map of New York, drawn by John Miller in 1695, shows the site of a "Jews' synagogue" on Beaver Street. The official life of the group may be said to have begun still earlier, however, when in 1656 reluctant permission was granted New Amsterdam Jews to purchase land for cemetery purposes. The first official act of the group, the provision of a Jewish cemetery, was communal rather than synagogal. Permission to purchase the burial-ground must have been granted (July 14, 1656) very soon after Governor Peter Stuyvesant had received from the directors of the Dutch West India Company in Amsterdam a letter (dated March 13, 1656) repeating earlier instructions that Jews in New Amsterdam were to have the same privileges as those of Amsterdam "only as far as civil and political rights are concerned, without giving the said Jews a claim to the privilege of exercising their religion in a synagogue or a gathering." 21 There would scarcely have been time for Stuyvesant to have received the letter of June 14, 1656, which spells out the measure of religious toleration to be extended to the Jews, who

shall not be employed in any public service . . . nor allowed to have open retail shops; but they may quietly and peacefully carry on their business as beforesaid and exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses, for which end they must without doubt endeavor to build their houses, close together in a convenient place on one or the other side of New Amsterdam—at their choice—as they do here.²²

It should be noted that in this letter the assumption was made that the Jews would voluntarily, but under the inner compulsion of religious need, live close together—that is, that a voluntary ghetto would develop.

Again, the New York synagogue, by now known as Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel), acted as a community in the European sense when, from time to time, it made arrangements for the building of ritual baths (for example, in connection with its Mill Street Synagogue). It must be said, however, that Shearith Israel was by no means consistent in making provision for ritual baths, and that, generally speaking, this custom was one of the first of the religious practices to lapse in the American environment. The supervision of ritual slaughtering, too, was a communal function that Shearith Israel exercised until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The shochet was a synagogue functionary, subject to control by the officers of the synagogue. He was independent of the butchers, who had to gain his favor. Later, after 1812, this situation broke down. More than one shochet was practicing in New York and there was no authority to decide which of them, if any, was failing to fulfill the ritual requirements in every detail. Ultimately, after about 1840, the shochetim became employees of the butchers, operating under virtually no control. Similarly, in the early days, the synagogue acted the part of a community in arranging with a particular baker for the provision of matzot for Passover, and, having made the arrangements, the synagogue authorities supervised the baking process to make sure that all requirements were met. This communal function, too, broke down by the middle of the nineteenth century, and matzot entered the arena of competitive business.

One of the major areas in which, for a time, Shearith Israel exercised the functions of a community was that of education.²³ Prior to the establishment of public secular schools-generally a nineteenthcentury development-all education had of necessity to be carried on either by private, usually denominational schools (chiefly in the South) or by congregational schools. By 1755, and possibly earlier, the conception of education had been so enlarged that the school maintained by Shearith Israel taught "secular" subjects as well as Hebrew-Spanish, English writing, and arithmetic. At least as early as 1790 the Shearith Israel school was coeducational. A bequest by Meyer Polony in 1801 led to the school, previously called Yeshibat Minhat Areb, being renamed the Polonies Talmud Torah, and to the revision and expansion of the curriculum of secular studies. The chazzan of Congregation Shearith Israel carried on the duties of teacher in the school with some extra compensation, variously arranged, for his extra work. After 1822, the Talmud Torah became a Hebrew school only, supplementing other educational facilities. Once again we see that the synagogue failed in its attempt to fulfill the work of a community.

Similar experiences, differing from that of Shearith Israel only in

detail, may be found in the histories of the other pre-Revolutionary Jewish groups: Newport, R. I., where Jews settled in 1658; Philadelphia, Pa., where the Mikveh Israel synagogue was founded about 1745; Beth Elohim, Charleston, S. C., 1750; and the Hebrew congregation in Savannah, Ga., founded perhaps as early as 1734.24 In every case, there was an attempt to build Jewish life around a synagogue without the legal status of the European Jewish community, and in every case the attempt ultimately failed. In part, perhaps in major part, this series of failures must be attributed to the absence of sanctions. Excommunication was a major threat to the European Jew, even in relatively liberal Holland, in the seventeenth century. A Jew who was excluded, like Spinoza, from Jewish community life, and who would not become a convert to Christianity, was virtually without a place to rest his head. He was, if not quite stateless, at least "status-less." In the open society of America, the threat of excommunication was all but meaningless. Shearith Israel tried to make it a vital force; in 1758, the number of known violations of religious laws had so increased that it was decided to expel every culprit from the synagogue.25 There seems to have been no significant decrease in the frequency with which the laws were violated.

Perhaps one reason for the disciplinary failure of the early synagogues was that (with Newport after 1773 as the sole brief exception) they had no rabbinic authority who could state the law and make what minor adaptations were necessary in the new situation. For Jewish law has traditionally been modified by rabbinic adaptations. Shearith Israel in the earliest days might inquire of the Amsterdam Jewish community, or, later, of the London Jewish community, for rabbinic guidance; but such an inquiry took much time going and coming, and before an answer had arrived the urgency of the case had passed. The religious leader in the eighteenth century American synagogues was a chazzan, who had no official authority in matters of Jewish law and whose congregation knew that he had none. In fact, few of the chazzanim of the time had even a limited knowledge of Jewish law. Perhaps we may attribute to this lack of knowledge not only such incidents as the burial with religious rites of an illegitimate infant, to which Kohler refers, but also the prominent role played by laymen in the congregations. Jacob Marcus points out that an avowed deist, like Solomon Simson, could and did become president of Shearith Israel.26 Perhaps this prominence of the layman is rather part of the inheritance that the synagogues of Colonial America derived from their Sephardic background. Whatever the explanation, had the lay leader-called the parnas or presidente, or sometimes even both, parnaspresidente-been a qualified scholar, had he been capable of supplying the deficiencies of the *chazzan*, the general situation might have been somewhat better. But, again, if the *parnas* was a man of learning, in any one instance, this was a fortunate chance.

For better or worse, the pattern of lay control established in the Colonial period of American Jewish religious life has remained characteristic of the American synagogue in more recent times.27 It is a fact with which every professional worker in the Jewish synagogue has to reckon. Some nineteenth- and twentieth-century rabbis, by sheer force of personality, have been able to wrest temporary leadership from the laity, but they could never be sure that the reins would remain in their hands, nor, if they were fortunate enough to retain control, could they transmit the new alignment of forces to their successors. One of the greatest figures in twentieth-century American Judaism, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, founded his own "Free Synagogue" in New York City in order to break through the dominance of the laity; originally the freedom of the Free Synagogue was a freedom of the pulpit. Another important twentieth-century leader, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, proclaimed his declaration of independence from lay control at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his coming to his congregation. When such dominant rabbinical personalities had to struggle to avoid the cramping effects of lay control, it should cause no great surprise that the greatest problem of the run-of-the-mill rabbi is to establish some modus vivendi with his congregation. Before we can understand how the rabbi has come to this pass, however, we must consider the post-Revolutionary developments of synagogue and community.

Post-Revolutionary Developments

We have seen that the characteristic eighteenth century organization of Jewish life was as a synagogue attempting to perform for its members the functions of a community. Because the synagogue was a voluntary organization; and because the openness of American life made it possible for a Jew to get along without the synagogue, it was only a stop-gap substitute for the European Jewish community, only partially successful in maintaining its extended functions. The one measure of control that the synagogue could use to keep its members in line was its ownership of the cemetery. However little a man might care to live as a Jew, and however the conditions of American life might serve his desire to be free of the responsibility of living as a Jew, somehow a faint relic of ancestral piety led him to want to die as a Jew and to be buried in consecrated ground.²⁸

Two factors conspired to break down the communal aspects of American Jewish life after the Revolution. The first of these was that even the older synagogues, whose organization preceded the new government, were rechartered under the new laws of the state in which they chanced to be situated. These state laws were drafted by legislators who did not know the specific conditions of Jewish organization, and who, if they had known, might have been unwilling to introduce special provisions for the incorporation of Jewish religious bodies, serving a very small fragment of the total population. State laws for this purpose were written in the light of the general situation and the needs of American Protestant churches, and these were, by and large, organized as independent congregational bodies. A congregationalist order was, as it were, unintentionally imposed upon the Jewish group. That this legal prescription proved, at least at the time, desirable to the Jews themselves was the result of another factor, the character of

the Jewish population in the United States.

The leading group in the oldest stratum of American Jews consisted of Sephardim, Jews of Spanish, Portuguese and Mediterranean ancestry. Some of them were of Marrano families, and the New World, whether at Recife, in Brazil, under the Dutch, or in the British West Indies, or in New Amsterdam, or in Rhode Island, meant for them the opportunity to return to the open practice of Judaism. In the main, they were not a scholarly group; their very readiness to undertake the venture of going to a new land suggests that they were men of action rather than of thought. They had a simple piety, however, and a great desire to maintain the traditional forms. Among older writers on American Jewish history the belief formerly prevailed that the Sephardic group retained numerical predominance in America until after the Revolution. More recently it has become clear that, perhaps as early as 1730, there were more Ashkenazic Jews than Sephardim in the colonies; the Ashkenazim came from England and from Germany. Although Ashkenazim thus early began to outnumber Sephardim, the leading position of the Sephardim is proved by the fact that all the seventeenth and eighteenth century synagogues followed the Spanish and Portuguese minhag, or ritual, in the conduct of their services. The two groups intermarried, to some extent, and Ashkenazic officers appear in the congregational lists, but there was no compromise with the Sephardic minhag.

After the Revolution, as immigration in general increased, and Jewish immigration with it, the Jewish newcomers were overwhelmingly Ashkenazim who wished to follow an Ashkenazic order of service. As early as 1802 the Rodeph Shalom German Hebrew Society was organized in Philadelphia, and this society became officially a religious institution in 1810. In New York City, the first Ashkenazic break with Shearith Israel came in 1825, when a group of members

whose leaders, at least, were of English descent, established Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. At this time the Jewish population of New York City was about 300. Secession bred secession; not long afterward, in 1828, the German, Dutch, and Polish Jews in the membership of B'nai Jeshurun formed their own congregation, Anshe Chesed. In 1839, Polish Jews in Anshe Chesed and those who had hitherto remained in B'nai Jeshurun banded together to form a Polish congregation, Shaarey Zedek. Dutch Jews left the older synagogues in 1847 to form Congregation Bnai Israel. Schisms in the older congregations for other reasons bred still other synagogues: the short-lived Ohabey Zedek in 1835; German Rodeph Shalom in 1842; Polish Beth Israel in 1843; German Emanu-El in 1845. Each group, whatever its motivations may have been, asserted its independence of centralized control, until by mid-century, Sabato Morais's comment on the pluralism of Philadelphia Jewry may serve as an apt characterization of Jewish synagogue organization all through the United States:

No ecclesiastical authority existing in this country [among the Jews], matters were allowed to shape their own course—each Congregation doing as it saw fit, without referring its action to any other but its own minister, and even he, at times, was overruled by the laymen who composed the membership or the Board of Trustees.²⁹

Thus, the inner tendency of the Jewish groups to fragment on grounds of ritual, or of the country from which they had migrated, of political factionalism in the synagogue, of real or fancied slurs on one group by another, or simply the desire of a newly prominent clique to achieve prestige the quick way by holding synagogue office, even if they had to form a synagogue in order to do so-thus, inner reasons of this sort reinforced the general American tendency to religious pluralism. In its small way, the American Jewish population echoed the fragmentation that was taking place among the American Protestant denominations in the first half of the nineteenth century. The same sort of duplication took place in communal functions. The multiplication of shochetim and of bakers of matzot has already been mentioned in passing. As far as cemetery property was concerned, Shearith Israel itself began the trend by refusing to allow the burial of members of B'nai Jeshurun in what had till then been regarded as the burial-ground for all the Jews of New York. Each synagogue established its own religious school, and in doing so each proclaimed the failure of its predecessors to do a good job, only to be criticized in turn by its successors. Furthermore, where welfare and charitable agencies had been set up, originally under synagogal auspices, but later as independent organizations, they tended to follow the lines of synagogue divisions rather than to see the welfare problem as a unitary one to be solved, if solved it were to be, only by united effort and centralized administration.

By 1850 the tide had begun to turn. More and more the leaders of American Jewry, both lay and religious, saw the need for organization either for greater efficiency or for the remedying of undesirable effects of disunity. It was fully recognized that no compulsory union could be enforced, either on a local or on a national basis. Whatever plans were suggested were, therefore, of a voluntary nature. Most of these, too, followed the pattern of the American government and of many American Protestant bodies in being plans for federation rather than amalgamation. It was regarded as possible that independent congregations would be willing to federate for a particular purpose without giving up any of their powers of self-determination in any other respect. Thus, three German-Jewish synagogues in New York City, Anshe Chesed, Rodeph Shalom, and Shaarey Hashamayim, joined together in 1845 to hire Dr. Max Lilienthal, who had recently come to New York, as their rabbi. He was expected to direct the schools of the three synagogues, but Anshe Chesed backed out of the school merger, and did not join it until 1847. By this time the move for a German Jewish community had lost its vitality, however, and the union school dissolved along with the communal union.30

Among the early and powerful advocates of some measure of unity the name of the Reverend Isaac Leeser of Congregation Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia should be noted. Leeser, who came to Mikveh Israel in 1829, was a well-educated literary figure and scholar, although he had no rabbinic ordination. As early as 1830 Leeser established a regular pattern of preaching in English at the Sabbath services. He seems to have recognized the need for a conscious and selective espousal of American cultural elements into Jewish life, lest the unconscious, unthinking, and unselective acceptance should go too far. The Occident and American Jewish Advocate, the journal Leeser inaugurated in 1843, had a strongly traditional orientation.³¹ By the issue of January 1844, Leeser's editorial, entitled "The Demands of the Times," was calling for unity of religious observance under a universally accepted religious law. Although he asserted that he favored "municipal autonomy of each separate synagogue," he urged the development of a feeling of unity and community, if not actual union. Returning to the same theme, under the same title, a month later, Leeser demanded "a FEDERATIVE union," to be formed in spite of the "many inveterate prejudices among our people" which, he thought at this time, had no religious basis, but were founded on differences in wealth, nationality, and degree of reform.

Even before *The Occident* had been started, Leeser and his Philadelphia colleague, Louis Salomon, *chazzan* of the Ashkenazic congregation Rodeph Shalom, had drawn up a plan for a federation of synagogues. The proposal to create a union was broached by Lesser and Salomon in 1841.³² In 1845, an elaboration of the original program, now including suggestions from leaders of Beth Israel, Philadelphia's third synagogue, founded in 1840 by German and Polish Jews, was published in *The Occident* and with it a call for a national congress to make the union a reality. But the synagogues of the country were not ready for such an action. Leeser's plan was rejected out of hand. It seemed that the Philadelphia plan would die a-borning.

When support for Leeser's project came, it was from an unexpected source. Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, "master architect of Reform religious institutions," 33 no friend of the traditionalism that Leeser expounded, nevertheless felt as keenly as Leeser the need for a federation of American synagogues. Unlike others among the German rabbis, Wise believed with Leeser that conscious adaptation of Judaism to the American scene was desirable and necessary, although, as later events demonstrate, Wise and Leeser differed sharply about the nature and extent of adaptation that should be undertaken. Now in 1848 Wise prepared, for publication in *The Occident*, a call "To the Ministers & Other Israelites" for a grand association of Israelitish congregations in North America. 84

Wise argued for national Jewish union on grounds of utility, but it was religious rather than practical utility that was his chief concern:

Now in order to fulfil our sacred mission, to send our important message to mankind, it behooves us to be united as one man; to be linked together by the ties of equal views concerning religious questions—by uniformity in our sacred customs, in our forms of worship, and religious education. We ought to have a uniform system for our schools, Synagogues, benevolent societies—for all our religious institutions.

He commented, most revealingly, on the founding and current leadership of American Jewry, asserting that the majority of American Jewish congregations

are generally composed of the most negative elements from all the different parts of Europe and elsewhere; they have been founded and are now governed for the greater part by men of no considerable knowledge of our religion, and generally of no particular zeal for our common cause. The consequence of all this is, that many congregations have no solid basis, no particular stimulus to urge on the youth to a religious life, and no nourishment for the spiritual Israelite.

Finally, Wise indicated his feeling that the unity for which he was pleading should follow the lines of a moderate reform. He called especially for the German rabbis in the country to join him in his plea for concerted action among the Jewish congregations of America.

In his editorial comment on Wise's "call" Leeser indicated that he endorsed the idea of meeting but did not agree with all of Wise's views. He tied his sense of the need for meeting to the revolutionary events that were then (1848) taking place all over Europe. The tone of Leeser's statement was moderately anti-emancipationist:

In the present whirl of passions which have been let loose over the world, the Jews are running the danger of losing themselves in the agitation of public affairs, and forgetting that they are men who have other duties to perform, besides voting at elections, and fighting in battles. . . . The present actual or approaching freedom of mingling as a Jew with the masses, does not of right empower him to cast away his privilege of being one of God's chosen people.

In May, 1849, under the title "Shall We Meet?" Leeser again endorsed the idea of a meeting of all American Jewish congregations, but specifically rejected the view that the meeting should envisage a general reform of religious practices as one objective:

We should regard a general reform by the authority of a convention as the greatest evil which could by possibility befall our people. In using the word reform, we employ it in the sense which it usually bears in the present age,—a violent change and a substitution of new notions in the place of well-established customs and opinions.

... But there is another reform, which looks to the removal of municipal abuses, as we may term them; ... we see no reason why German and Portuguese Jews could not unite in one common effort to establish a better state of things, without yielding in the least their peculiarities, or their independence.

Thus it is clear that although Wise and Leeser were able temporarily to subordinate their different views of what had to be done in their common eagerness to hold a nation-wide convocation of representatives of the Jewish congregations of America, the differences would have come to the surface and prevented constructive action if a meeting had actually taken place.

But the meeting did not take place. Only eight congregations indicated their willingness to participate, and of these eight, New York's large Jewish community supplied but one, Congregation Shaarey Tefila. Shortly after the date at which the meeting was to have taken place (June 11, 1849), an editorial in the Asmonean, a new weekly paper, edited by Robert Lyon of New York, urged Wise not to be discouraged by his failure to achieve union on the instant. This edi-

torial is especially interesting because it indicates that Lyon was aware of the influence of the American cultural setting on Jewish life.

In the Old Countries where the few govern the many, make an impression on the heads and you carry the whole body, but in America—where every congregation is independent, and every city a multitude of little independencies, it is necessary to Americanize your system, win the many and the few must be drawn into the vortex. . . . Therefore we say to the Rev. Dr. Wise, proceed—propound your principles, lay them bare to the world, disseminate your doctrines, quietly yet urgently, adopt the American rule—Be sure you are right, and then go a-head.³⁵

Lyon's support of union had a multiple base. He saw union as one method of raising the status of Jews in the esteem of non-Jews,³⁶ and also as a means of raising funds more efficiently.³⁷ But his advocacy was also based upon well-thought-out religious considerations. His view interestingly combined the traditional Jewish conception of a synodical authority with a belief in popular sovereignty. "The power of legislation in religious matters should be vested in a DULY CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY, and the people, without a doubt, have

the right to nominate and create that authority." 38

We have reported the failure of this first attempt to establish a national authority for American Judaism in some detail; its failure was unfortunate, but rooted both in the nature of American institutions and in the variety of the Jewish population in America. Every subsequent attempt to achieve complete Jewish unity on a nation-wide basis has also met with failure, for the same sort of reason. One important factor in leading to the failure we have barely suggested here—the difficulty of achieving any rapprochement between spokesmen for traditionalism and advocates of reform. There will be more to say about this major split in another place. Another basic reason was that each fragmentary group, whatever its origin, cherished above all its congregational independence and resented having to work with others who were considered inferior in some respect or, for that matter, with others who considered themselves superior in some respect.

These factors operated with special force in the American environment because of the constant arrival of new immigrant groups. The older account tells of three large waves, the smallest a Sephardic wave in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, then a somewhat larger wave of German and German-Polish Ashkenazim in the first half of the nineteenth century, and, finally, a tidal wave of East European Jews between 1881 and 1914. This older account stands in need of correction in detail. Its broad outline is, however, correct. From our

standpoint here, what is important is that each newly arrived group brought from its homeland a conception of the nature of Judaism and tried to impose this conception upon American life. Each new group regarded its predecessors as little better than apostates. For a few years—the number depending upon the size of the new group, where its members settled, and how long their distribution among the population took—the little nucleus managed to transplant its life in Europe almost intact. Sooner or later, however, often without awareness of what was happening, the process of adjustment to the American cultural scene began. The now not-so-new group became the target of scorn for its successors, and the cycle was repeated.

Adjustment moved more rapidly at first in the early period when the immigrants came as individuals or in family groups; it moved more slowly during the period of East European immigration when the Jewish inhabitants of a whole town came into America together, settled in the same area of some large American city, established a little synagogue perpetuating the name of the town from which they came, and thus served as a social brake on one another. But even in the later period, though it might take two generations for the process of Americanization to get its start, start it ultimately did, leaving, perhaps, a handful of the oldest members of the group clucking their tongues and wondering whether they had done wrong in leaving their homeland fifty years earlier. Again, adjustment moved more rapidly in the case of Jews who migrated from countries where emancipation had already taken hold or where the general pattern of life was closer to that of the United States. Thus the Americanization of English, German, and German-Polish Jews proceeded more rapidly and with fewer hitches than the Americanization of Rumanian and Russian Jews. It should be said, in this connection, that the earlier group of migrants, because of the widespread commercial opportunities at the time of their arrival, tended to disperse through the country more rapidly than later comers, and that this widespread distribution hastened the process of their adjustment.

Whatever nascent trends toward national federation had developed before 1885, by which time the impact of the new migration was beginning to be felt, were destroyed by the fact that the recent arrivals soon constituted a majority of the Jews of the United States and saw no reason for a broader unity than that of their own congregations. Had they been willing to participate in a conference, there would still have been no unity, because the conferees would have split irrevocably into those who favored a controlled adaptation and those who would have no truck with adaptation whatsoever. Then each of these major groups would have broken down into sub-groups,

and these into still smaller groups until, once again, each congregation was asserting its own particular point of view against all comers.

There has been rather more success in federating Jewish agencies in the field of welfare activities than in the religious field. But even in education, welfare, or Zionist activities there has never developed among American Jews, despite repeated attempts, a permanent national organization crossing all lines. An American Jewish community seems, on the basis of the history of these attempts, to be a Utopian dream. Yet there has been one major attempt in recent American Jewish thought to set forth the conditions of community organization in full awareness of all the factors operating to prevent such organization. Mordecai M. Kaplan, founder of the Reconstructionist movement and professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary, is its author. This program for developing American Jewish communities is the social aspect of Kaplan's broader philosophy, but it has gained the attention and support of many who do not accept Kaplan's theological views. ³⁹

Kaplan's program rests on three basic principles in which he attempts to plan for centralized organization without abandoning democratic diversity. His first principle takes care of theological divergencies by proposing that eligibility for membership shall be extended to all who desire to aid in fostering Jewish life, however they may understand the form and content of Jewish life. In various later expansions of this principle, it has been made clear that Kaplan means to include here not only those affiliated with Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform synagogues, but also the unsynagogued, the "secular Jew." The relative importance (for Kaplan, though not necessarily for all who have followed his general position on the making of a community) of different types of organization within the pattern of the community is indicated by the second principle, assigning primacy to organizations whose chief function is to heighten Jewish consciousness-synagogues, cultural organizations, schools-over those whose services to Jewish consciousness are secondary, like the welfare organizations of all sorts. Samuel Dinin has pointed out that in the community councils that have thus far been established, there has been widespread failure to observe this second principle, especially in regard to the synagogues. Kaplan's theories of the nature of democracy 40 lead to his third principle of community organization: each group that is engaged in the performance of a specific task shall continue what it is doing but shall also be represented in the deliberations of the community council. The intent of these three principles is that

Every organized Jewish community will have a general membership, a democratically representative governing council that shall determine its policies, an administrative committee and executive officers to supervise the execution of these policies, various functional bureaus to direct the day-to-day activities of the community under the control of the council, and organizations for specific Jewish purposes such as already exist.⁴¹

Within this inclusive organization, the constituent groups are to be entitled to full autonomy except for administration of property and allocation of budget. Kaplan recognized that granting this much of self-determination might hamper the community program, but he held that this was a lesser evil than "unwise regimentation." In Kaplan's thinking the vital point is that these community councils should not be representative of every Jew, in total disregard of the intensity and variety of his Jewish concerns, but that they should be representative of "every Jewish interest or tendency which is manifest in the community."

One great problem that arises in considering this plan is the ambiguity of the role assigned to the synagogue as the primary agency of Jewish spiritual life. For followers of the Reconstructionist position, this may not be the problem that it is for others, since Reconstructionism regards Judaism as a civilization and asserts that within that civilization the Jewish religion is essentially the heightened consciousness of the interests and values of the group. Because of this view, Kaplan has insisted on a revival of cultural nationalism, in which all aspects of Jewish experience and culture are integrated with the Jewish religion. With conscious paradox, Kaplan has held that it is in the best interest of Jewish religion to stress Jewish secular culture: "The spiritual regeneration of the Jewish people demands that religion cease to be its sole preoccupation." But it is precisely at this point that many thoughtful and concerned Jews cannot accept a definition of the nature of Jewish community that seems to them to invert Jewish values by making communal life the source of worship instead of making worship the inspiration of communal life.

It would be well if the Jews of America could borrow from their Protestant neighbors the conception of an ecumenical movement, providing for collaboration on specific matters across lines of difference. It is voluntary and limited association rather than catholic unity that should be sought. It is in this area of voluntary cooperation that a better spirit is evident. Organizations of more limited scope and membership have proved more viable. So, in various localities, rabbis of widely differing positions have been able to unite on a common pro-

gram. Support of institutions of higher Jewish learning has come from all camps. But despite such scattered successes as these, our summary

must be that the American Jew is a jealous congregationalist.

If so, what has he made of his congregation? Here the distinctive institution of American Jewish life is beginning to emerge. The typical Jewish congregation houses a wide variety of non-religious and semi-religious activities, as well as serving religious functions. Sabbath and holiday services are held there; there may also be weekday services. There are study groups in which Jewish learning on various levels is pursued. There is a Sunday school; there may be a weekday Hebrew school. There is a men's club and a women's club, a younger members' group, social and athletic groups for teenagers (perhaps a gymnasium!). There are sewing groups and card-playing groups, boy scouts and girl scouts. Local Zionist activities may center in the synagogue building. Dances, at Purim, or more recently at the conclusion of Yom Kippur, may take place there. Here, then, in epitome is the American synagogue today. It serves a great many worthy purposes and requires efficient programming and administration.

As an unconsciously evolved phenomenon of American Jewish life, the synagogue-center can certainly be traced back to the early years of the twentieth century and may even have begun to take its characteristic form at the end of the nineteenth century. As a conscious program, however, the concept of the synagogue-center was formulated by Mordecai M. Kaplan in an article that appeared in the American Hebrew in 1918. Kaplan did not think that the Jewish center that he proposed would become a focus for the conflict of "religious" and "secular" forces in American Jewish life; yet it has, in fact, become so. Its most ardent proponents have been the secular welfare groups, especially the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB). Opposition has most often come from leaders of rabbinical thought. Rabbi Israel Goldstein, for example, speaking before the Rabbinical Assem-

bly in 1929, caustically criticized the synagogue-center:

No doubt there is much to be said in its favor, but it is true, as has been repeatedly stated by its critics, that whereas the hope of the Synagogue Center was to Synagogize the tone of the secular activities of the family, the effect has been the secularization of the place of the Synagogue.

To the same effect, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver wrote in the American Hebrew, "The crowding of many secular activities in the life of a congregation frequently causes men to lose sight of the real purposes of a religious organization." More recently, talking to a different JWB proposal, in 1949, Rabbi David Aronson, then president of the Rab-

binical Assembly, echoed the earlier comments that have been quoted when he said, "A community that accepts the philosophy that a gymnasium is as essential to Jewish life as a synagogue, and a Jewish basketball team as conducive to Jewish survival as a Talmud Torah, is on its way to Jewish extinction." 42

On the other hand, Kaplan has maintained that the difficulties stem from the failure of the rabbis to utilize the synagogue-center properly,

and not from the nature of the synagogue-center itself.

Opportunity has brought to the Rabbi the institution of the Jewish Center. If he had only known how to utilize it, he could have made of it the means to a Jewish spiritual and cultural renaissance. But lacking the training in the human sciences, he regards it merely as a means of inveigling the young people to the synagogue.⁴³

A social worker, Harry L. Glucksman, director of the JWB, thought that it was the non-synagogal functions that suffered in the synagogue-center. They were, he said, "shunted to an insignificant location and frequently relegated to the position of an annex to the Synagogue." This happened because "the Synagogue proper and its accessories had prior claims on the building funds," so that the amount available

for center facilities was inadequate.44

While the "secular" and "religious" doctors have thus disagreed in their diagnoses of the nature of the ailment, the synagogue-center movement has met a need in the life of the Jewish people of America and has therefore kept on growing. More and more congregations have invested in new buildings and transformed themselves into Jewish centers. Whether the rabbis supported the move or not, they have been compelled to go along, even while they may have been wondering whether, in attempting to do and be all things, the American synagogue has not allowed its major functions to lapse into relative insignificance. Whatever the rabbis may like, the dominant laity likes the synagogue-center. Since the American synagogue is lay-controlled, it becomes what the laity makes of it. In the eighteenth century, they strove to make the synagogue a community; in the twentieth century they are proud to have made it a community center.

TRADITIONALISTS ALL: INNOVATORS ALL

"I have heard frequent use," said the late Lord Sandwich, in a debate on the Test Laws, "of the words 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy'; but I confess myself at a loss to know precisely what they mean." "Orthodoxy, my Lord," said Bishop Warburton, in a whisper, "orthodoxy is my doxy; heterodoxy is another man's doxy." 45

Any student attempting to face, frankly and honestly and without

preconceptions, the Jewish religion comes up against the problem that Lord Sandwich confessed his inability to solve, and a prolonged attempt to discover Jewish orthodoxy leads to no better formulation than that ascribed to Bishop Warburton. There are groups that call themselves Orthodox; a comparison of these groups reveals that they differ in ritual and practice. Other groups call themselves Conservative; again observation leads to a realization that there are at least as many differences as similarities among these groups. Indeed, if observance of traditional mores in both synagogue and home be one criterion, some of the so-called Conservative groups show a higher degree of traditionalism than some of the so-called Orthodox groups. Finally, there are groups that call themselves Reform (or Progressive or Liberal). These, too, differ widely and some of them are, apparently, more traditionally oriented than some congregations that call themselves Conservative. If, instead of using traditionalism as our criterion we shift to innovation, we find in all these groups, regardless of how they name themselves, a degree of readiness to accept novelties-as we have put it before, to make more or less reluctant adaptations to the conditions of Jewish life in the United States. And, again, the series in which we can arrange the various groups in terms of their reluctance to adopt innovations is only approximately coincident with the classifications into which they place themselves. The Reconstructionist movement, which describes itself as Conservative, has been far more productive of novelty in the last generation than many a Reform group would tolerate.

Indeed, this is how it should be. It may be frustrating for the student, who comes to the study of Judaism fresh from the study of a creedal religion like Christianity, where orthodoxy can be measured by adherence to a creed, but where there are many creeds available and hence many orthodoxies. But Judaism comes before the world as a different type of religion because its norm is change; it is a religion whose dynamic principle is written into its very constitution. Robert Lyon was expressing something of this sort when he wrote of Judaism, "Although its principles are immutable, its customs are not." 46 The difficulty that Lyon did not face, and that, as a matter of fact, few have ever faced, is this: Where there is no creed and no central authority, who is to determine what are "principles" and what are "customs"? Kaufmann Kohler was unquestionably on sound historical grounds when he asserted that "the Jewish religion has never been static, fixed for all time by an ecclesiastical authority, but has ever been and still is the result of a dynamic process of growth and development." 47 But a dynamic process of growth and development cannot be understood except in terms of a fixed point from

which growth is recorded and a regularly formulated law of change. Here it is, in the demand for both a point of departure and a method of change, that we can begin to detect a basis for differentiating the three major varieties of Judaism that coexist in America, and also the reason why each of these varieties reveals the inconsistency to which we have alluded earlier. For as Professor Gotthard Deutsch of Hebrew Union College once wrote, "Inconsistency is the result of the unavoidable conflict between tradition and the requirements of the age." 48

The fixed point in Judaism, the point of departure, is not so much a set of principles as a tradition. The method of change is adjustment to the requirements of the age, where by "the age" it must be clear that we mean not only "the time" but also "the place." For while Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spector of Kovno said that one of the talmudic laws had lost its meaning in the era of telegraph and daily newspapers, 49 the world, and even the Western world, varies in the rapidity with which it introduces the telegraph and makes the daily newspaper available. The "requirements of the age" differ from country to country. The laws of the Torah cannot be enforced with uncompromising rigor. 50

Reform, Orthodox, Conservative, all recognize the force of tradition, all recognize the need for change and innovation. They are traditionalists all, innovators all. Deutsch's summary, though written

a generation ago, still has force:

The orthodox of modern type while adhering to the traditional principle in religious observances, as far as the ritual and the dietary law demanded, has quietly abandoned the stand-point of his fathers who condemned secular education and social life of the modern type. He loves instrumental music, he even tolerates vocal music, he no longer believes in the necessity of keeping up the tradition which demanded that the Jew should be distinct from his neighbor in appearance. The conservative quietly permits the infringement of the most rigorous Sabbath and dietary laws. He will carry and open an umbrella on the Sabbath, which once was a mortal sin. He would eat the bread of non-Jews, drink their wine and their milk. The liberal, the so-called reformer, will insist on the retention of [some] Hebrew in the worship, he will not miss the scroll of the Law written on parchment, he will retain the ancient formula of marriage and the Kaddish for the dead. Even the most radical stops at the Jewish calendar and avails himself of the religious force which 'the days of awe' carry with them.51

Thus there is much of innovation in the most traditional; much of tradition in the most radical of innovators.

Having now paid homage to the similarities of Orthodox, Conserva-

tive, and Reform Judaism, we must attempt to indicate wherein they differ. It would be pleasantly simple if we could say that nineteenthcentury Reform Judaism is twentieth-century Conservative Judaism and probably will be twenty-first century Orthodox Judaism. For certain matters this easy generalization would hold; for example, one phase of the Reform movement in nineteenth-century America was the attempt to overcome non-attendance at Sabbath services. Various devices were tried; some have been continued, some dropped. The service was shortened; some of the piyyutim, or elaborate medieval poems, were dropped; some of the prayers were reworded to avoid unpleasant expressions of Jewish particularism. The prayer book was translated, first into German, then into a rather Teutonic English. A German or, later, English sermon was made a central feature of the service. Attempts were made to introduce more decorous behavior into the synagogue. Some synagogues substituted a Sunday morning service for the traditional Sabbath service; others supplemented Saturday by Sunday services. None of these devices proved particularly effective. Then Reform congregations introduced the "late" Friday evening service, a full service which became rapidly the most widely attended of all save the holiday services. The proper combination had been found: late Friday evening service in a tasteful and decorative synagogue, a sermon by a rabbi who spoke English as well as-even occasionally better than-the members of his congregation, 52 some parts of the prayers in English, some congregational singing, a trained choir, an organ. What matter now if Saturday morning attendance was small, a bane of synagogues in America since the middle of the eighteenth century? The synagogue was reaching its membership on Friday evening, and to reach the membership is to retain significance in their lives.

At almost every step in this process anguished howls came from Conservative and Orthodox camps. Isaac M. Wise and his moderate mid-Western group of rabbinical confreres, or David Einhorn and his more radical Eastern group, were declared to be destroying the heritage of the faith. Sometimes the criticism was formulated in general terms and the specific application left up to the reader. So, in the Jewish Messenger, a bimonthly newspaper edited in New York by the Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs, a paper that announced itself in its first issue (January 2, 1857) as devoted to principles of "the strictest orthodoxy," there appeared (March 13, 1857) an editorial that declared, "If our religion be anything, it is as unchangeable as its source is eternal." True, only God can "fathom the belief. . . . But society requires some standard by which to judge its members. Hence various regulations have been attached to Judaism, obedience to which has ever been

considered a test of man's religious consistency." Again, half a year later, the Jewish Messenger (October 23, 1857) asserted that reformism leads to "deism and infidelity." Sometimes the criticism took the form of a personal attack on one of the leaders of Reform, like the March 2, 1860, editorial in the Jewish Messenger directed against David Einhorn—an ugly and distressing piece of writing. Einhorn had written an article in the New York Herald asserting that the then recent meeting of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites should not be regarded as representing all Jews. Isaacs' ad hominem reply said, in part:

Though [Einhorn] lives in America, his heart is evidently still in his native land on the other side of the Atlantic. He has no allegiance for anything American. . . . Having no nationality as an American citizen, it is not surprising that he should have none as an Israelite, and that he cannot elevate himself to that point which confidently looks forward to the fulfillment of the promise of a temporal as well as a spiritual restoration at the coming of the Messiah.

But it is interesting to note that in spite of this avowed and explicit opposition that is to be found in the Conservative Jewish press of the mid-nineteenth century, virtually every move that the reformists successfully introduced was taken over by the Conservative group and is today a feature of Conservative Judaism. It is only fair to say, at this point, that preaching in English, to which reference was made earlier, was not started by the Reform leaders. Isaac Leeser at Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia and Samuel Isaacs at B'nai Jeshurun in New York had preached in English before the Reform movement adopted the practice. In fact, the credit for the introduction of English preaching, though not at regular services, must be given to Gershom Mendes Seixas, chazzan of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York, who delivered English addresses on days of special assembly like Thanksgiving and the various fast days and days of mortification proclaimed by officials of the government of the United States or that of New York State.

Reform

There was an abortive attempt to develop a native American Reform movement in Charleston, S. C., in the 1820's. A group of forty-seven members of Congregation Beth Elohim petitioned the trustees of that congregation in 1824 calling for a reform in ritual. It is noteworthy that this petition referred to the stirrings of Reform in Germany, although German Reform was at this time barely ten years old, and although the rabbinical conferences held in Brunswick (1844),

Frankfort (1845), and Breslau (1846), which focused and publicized the principles of Reform, were still far in the future. Little came of the Charleston Reformed Society of Israelites; it was not until the 1840's, paralleling the German development, that Reform in America became a movement. It must be remembered that, prior to 1840, the spiritual leaders of American congregations were chazzanim, not ordained rabbis, and that by long-standing tradition only ordained rabbis could authorize changes in Jewish law and practice. Then, when a few ordained rabbis (and some others who claimed ordination but whose claim has never been validated-Isaac M. Wise himself was one of these) came to America, they were migrants from Germany or its immediate neighbors; they came from Jewish groups that had already felt the first stirrings of Reform. The principle that changes must have rabbinic authorization is important; there may have been a considerable lay demand for changes in some of the Conservative synagogues, but in the absence of both a central rabbinical "synod" and a rabbi in the particular congregation, there was no way of making any but the most superficial of changes. An English sermon might be introduced without rabbinical sanction; rules to produce more decorous behavior during the services might be promulgated without rabbinical sanction; but major changes required rabbis to authorize them. This was a stumbling-block welcomed by opponents of Reform.

Isaac Leeser was well aware of the difficulty. He, too wanted "improvements," but he expressed his "desire that nothing should be done hastily, or contrary to law." His reasons for desiring improvements were those of the reformers, "to bring the backsliders and the lukewarm back to the pale of religion." 53 He praised leaders of English Jewry for cutting the length of the services, asserting that this would restore order and decorum and calling it the "duty" of directors of synagogues to do what is necessary to produce improved order in the synagogue. But in 1856 he was faced with a charge, levelled at him by Max Lilienthal (holder of a doctorate from the University of Munich and of ordination by Rabbi Hirsch Aub of Munich), that "it is the sincere wish of the editor of The Occident, that all should remain in statu quo; that a synod should be convened to declare innovation unlawful, and to sanction the status quo by their vote." 54 Leeser's reply to this attack asserted that reform of the ritual and services was all right, but that only ordained rabbis could legitimately reinterpret Jewish law. Thus far Leeser's answer is both just and becomingly humble. Now, however, the tone changes, and he insists that even rabbis cannot show that changes have been made in Jewish law "not by the decrees of the Most High, but by the silent action of the age." He refers to changes based on the specious ground that the laws of the country supersede divine legislation whenever the two come in conflict. Proper reform would be to return to the just standards of old Israel. No other reform is legitimate—or, at least, Lilienthal could not prove any other reform to be authorized by law.⁵⁵

Samuel Isaacs, in the Jewish Messenger, held back even more than Leeser when he wrote, "We want REFORM, not in the service, but within ourselves." Isaacs' statement came, however, at the end of an editorial that began by pointing out the need for more decorum during synagogue services. It would be better to leave children at home than to have them running in and out of the services.

It really appears to us that many of our co-religionists imagine God's house to be a place to see and to be seen, to exhibit the last fashions, to listen to the news of the day, and to traduce the character of their neighbors. . . . Far better to remain in our own dwellings than to be an attendant at the house devoted to religion and to tarnish its purity by our earth-begotten ideas.

But even if the reformers have better order in their buildings, "we have the means within ourselves to remedy the evil, without an endeavor to improve by destroying." ⁵⁶ Clearly the jeremiad, the stock in trade of New England's second generation of preachers, had fallen into the hands of worthy successors.⁵⁷

The relative predominance of Reform rabbis was helped along in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the opening, in 1875, under the leadership of Isaac M. Wise, of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The significance of the opening of the school, of its midwestern location, and of its leadership cannot be exaggerated. Advocacy of a school for higher Jewish studies and the development of an American ministry had been one of the constant features of the editorials in both Leeser's Occident and Isaacs' Jewish Messenger. So, in the January 1847 issue of The Occident, Leeser called for education of English-speaking scholars for the ministry; a school should be established, "whether in England or America, whence may issue men of ample religious and literary endowments, known to the congregations, and therefore likely to be chosen with a full knowledge of their personal history, in addition to that of their acquirements." The hint implicit here was made explicit later in the editorial, when Leeser reproved the practice of importing German scholars whose personal background was unknown. Isaacs, as we have noted earlier, called for the foundation of a "Jews' College of America." Meantime, Wise had announced a plan in 1854 in the Asmonean for a Zion Collegiate Institute: a start toward fund raising was made, but the project did not mature. In Baltimore, a group of young men, representing an association of Hebrew literary societies, called for the establishment of a National Hebrew College. In 1866, Benjamin Peixotto, the Grand Master of B'nai B'rith, tried to finance an American Jewish university by voluntary contributions from members of his order. In 1867 Leeser and a group of lay and ministerial co-workers established Maimonides College in Philadelphia, but it closed for lack of support in 1873. It was the Reform group that finally succeeded where all these previous suggestions had failed. Furthermore, both the midwestern location and the dominance of Isaac Wise determined that the Hebrew Union College was to be an expression of the more moderate wing of Reform; tradition was not to be cast overboard as completely as Einhorn and others in the Eastern group wished. Even in the sessions called to discuss the founding of the College, Wise's more conservative approach was manifest; he did not invite the leaders of eastern, radical Reform, but he did ask such members of the Conservative ministry as Marcus Jastrow and Leeser's successor, Sabato Morais. Wise succeeded in gathering a fine faculty for the Hebrew Union College, and under his successors, Kaufmann Kohler, Julian Morgenstern, and Nelson Glueck, the College has maintained high standards of scholarship and instruction.

By 1885 the Reform impulse had grown sufficiently, especially in the Midwest, to justify the calling of a rabbinical conference to formulate a program. Kaufmann Kohler took the lead in issuing a call to "all such American rabbis as advocate reform and progress and are in favor of united action in all matters pertaining to the welfare

of American Judaism." 58

There were fifteen rabbis in attendance when the meeting was called to order, others arrived at later times during the three-day session, and messages of regret were received from eighteen additional rabbis of Reform congregations. The keynote of the meeting was struck in a paper read by Kohler after the first formalities had been completed. Kohler spoke of the diversity that had been exhibited in Reform opinion and practice.

Looking at the various standpoints of progressive Jews individually or as represented in congregations, people only see that we have broken away from the old land-marks, but they fail to discern a common platform. . . . To many, Reform appeared the name for deserting the old camp and standard, while others beheld in it only anarchy and arbitrariness. Indeed, most of our so-called enlightened Jews welcomed the watchword of Reform as long as it meant emancipation from the old yoke of Law, but when it demanded positive work, the up-building of the new in place of the

torn-down structure, they exhibited laxity and indifference. . . . It is high time to rally our forces, to consolidate, to build. 59

Kohler presented ten propositions to serve as a foundation for the deliberations of the meeting. These propositions became the nucleus of the platform finally adopted by the conference.

The platform contained eight sections, each of which attempted to clarify the standpoint of Reform Judaism on one major issue of belief. (1) The sanctity and sincerity of other religions was acknowledged, at the same time as Judaism was described as presenting "the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages." (2) The Bible was "the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the One God." The concept of literal inspiration was not mentioned; by implication it was abandoned and the value of the Bible was founded on its use as "the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction." In discussion, Kohler's motion to amend this section by including the words "divine Revelation" was defeated, because of the ambiguities in the interpretation of the idea of revelation. With the quiet abandonment of the doctrine of literal inspiration, it was possible for the platform to deny any antagonism between Judaism and the scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century; it was Darwinian evolution that was the issue at the time that the platform was composed. (3) Only the moral law in the Bible was to be regarded as binding; of the other parts of the Mosaic legislation, the group accepted "only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization." (4) Dietary laws and regulations concerning priestly purity and dress were explicitly rejected. (5) The traditional Messianic concept was transformed into a universal hope "for the establishment of the Kingdom of truth, justice and peace among all men." This change was combined with the rejection of the idea of Jewish nationhood; the Jews were "a religious community." (6) Judaism was declared "a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason." Interfaith cooperation with Christianity and Islam was welcomed. (7) While retaining the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the rabbis rejected the belief in bodily resurrection and of punishments in the life after death. (8) "In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation . . . we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society." 60

It seems strange to us that this platform, since known as the Pittsburgh Platform, did not contain a section devoted to presenting the educational viewpoint of the group. True, Reform leadership had already made it clear that it regarded religious education as supplementary to general education carried on in the public schools. The battles of the mid-nineteenth century for the complete elimination of Christian denominational teachings from the public schools had been fought, and at least temporary victory had been won. No longer was it necessary for Jewish congregations to sponsor all-day schools for the negative purpose of preventing their children from being subjected to sectarian teachings. On this point, then, there was no need to speak. The synagogues were carrying on, however, to some extent, a program of Jewish education, even if it were being done, as Engelman suggests, by farming out the schools "to the sexton, the rabbi, chazzan or a private melammed, who conducted the school as a private business, charging the parents what the traffic would bear." 61 The explanation for the inattention of the conference to educational matters probably is that, despite the urgency with which the need for Jewish education was being emphasized in the American Jewish press of the time, neither the congregational lay authorities nor the rabbis conceived of Jewish education as a problem, even on the level of preparing young people to take their places in the life of the synagogue in later years.

The force that was to break down the trend to Reform leadership and thence, in all likelihood, to offset the developing trend to Reform dominance of the American Jewish scene was in the making at the very time that Reform was chalking up this great success. By 1883, when the first class of rabbis was graduated from the Hebrew Union College, the vast migration from Eastern Europe that followed the pogroms of 1881 and that was not to abate until World War I and the subsequent restrictions on immigration, was already on the march. The new arrivals brought with them a type of orthodoxy and Jewish piety that previous Jewish settlers in America had never known, not even in their western European homelands before migration. 62 The newcomers brought with them their own communal traditions, their own men of learning-in some few cases, men of broad learning, but in most cases, unfortunately, docta ignorantia, men of an exceedingly narrow and unipolar learning. They brought their own semi-sacred language, Yiddish, just as their German predecessors had insisted as long as they could on preserving German and as the original Sephardic settlers had tried to preserve Spanish or Portuguese. There was

a difference between the earlier linguistic conservatism and the later. however, and the difference was vital. With the new arrivals, Yiddish was not merely an ancestral tradition to be preserved out of reverence. It was a touchstone of Jewishness, and it served as a temporary barrier to Americanization. The use of Yiddish in daily communication, the publication of newspapers and magazines in Yiddish, the carrying on of instruction in the schools and preaching in the synagogues in Yiddish, insulated this group of immigrants from the currents of American life for a far longer period than had been true of any previous group of Jewish migrants to America. It is only right to note that after this period the use of Yiddish lost its value as a barrier. In fact, Yiddish became a potent force for Americanization, especially in the labor movement. Even today, in 1954, there are Yiddish schools, unaffiliated with the synagogues, maintained by Jewish workers' organizations. These schools are, however, cultural rather than religious in their emphasis and represent not the orthodox East European Jew but his free-thinking brother. Even in the restricted atmosphere of the homeland, this type of immigrant had been a rebel in religion as well as in politics. In the free air of America, he would have nothing to do with Judaism, and, dogmatist in reverse that he was, he would permit his children no religious training. For the religiously orthodox Jew, Yiddish was a stronger barrier; it is only today, in the third and fourth generations, that the separation of the Jew from the American population is breaking down among the masses, although among the leaders it began to break down a generation ago. It has taken this long to naturalize Orthodox Judaism in America.

The coming of the East European group is not only important on its own account, but even more important as introducing into American Jewish life a new sense of the relation between tradition and innovation. We may describe the Reform group as one leaning toward innovation and limiting rather sharply what it regarded as authentic and essential tradition. The older Orthodoxy, which we have been calling the Conservative group, originally inclined toward the preservation of traditional Western European patterns and demanded that any innovation justify itself in terms of this tradition. Now the newer Orthodoxy added to this pattern a strong leaning toward literalism in the acceptance of the traditional Eastern European patterns and, for many years, at least, a reluctance to admit of any innovation at all. America was a double exile: not only the traditional Galuth from the land of Israel but also Galuth from the only place in the world outside of Israel where a true Jewish life could be lived. It had already been clear to Leeser that there were two groups in American Jewry and that their reconciliation was not likely.63 To those who

followed Leeser, in the newer immigrant groups as well as in the older strata of American Jewry, it became clear that the "severance" had to be threefold; that the new Orthodoxy was as little their ideal as was Reform. The coming to self-consciousness of the Conservative group is, paradoxically, one of the greatest contributions that Orthodoxy has made to American Jewish life.

Conservatism

Just as the coming-of-age of reform may be symbolized by the founding of the Hebrew Union College, the coming-of-age of Conservatism was expressed in the development of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The original founding of the Seminary was spurred on by Sabato Morais in reaction against the 1885 Pittsburgh Platform of Reform Judaism, enunciated under the guidance of more radical elements among the reformers. By 1887 the Seminary was struggling to maintain a foothold as an anti-Reform institution. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that its positive program was swallowed up in this negative objective of counteracting the Reform movement. With the coming of Solomon Schechter to the presidency of the Seminary, in 1902, emphasis shifted to the development of the positive program of Conservative, historical Judaism, and the earlier negative approach was forced into the background. This may have been, at least in part, the result of an accession of strength to Conservative ranks from the more Americanized segment of the Eastern European immigration. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it is no longer accurate to describe the Conservative group as mainly composed of Jews of Sephardic and Western European ancestry. Schechter himself came not merely of Eastern European, but of Chasidic background, and he retained a great deal of traditionalism in his thought and in his observance, although "he was not punctilious in every detail." 64

As late as 1913, Schechter retained in his thinking both the negative, anti-Reform element in Conservative Judaism and a peculiarly ambivalent attitude toward Eastern European Orthodoxy. In addressing the founding meeting of the United Synagogue of America, he asserted that the Eastern European group "by the mere virtue of their numbers again brought the Conservative tendency into prominence"; here he was using the term "Conservative" to mean exactly the same as "Orthodox." However, he also noted this "drawback":

Coming from a part of the world where . . . any adherence to the "Intelligenzia" is almost tantamount to throwing off the yoke of the Torah and the Law, they still insist, or a large influential body among them insists, that secular education and modern methods in

school and college are incompatible with Orthodox principles.... They have, further, also this in common with at least the first reformers in this country: that they dread the English sermon just as those reformers did, the only difference being that the latter gave the preference to German and the former to Yiddish. Unfortunately they differ from the reformers in that they have never succeeded in creating proper order and decorum in their places of worship and have, besides, shown very little ability in the art of organization, which is the great strength of our Reform brethren. These our brethren are, undoubtedly, much stronger in numbers than the Reformers. But chaos reigns supreme among them. . . . To object to strict order and decorum in our places of worship, means to expel our children from the synagogue, and to point out for them the way leading to the Ethical Culture hall and similar un-Jewish institutions.

There was something of an uneasy compromise between traditionalism and modernism in Schechter's thought. He was, however, decisive in action, and it was under his leadership that the Seminary faculty reached a level of competence comparable to that of the Hebrew Union College. When Schechter died, Cyrus Adler succeeded him, and Louis Finkelstein followed Adler in the presidency of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Adler and Finkelstein have maintained and strengthened the positive program and the excellent faculty of the Seminary.

As the program of the Conservative group, expressed through the Seminary, became richer, there was developed a union of Conservative congregations, the United Synagogue of America (1913), to serve the Conservative wing as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1873) had served Reform. The Rabbinical Assembly (1919) united Conservative rabbis, chiefly graduates of the Seminary (it had originally been the alumni organization of the Seminary), as the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1889) brought together the Reform rabbis, increasingly graduates of the Hebrew Union College. Other collateral organizations were formed in the course of the years, and in almost every case the duplication of Reform and Conservative forces was maintained.

Although the Conservative movement had a growing number of adherents and was rapidly achieving organizational stability, it can scarcely be said to have achieved definition of its position either on ritual or on legal questions. Some indications of the variation in ritual in Conservative synagogues about twenty-five years ago may be derived from the report of a survey committee of the Rabbinical Assembly.⁶⁵ Congregations that reported the use of a uniform prayer book for Sabbath services used nine different prayer books, including

the prayer book developed by the Reform movement; fifteen congregations reported that no uniform prayer book was used. Of the 110 congregations reporting, 95 had late Friday evening services; 23 of these had only the late service, having abandoned the traditional early service. In some cases, the congregations that had adopted late Friday evening services included no prayers, "but hymns, a review of Jewish Current Events, reading from Yiddish current literature, a lecture followed by a discussion." Special account of patriotic occasions (Lincoln's Birthday, Thanksgiving Day, etc.) was taken by 21 congregations by means of prayers incorporated in the Friday night services preceding these patriotic holidays. Congregational reports on the Sabbath morning service noted the elimination of some of the Hebrew prayers and the reading of others in English. In some cases an English explanation of the reading from the Torah was inserted either before or after the reading. Some reported that the reading of the Haftorah was in English. There were comments that the service was over-long, and rabbinical objections to "cantor idolatry." One rabbi wrote that "the Torah reading is a bore which disrupts the service and has little real benefit."

Junior congregations had been developed as an expedient for taking care of the religious needs of children without disrupting adult services in 78 congregations, but there was considerable difference in the way in which the junior congregations were organized, their services conducted, and their work integrated with that of the adult congregations. Many changes in the traditional bar mitzvah ceremonies were noted, including the transfer of the ceremony to Friday night. A few congregations had introduced the bas mitzvah ceremony. Confirmation exercises, again revealing considerable variation, were

reported by 81 of the Conservative synagogues.

The place of the so-called Yizkor-Jew is evidenced by the fact that in the approximately one-third of the congregations that had dropped daily services, several reported that these services were occasionally restored, "when members have Yahrzeit." Many synagogues said that Yizkor services on the holidays had been transferred to the very end of the proceedings, because otherwise "Immediately after the Yizkor services on the festivals there is a general exodus from the Synagogue. . . . In spite of exhortations by the rabbis, people come just in time for Yizkor and leave immediately after." Other divergences both from traditional practice and from the practice of other Conservative synagogues were; a few synagogues held Sunday morning services; 28 synagogues had organs, and 15 of these used the organs at Sabbath and holiday services.

Similar discrepancies can be noted in the Conservative approach to

Jewish law. A resolution of the United Synagogue of America sent to the Rabbinical Assembly and read at the 1931 convention of the Rabbinical Assembly included the following definition of the Conservative attitude to Jewish law:

Let it become known once and for all that we stand firmly on the rock of Jewish tradition and Jewish law,—but let it also become known that we are the *mekilin* and not the *machmirin*,—that we seek the lenient view, the liberal view, if you will, and not the severe view in Jewish tradition.⁶⁶

But at the joint convention of the United Synagogue of America and the Rabbinical Assembly in 1948, Rabbi Morris Adler, the keynote speaker, said:

American Judaism, if it is to enrich the lives of Jews, must be inextricably related to the conditions and circumstances of our society. . . . No gradual and slow process of interpretations will suffice to evolve a Judaism compatible with our needs. . . . In such spheres of Jewish law as Sabbath, dietary law, laws relating to the problem of the agunah, we cannot any longer be content with revisions by the strict, slow process of law.⁶⁷

At the Rabbinical Assembly conference on Jewish Law held in 1948, with special reference to the problem of the agunah—the presumptive widow whose status cannot be established by adequate testimony (as when her husband is reported missing in action during a war) and who is therefore traditionally prohibited from remarrying—the discussion centered on the question of where there was to be found in American Jewry adequate authority to make changes. The consensus of the meeting was that, pending the establishment of a "Jewish Academy" with authority to resolve areas of conflict between present-day needs and traditional Jewish law, the best that could be done was to interpret the law leniently. Not until 1954, under the constant pressure of the laity, did the Conservative group find a satisfactory resolution of the problem of the agunah.

In view of these wide areas of inconsistency of statement and practice in Conservative Judaism, it may be of interest to record here the preamble to the constitution (1913) of the United Synagogue of America, "a union for promoting traditional Judaism," and the action branch of the Conservative group:

Recognizing the need for an organized movement for advancing the cause of Judaism in America and maintaining Jewish tradition in its historical continuity, we hereby establish the United Synagogue of America, with the following ends in view:

To assert and establish loyalty to the Torah and its historical exposition,

To further the observance of the Sabbath and the Dietary Laws, To preserve in the service the reference to Israel's past and the hopes for Israel's restoration,

To maintain the traditional character of the liturgy, with Hebrew as the language of prayer,

To foster Jewish religious life in the home, as expressed in traditional observances,

To encourage the establishment of Jewish religious schools, in the curricula of which the study of the Hebrew language and literature shall be given a prominent place, both as the key to the true understanding of Judaism, and as a bond holding together the scattered communities of Israel throughout the world.

It shall be the aim of the United Synagogue of America while not endorsing the innovations introduced by any of its constituent bodies, to embrace all elements essentially loyal to traditional Judaism and in sympathy with the purposes outlined above.

Except for the clause concerning Jewish education, this program seems to have been more honored in words than in works in the later history of the Conservative movement.

But it is in the Conservative ranks that there has been the keenest realization that, for better or worse, Jewish education in America has become the responsibility of the synagogues. Perhaps the reason for this awareness is that among the Conservative Jews in the larger cities especially there has been a breaking away from the older Jewish residential areas in the last few decades. The older neighborhood Talmud Torahs, which long served well the needs of both Conservative and Orthodox Jews for weekday supplementary Jewish education, fell victim to this decentralization of Jewish living. It is in the Conservative camp that the most intensive effort has been made to replace neighborhood Talmud Torahs with congregational Talmud Torahs, often in connection with synagogue-centers. Some Conservative synagogues are content merely to maintain Sunday schools, but most try to go further in weekday supplementary classes of varying levels of comprehensiveness and varying degrees of success. The Rabbinical Assembly has held conferences on Jewish education, rightly recognizing that if religious education is to be sponsored by the synagogues, it is imperative that the rabbis accept the role of educational statesmen, and that, in some cases, they will have the role of educational administrators thrust upon them. Keynoting the Second Annual Rabbinical Assembly Conference on Jewish Education, in December 1947, Rabbi Israel M. Goldman, president of the Assembly, said:

We must... affirm our belief in the Synagogue as the major educative force in American Jewish life... It is one of the primary functions of the Synagogue in Conservative Judaism to disseminate the maximum of Jewish knowledge to all age groups and through every method and medium known to the science of modern education. 68

These were brave words, bravely spoken, but it has not always proved possible for the rabbis to persuade their congregations to adopt the kind of budget that is needed to carry out so ambitious a program, nor is it always possible to get an adequate supply of well-trained teachers.⁶⁹

It is also interesting to note that one suggestion, for overcoming the lack of teachers by importing them from Palestine, was not at all well received by the attendants at the conference. It was the contention voiced in the discussion that when teachers had been thus imported, they subordinated their teaching to the aim of inducing the pupils to go to the Holy Land as settlers there. Despite the strong affirmation by the Conservative rabbinate of the need for building up the land of Israel, Rabbi Goldman spoke for the large majority of those attending the conferences when he said:

We must profess the ideology of the mehayyeve ha-golah, affirming the positive Jewish values of the Diaspora and believing in the continuous importance of Jewish community life in America—as in the rest of the world—even after the Jewish State in Palestine is established. . . . We in Conservative Judaism are rearing our educational structure on the convictions, which to us are foundation stones, that American democracy will endure, that America will be the home for countless generations of Jews and that American Jewish life has a great future both culturally and spiritually.⁷⁰

Only the future to which Rabbi Goldman appealed can tell whether the high aims of Conservative Judaism in religious education can be realized. Certainly the Conservative weekday schools have not as yet demonstrated their ability to hold their pupils long enough to provide the sort of educational program that their leaders envisage.⁷¹

Orthodoxy

Meantime, what had the new Orthodox party been doing that led the Conservative force to transmute its opposition to Reform into a positive program for historical Judaism, to import Schechter, and to improve the Seminary faculty? In 1896, the Orthodox group founded the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, named in memory of Isaac Elchanan Spector of Kovno in Lithuania, one of the greatest of the nineteenth-century Eastern European scholars, who had then

but recently passed to his reward. This Yeshiva became the nucleus (after merger with Yeshiva Etz Chaim in 1915) of Yeshiva College (1928), and later Yeshiva University. In its first form the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary was an Eastern European Yeshiva on American shores. It did not (in the western sense) educate its scholars; it was a training school in Talmud and rabbinic literature. After 1915, under the presidency of Bernard Revel, the program of studies was expanded and a real effort made to transform the Yeshiva into an educational institution.

Yeshiva College (now Yeshiva University) not only expanded its educational activities on the collegiate and graduate levels, but it also developed a secondary school of good quality and helped to raise the level of Jewish all-day or parochial high schools throughout the country. Yeshiva College thus became a strong force for the realization of the educational program of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, which

insists that the education of the Jewish child must be religious; that the Jewish boy or girl in America must be trained in the knowledge of the Torah and in Jewish practices. It is most emphatically opposed to any system of Jewish education which eliminates the religion of the Jewish people. Hebrew is the language of the Jewish people, but more than anything else it is the language of the Torah.⁷²

Thus, of the Jewish group in America, the Orthodox group alone records its official dissatisfaction with the combination of public secular education and supplementary religious instruction, especially if the premise of that supplementary education is cultural rather than strictly religious. In practice, Orthodox Jews throughout the country still overwhelmingly send their children both to the public schools and to a congregational or neighborhood Talmud Torah for their Jewish schooling. Indeed, some Orthodox congregations go as far as to maintain Sunday schools for those children who attend neither the Talmud Torah nor the all-day Jewish parochial school.

In 1898, an Orthodox Jewish Congregational Union was founded; the move was largely under the sponsorship of the Conservative group, which still regarded its position as Orthodox. In the activities of this union, it soon became clear that the balance of power rested with the new Orthodoxy, and that the Conservative group did not really belong with the Eastern European Orthodox party. As Moshe

Davis has said:

The clash was not in religious orientation; it was in spiritual backgrounds and cultural proclivities. A variety of obstacles, seemingly conquerable in individual relations, but impassable in the aggregate, separated the two groups: the differing attitudes toward form and behavior during the service; the latent "snobbism" of the Westjuden, the insular attitude of Russian Jew toward the American environment; the deep love of the East European Jew for Yiddish, and the manifest disdain of Yiddish by the others. These deeper and virtually unexpressed disparities were symbolized in two words which the respective groups used for Jewish study: Lernen (learning) and Jüdische Wissenschaft (the science of Judaism). The East Europeans scorned the baggage of Western civilization; the Western-oriented Jews considered such knowledge their passport to civilization.⁷³

The uneasy association was clearly proved impossible of maintenance when the Union resolved that graduates of the Jewish Theological Seminary were not to be regarded as having the authority of rabbis in Israel. The Eastern European group made it clear by this action that the standards and goals of the Conservative group were not tolerable and would not be considered Orthodox. Thus the responsibility for bringing the Conservative movement to self-consciousness and of creating a third party in American Jewry may be ascribed directly to the new Orthodoxy. It is interesting to note that this very rejection of westernization and Americanization was itself an expres-

sion of American pluralism.

When the Orthodox Jewish Congregational Union was thus proved unviable, it was replaced by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, which has remained the action group of the Orthodox party. The quest for national Jewish unity which we have discussed earlier was thus pluralistically resolved by the founding not of one overarching federation, as envisaged by Leeser and Wise, but of three denominational federations, representing Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox factions in American Jewish life. Again, just as Reform and Conservative rabbinical associations came into being, the Orthodox rabbis developed their own association, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada (Agudath ha-Rabbanim), in 1902. Although this organization is still in existence, it no longer speaks for a united Orthodox rabbinate; by the mid-thirties a new generation of Orthodox rabbis, born and trained in America, no longer saw eyeto-eye with their elders. Unable to negotiate a workable compromise with the Agudath ha-Rabbanim, the younger and largely Americanbred Orthodox rabbis formed (1935) the Rabbinical Council of America.

Orthodox leaders prefer to designate their movement as "Torahtrue Judaism" or to refer to it simply as "Judaism" and to use "qualifying or designating adjectives to define its dissenting branches." 74

The concern of Orthodoxy as an organized movement is "to advance the interests of positive Biblical, Rabbinical, Traditional and Historical Judaism and we affirm our adherence to the authoritative interpretation of our Rabbis as contained in Talmud and Codes." Commenting on this statement, Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in 1927, remarked:

Judaism in America must form a link in the unbroken chain of Jewish tradition, the first link of which was formed at Mt. Sinai. It [The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America] is opposed to any compromise that will weaken the foundations of the faith, upholds the principles of the unalterable truths of the Torah, and declares against any substitute in Judaism.⁷⁵

With the exception of rhetorical statements of this sort, there has been no attempt on the part of the Orthodox group to develop a manifesto. Indeed, there is little need for programmatic formulations, since the theoretical foundations of Orthodoxy require no statement of the mode of adjustment to modern conditions.

This does not mean that Orthodox Judaism is unchanging, but that all changes are to be made by traditional methods of interpretation. Leo Jung, the quantity of whose writings makes him the outstanding spokesman of American Orthodoxy, regards the process of interpretation as a perennial revitalizing of Jewish law:

Even among Jews we find some who consider orthodox Judaism as out of touch with modern times. Never did they err more profoundly. Jewish law develops through application of precedent to new conditions, exactly as English or American law does. The Responsa of the rabbis, dealing with modern questions . . ., keep the Jew in rapport with changes in his environment, and with the problems of today and tomorrow. These Responsa accompany Jewish life all through history, and help the Jew to live with the Torah as with a law which is ever alive, fresh and clear with every new question and answer.⁷⁶

In practice, however, the method of precedents makes for neither a rapid nor an adequate adjustment to local and temporary conditions, and it amounts virtually to a resting in the status quo. The authoritative code of Orthodox Judaism is the sixteenth-century Shulhan Arukh of Joseph Caro. All responsa of later rabbis are founded upon this codification of Jewish law. "Thus, for instance, modern means of transportation, which could not have been considered in the Mishnah, are dealt with in the Responsa upon the same principles which governed the primitive traffic of Roman days and the affairs of a caravan in the time of Palestinian independence." "I"

"New" Reform Tendencies

The large immigration of Eastern European Jews after 1881 has, then, succeeded in establishing an Orthodox faction in American Jewry, and it has also resulted in a clarification of the positive program of the Conservative faction. One more important contribution of the Eastern European group to the spiritual life of the Jews in America should be noted at this point, and this is the strangest of all. As the Jews who came from Eastern Europe and their descendants became acclimatized to American life, some of them found satisfaction in affiliation with the Reform movement. Some of the sons and grandsons of Eastern European immigrants entered the Reform rabbinate. These "new" reformers brought with them a keener insight than the nineteenth-century German founders of the Reform faction had had into the sort of spiritual and esthetic satisfactions that a more traditional approach to ritual could bring. Under the stimulus of the younger group of Reform leaders, Reform Judaism in America has moved far closer to a Conservative orientation than would have seemed possible thirty years ago. While the shift is particularly noticeable in the ritual of the synagogue and in the return to some traditional home ceremonies (lighting of the Sabbath candles, some reversal of the trend to the institutional Seder, etc.), it may also be observed in the platform of Reform. The 1885 Pittsburgh Platform, despite some dissatisfaction, was retained by the Central Conference of American Rabbis for just over half a century. It was not until 1937 that the program was completely reconsidered, and the 1937 program reveals the renewed regard for the customary and the traditional that we believe to be one of the fruits of Eastern European influence on the thinking of the Reform faction in American Judaism.78

Reform Judaism's 1937 program showed the immediate effect of the half-century that had elapsed since the Pittsburgh Platform by announcing itself merely as a set of "Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism," rather than as a creedal platform. The Guiding Principles, while maintaining some of the self-conscious universalism of the older Platform, introduce a note of particularism by defining Judaism as the "historical religious experience of the Jewish people." After an affirmation of strict monotheism and transcendence, and a statement that man is a being with free will and an immortal soul, the Guiding Principles go on to assert that Torah is revealed truth, not in the sense of literal inspiration, but in terms of the belief that "revelation is a continuous process." However, "each age has the obligation to adapt the teachings of the *Torah* to its basic needs in consonance with the genius of Judaism." This is a far more traditional approach

than that of 1885 and verbally differs but little from the sort of statement that would be acceptable to a Conservative or even an Orthodox group. In the next section, the Guiding Principles reaffirm the distinctively Reform position that Judaism is a religious community. The Jew who has become estranged from Judaism is something less of a Jew than the convert to Judaism. A neutralist plank on Zionism and a statement of principles of social ethics follow; these will be discussed later.

The clearest indication of Reform Judaism's renewed regard for tradition comes in the third major section of the Guiding Principles, dealing with religious practice. Here it is asserted that Jewish life "calls for faithful participation in the life of the Jewish community as it finds expression in home, synagogue, and school and in all other agencies that enrich Jewish life and promote its welfare." A few words are devoted to expanding on the conceptions of home, synagogue, and school. Then a paragraph is devoted to prayer, "the voice of religion, the language of hope and aspiration." It is asserted that "to deepen the spiritual life of our people, we must cultivate the traditional habit of communion with God through prayer in both home and synagogue," a view that the elders in 1885 felt it unnecessary to record. Toward the close of the section on religious practice, there appears the following paragraph:

Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music, and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction.

The differences between this program and the Pittsburgh Platform are so many and so extreme that the two documents seem scarcely to proceed from the same movement.

For many years the Sunday school was the only instrumentality for Jewish education that was fostered by the Reform synagogues. Even now, despite the greater concern of Reform for "Judaism as a way of life," only a few Reform congregations have felt the need for adding weekday classes. Thus "the yoke of the Law" falls more lightly on the shoulders of the child of Reform parents than on those of Conservative or Orthodox families. One reason that Reform Judaism finds so little need of additional time is that its educational sights are fixed on more modest objectives. The function of the religious school is "to prepare children for congregational life, for understanding the synagogue service and for meeting the problems intelligently which American Jewish life brings." 80 Of recent years, the Central Con-

ference of American Rabbis has become increasingly concerned to gain the maximum advantage out of the brief time children spend in the Sunday school rather than adding more time to be used indifferently. Like Conservative education, Reform Jewish education tries to learn as much as possible from modern theories of education and from modern educational practice. Since the amalgamation of the Hebrew Union College with the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York in 1950, the Reform group has developed a more active program for teacher training, and it may well be that by keeping their objectives within reason, the Reform congregations will achieve them.

Other Groups

In sketching the development and programs of the three major synagogal groups that have blossomed in American Jewish life, we must be careful not to assert too much for what we have done. We have not exhausted all possible variations on the theme of tradition and innovation. There is the small movement of Jewish Science, founded more than twenty-five years ago, that defies classification. Its only importance for our theme is that it is available to at least a few American Jews as a way of satisfying their spiritual needs. As a faithhealing cult, it stems from a tradition far older than any other living variety of Judaism and has a solid biblical foundation; on the other hand it has carried ritual innovation to a point far beyond any other Jewish segment. Alone among American Jewish religious outlets, Jewish Science has recognized the changed position of women in the modern world by having a woman, the widow of its founder, as its spiritual leader.81 Again, we have not discussed the new Sephardim, who represent still another "Orthodoxy" on the American Jewish scene, a group that came to this country in the latest years of unchecked immigration from parts of the Turkish Empire. This group has preserved its distinction from the Ashkenazic orthodoxy of Eastern Europe, and has also kept from being absorbed into the remnants of the original Sephardic settlement. We have not mentioned the Hassidic groups, with their special variation of the Eastern European tradition, who have not merely found a haven of refuge but, surprisingly, have also gained recruits in America. Finally, we have taken no notice here of the unsynagogued, many of whom gain deep religious satisfactions from their participation in other activities of Jewish life outside of organized houses of worship.82

Indeed, there is far more that we could have said under this head. We have, we hope, said enough to justify the generalization that there is and should be no Jewish orthodoxy; that the only heterodoxy in

Judaism is that of denying to others the right to be heterodox. If, by conventional agreement, we use the term Orthodox of one major group, Conservative of another, and Reform of still a third, let us be clear that these terms are merely proper names, not evaluations. A proper name has a meaning, but we do not attach that meaning to every person who bears the name. Not every Abraham is an ab raham; nor is everything called Orthodox necessarily of superior sanction. There are good traditions and poor traditions; to call oneself a traditionalist is to beg the most important question, the question of value. There are wise innovations and foolish innovations; to call oneself an innovator is to beg the most important question, the question of value. "Everybody talkin' about Heaven ain't goin' there," says the folk wisdom of the spiritual.

A strict adherence to every detail of ritual and personal practice may be an expression of profound piety and of a keen spiritual sense of the sanctity of every experience of every day. It may equally well be the husk that remains when the kernel has rotted. A complete disregard and distaste for the entire apparatus of ceremonial and usage may be merely the line of least resistance and a prelude to assimilation. It may equally well be (as it was in the case of the excommunicated Spinoza) an expression of a set of spiritual values far in advance of one's contemporaries. The danger of pride is ever present in measuring orthodoxy, and it is more than ever present in a relatively creedless faith like Judaism. For where there is no creed there is no standard, no norm, no "doxy." Then one can measure the orthodoxy of others only by comparison with one's own beliefs, and this is pride. Far better to recognize that Judaism is many roads, all of which combine in some measure older regulations with the needs of the new day.

MORALISM IN AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE

Earlier, in discussing the pattern of American culture as it seems to have affected religious life, we have called attention to the tendency of religious groups in America to develop along moralistic lines. A complete moralism would involve the attempt to live entirely without religious institutions, and this is, except for a few people and for a limited time, impossible. In the more modest sense in which we shall use the term here, moralism will mean either the assertion that the primary expression of spiritual energies is the living of a moral life, or the assertion that spiritual energies may best be expressed through the channels of agencies and institutions that are not generally regarded as religious. It is clear that historically Judaism has always been close to moralism: greater emphasis has been placed upon

the moral law than upon ceremonial or ritual law. The institution of the priesthood lapsed into all save sentimental insignificance with the destruction of the Temple. Even the synagogue, central as it has been in Jewish life through the ages, has been regarded more as a house of study than as a house of ritual. Echoing through Jewish life down the centuries, the words of Micah, "He hath shewn thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 7:8) stand as the noblest expression of a deeply religious moralism. With other prophetic utterances of like character, it has served to place limits on the possibilities of ecclesiastical development in Judaism.⁸³ In the second sense given above, Judaism may be said to have been moralistic too; for its community organization gave ample opportunity to Jews to express themselves spiritually in what others might regard as a non-religious way.

In America, where men of all faiths have tended toward moralistic interpretations of their own traditions, Jews have followed the pattern in various way. Before considering these, it may be of interest to note that in at least one respect, Jewish life in America has had an opposite effect. Judaism has never supported a clerical caste; its predecessor, the religion of Israel, did have such a class, and many biblical passages attest to the difficulty of maintaining it. When the rabbi replaced the levite, clericalism faded out of the Jewish picture. In America, clericalism in a modified form reentered Jewish life in the guise of the rabbi as a professional minister. We should also note, however, that lay control of the synagogues has precluded the emergence of a true clerical caste; the rabbis, professional or not, remain the servants of the people, not their masters. On the balance, it seems likely that as long as lay control is maintained, a professional rabbinate is more beneficial than harmful to American Jewish life.

The opposite, moralistic trend has shown itself in the number of American Jews who, whether or not they retain membership in the synagogue, regard themselves and are regarded by their neighbors not only as Jews, but also as good Jews by virtue of the time and energy that they devote to doing good. For the most part their beneficent activities are carried out and their spiritual concern manifested through organizations devoted primarily to the interests of their fellow Jews. In many cases, however, the concern may be far more universal; it may be a concern for victims of muscular dystrophy, or for mentally retarded children, for victims of fire or flood, or for the rights of appellants before the bar of justice. Whatever the worthy cause to which the individual devotes himself, it becomes moralistic when his devotion to it replaces devotion to religious institutions,

and specifically to the synagogue, at the center of his life. That this should occur is not unusual; that it should be so readily accepted as an appropriate medium for expressing Jewish spirituality is remarkable.

To a certain extent, the prevalence of moralistic Jewishness in the United States seems to have come about as an incidental result of the bilateral character of the traditional American concept of freedom of religion. The first side that we think of when we mention this concept is that the government has no right to infringe upon the religious beliefs of citizens, or upon their religious practices except insofar as these practices are offensive to public morals or infringe upon the rights of others. The second side, though of equal importance, is less rarely mentioned; it is that religious groups as such should not participate directly in political activity. One result of this tradition has been that various religious groups, including the Jewish groups, have developed what may be called "secular arms." Jewish religious organizations do not directly urge policies or activities on local, state, or Federal government. Special and separate committees, councils, boards, or organizations are set up to bring Jewish views before these governmental agencies. It is clear that the work of these special organizations is, at least in part, an aspect of the spiritual life of American Jewry. When work for one of these organizations is the dominant spiritual factor in the life of any individual, his Jewishness has become, as we are using the term, moralistic.

Of course this is not to suggest that every person who is active in the work of the American Jewish Committee or of the American Jewish Congress consciously or unconsciously regards this activity as his primary expression of Jewishness. Many are also active in their synagogues and meticulous in their adherence to ritual, ceremonial, and custom. It is perhaps only a very few for whom this type of organizational activity becomes a spiritual end in itself. When, however, we add those whose Jewishness is exclusively expressed through the many non-political yet non-synagogal groups that abound on the American scene, the number grows larger. There are those whose need for spiritual affiliation is met through active membership in cultural or scholarly organizations-the American Jewish Historical Society, the American Academy for Jewish Research, the Conference on Jewish Relations, or local Jewish study groups and literary societies. Others find the same measure of satisfaction in working on behalf of Jewish hospitals, settlement houses, welfare organizations, charity funds-a myriad of good causes, each separately organized, and independent of synagogal affiliation or control. It would be a bold statistician who would attempt to estimate the number of moralistic Jews or their percentage in the total Jewish population. Indeed, if this were a sociological survey, the entire class might be negligible; in a survey of Jewish spiritual outlets, it cannot be overlooked.

The completely unsynagogued or those whose synagogue membership is purely nominal, involving perhaps little more than attendance at High Holy Day services and the observance of Jahrzeit, may perhaps be considered in this context. They have always been an element in the American Jewish population. It is difficult here to come by information; "the synagogue authorities, for example, rarely mention the unsynagogued in their records." 84 It seems probable, however, that this group was already to be found in the mid-eighteenth century. Among the immigrants from Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century there were undoubtedly many whose rationalism had led them to partial or complete disaffiliation from the synagogue, and others who abandoned synagogue membership less on grounds of rational conviction than for minor social or personal difficulties. The existence of the unsynagogued and the unobservant was taken cognizance of in the American Jewish press. The Occident and the Jewish Messenger, from time to time, carried editorials and correspondence on the subject. A most revealing comment, probably exaggerated, appeared in 1888 in the American Hebrew:

Among our Christian friends, a man who remains unattached to a religious organization loses caste in society, unless he claim enrollment at once amid the corps of *illuminati* and free thinkers. Not so, unfortunately, with us; petty congregational broils, the heated partizanship of reform and orthodoxy, and, in America especially, the keen and all-absorbing passion for wealth, have all contributed to make the unattached, or the "unprofessing," almost the rule, and the stated attendant at religious service, or the one affiliated with religious bodies, the exception.

Samuel Isaacs, in the Jewish Messenger at an earlier time, seemed to be directing his fire more against the unobservant than against the unaffiliated when he wrote of the Jew who goes by the name of Orthodox:

He would be pleased to see crowded Synagogues every day whilst he himself is actually absent. He yearns to behold colleges of learning where our youth might be taught how to live, how to die, and how to renew their existence, whilst he himself would make no exertion to bring about that happy period.⁸⁵

Inevitably the later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigration increased the number of the unsynagogued disproportionately. The very rigidity of the Eastern European pattern led many, as soon

as they were able in an atmosphere of freedom, to abandon completely a faith they felt as a burden. For many Eastern European immigrants Socialism, labor unionism, and Yiddishism provided faiths to replace Judaism as vital foci for their spiritual energies. Their rejection of Judaism, unlike that of the earlier types of which we have been speaking, was categorical and dogmatic. The earlier group, while leaving the synagogue, nevertheless continued to regard themselves as Jews; the later group, if they did acknowledge Jewishness, did so entirely in terms of a Yiddish-Jewish proletarian culture. Not until the second or third generation after immigration did the animus against Judaism fade; today we are witnessing the return to the synagogue of the Americanized children or grandchildren of the Eastern European unsynagogued. Yet we should note that even this group, so dogmatically anti-religious in their views, did not live without a faith; they replaced a traditional faith with a new moralistic one, and, in doing so, they were taking advantage of the pluralistic and voluntaristic American milieu.

Again, the various outlets that have so far been suggested do not account for the activities of all the unsynagogued, nor is it likely that all of the unsynagogued sought or even felt the need for spiritual activity, any more than it is likely that the synagogue occupies a place in the spiritual life of the majority of its members. For while the philosopher or the psychologist may generalize about the need that all men have for spiritual exercise, it is at best dubious whether the majority of men feel the need that savants ascribe to them. Probably for most people day-to-day social contact with their fellow humans provides a sufficient degree of spiritual uplift and self-transcendence to satisfy their needs. The life of fraternal and social orders satisfies this requirement especially well, because it is enhanced by a modicum of exclusiveness and secrecy and accompanied, in many cases, by an attractively designed ritual. From pre-Revolutionary days to our own times the fraternal (and, latterly, sororal) orders have provided for some a supplement and for others a substitute for synagogue activities. To estimate the degree to which the orders have been a supplement and the degree to which they have been a substitute would probably be impossible; for our purpose it is unnecessary.

In their earliest days in the United States, Jews were attracted to Freemasonry, perhaps because of its wide conception of brotherhood. Moses M. Hays of New York and Boston was the leading figure among the early Jewish Masons in America. He is credited with having introduced Scottish Rite Masonry into the United States. In 1768, he was appointed Deputy Inspector General of Masonry for North America, and was himself responsible for appointing other Jews to high

posts in Masonic circles. Ref Hays was Master of King David's Lodge, founded February 17, 1769, in New York City. "This Lodge appears to have been composed entirely of Jewish Brethren." Later, about 1779, the all-Jewish Lodge moved to Newport. Moses Seixas, one of the leaders of the Newport Jewish community, was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island. Thus, even from these few examples, it is clear that Jews took part, and in some cases a leading part in early American Masonry. Jews have continued to be active in the Masonic movement until today. Increasingly, in the larger communities, all-Jewish lodges have been established. These all-Jewish lodges are likely to have rabbis serving them as chaplains. Although in its origins the Masonic appeal was to a universal brotherhood of all men, in its practice Masonry today has become a semi-segregated fraternity.

In 1843, a new departure in Jewish organizational behavior in the New World was made when a group of the leading German Jewish citizens of New York City founded the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith. From this time on Jewish activity in fraternal orders was increasingly in Jewish orders. In addition to elements of ritual and organization that paralleled those of the Masonic lodges, B'nai B'rith took over some of the functions formerly exercised by burial societies and mutual aid groups among the Jews. Although the order was founded by German Jews, it occasionally welcomed into fellowship those of other backgrounds and spread widely and rapidly in the Jewish centers of population in the United States. Over the years, most of the secret ritual has been dropped, more democratic control introduced into the order, and a wide variety of worthwhile cultural and welfare programs sponsored. Other fraternal orders soon arose: the Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel (1849), B'rith Abraham (1859), Kesher Shel Barzel (1860). Later orders include B'rith Sholom, B'nai Zion, and a major sororal organization, the United Order of True Sisters. As the later Eastern European immigration felt a need for like organizations, especially of a working-class orientation, the Workmen's Circle and the Jewish National Workers Alliance came into being. For most of their members, these fraternal orders serve a merely social function; there are others whose total Jewish consciousness is expressed in their fraternal membership, and for these the various orders must be reckoned a phase of the spiritual life of American Jewry.

It is interesting to note that B'nai B'rith originally intended to "banish from its deliberations all doctrinal and dogmatic discussion and by the practice of moral and benevolent precepts bring about union and harmony." 89 Thus in the very terms of its foundation

there existed a basis upon which those who chose to identify themselves as Jews solely by morality and benevolence and to allow their ceremonial and ritual attachments and synagogue affiliations to lapse could build a moralistic Judaism. Once more it is impossible to say how many have done so. A Christian writer in 1871 saw B'nai B'rith as an agency for the transformation of Judaism into a social morality: "The order of B'nai B'rith, the Sons of the Covenant, is to the Jewish Church what the Christian associations are to the Christian Church, a liberalizing influence, as it turns the people from forms and rites and from speculative questions to works of practical reform and charity." ⁹⁰ For our purposes it is enough to say that for some of its members the order may have done so, and may still do so.

Zionism As a Moralistic Cause

By far the greatest of the moralistic causes that Jews in America have espoused, whether in addition to their synagogue affiliations or as a replacement for membership, was that of the establishment of a Jewish National Home. To such an extent is this true that one would not err greatly in saying that, at its peak, some form of Zionism was the living and dynamic factor in American Jewish life. An overwhelming majority of America's Jews, perhaps as many as 90 per cent, supported Jewish settlement in Palestine.91 Of the opponents of establishing a Jewish National Home, the American Council for Judaism, it can be said that their opposition was the most vital factor in their spiritual life.92 On both sides there was an intensity of devotion and a depth of feeling that amply justifies the assertion that this moralism served a religious function in their lives. The ecstatic comment of Rabbi Israel Goldstein represented a large part of American Jewish feeling during the peak period of enthusiasm, a period lasting about a dozen years:

Palestine is the heart of Jewish hope and promise. Zionism is the spiritual dynamic of the Jewish people. It helps to give spiritual content to Jewish life everywhere. Zionism offers the guarantee that when democracy will triumph in the world, Judaism will not melt away under the sun of freedom. It is the supreme expression of the mystic will to live which is the stubborn fact of Jewish history.⁹³

Zionism is not an American creation, and, despite the leading role that many American Jews have taken in the world Zionist movement, it is only right to point out that there have been tension and friction between American Zionism and world Zionism, friction that at times has led to temporary hostility. Harsh and unjustifiable words have been said on both sides, reconciliations have followed, only to be

followed in turn by new resentments and new quarrels. At bottom, the reason for these differences seems to be inherent in the situation, and therefore the differences seem to be unavoidable. To the American Jew, no matter how ardently he talks of Israel as the "homeland," it is the United States that is really his homeland; Israel is to be the homeland for Jews from other lands, in other parts of the world. For him America is Eretz, though technically still Galuth. In the mass, the American Jews have never thought of themselves as potential settlers in Israel; that is for the Jews in lands of oppression. The Jew of free America supports the settlement in Israel with his devotion, his time, his labor, his money, but not with himself-save as an occasional visitor, a tourist. There are, of course, individual exceptions; we speak of the great body of American Jews. The American Jewish Zionist, who does not have to live with the day-to-day political, social, and economic problems of Israel, does not understand the background of some of the policies that are followed in Israel, cannot comprehend certain compromises, grows impatient, duplicates in the microcosm of world Zionism the errors of tactics of American foreign policy. Meantime, world Zionist leaders and officials of the Israel government, face to face with very delicate internal and international situations, understandably resent the attitude of their American associates. War looks different to those in the front lines and to those who experience it in the newspapers.

Although modern Zionism was not made in America, it has an American pre-history. Zionism represents a fusion of the land of Israel of the millennial messianic hope of Judaism with the land of Israel as a practical political commonwealth, a land of refuge and of hope. Orthodox opposition to Zionism for many years (and, to the extent that such opposition exists, even today) was a resistance to giving a secular and practical turn to a religious concept of supernatural redemption. In the American pre-history of the Zionist idea, Israel remained the focus of millennial hopes and messianic dreams, while the practical political commonwealth was envisaged sometimes in America and sometimes in Palestine. To a greater or lesser degree, the two ideals now fused were kept apart. Devotion to the messianic ideal was demonstrated by support of the small groups of poor Jews who lived in the Holy Land. As early as 1759, Moses Malki was received in both New York and Newport and donations were entrusted to him. A series of later messengers (meshullachim) came to the United States, and at least two societies were founded before 1860. the Hebrah Terumat Hakodesh, the American branch of a British-Dutch organization (1832), and the North American Relief Society (1853). There was some difference of opinion in the American Jewish community about the desirability of this sort of contribution. It was felt that the recipients of this form of charity were being encouraged

to persevere in their "indolence."

An extreme statement of this hostile attitude can be found in the Jewish Times for February 10, 1871. The writer comments on the appeals from Jerusalem:

We have no doubt they are starving there, and the hungry is entitled by right of nature to receive his bread from those who can give it. But have the majority of these people any business to be there and starve? Had they employed the same amount of energy to reach a place where they could find work and employment and a proper sphere for their physical and mental energies, they would, without a doubt, be dispensers instead of receivers of alms.

As long as these pious fanatics are encouraged by other pious people, who merely lack the intensity of purpose and the courage to follow their example, they will continue to flock there. Starvation in their eyes is one of the steps to heaven. . . . That will not deter them as long as contributions pour in to alleviate their misery.

This most unsympathetic attitude towards those for whom the return to Zion was exclusively an expression of messianic hope was not in the least unusual in nineteenth-century America. The virulence with which it is expressed is the unusual feature.

On the other hand, the Jews of America, who had found their own resettlement (or their parents') in a land of freedom and opportunity an escape from the restricted life of European Jewry, were hospitable from the beginning to resettlement schemes for their fellow-Jews. They, who had for the most part entered commercial life, were especially prone to approve of schemes that would resettle other Jews in agricultural pursuits. True, there was no particular stir in Jewish circles when Mordecai Manual Noah proposed his grandiose plan for a Jewish colony on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo.94 But, after all, Noah was a man who took himself far more seriously than he was taken by anyone else, and his proclamation to the Jews of the world in 1825 was a pretentious absurdity that, one hopes, even Noah himself came to regret. When, later in the century, serious proposals for Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine, in the United States, and in South America were made by responsible people or organizations, the American Jews were ready with their support.

Even Isaac Leeser, who of all the more prominent American Jews of his day might have been most expected to sympathize with the messianic view, took his stand with the advocates of practical agricultural colonization, in two strong editorials in *The Occident*. After

recalling to his readers the frequency with which he had brought appeals for Palestinian Jews to their attention, Leeser continued:

We need not be reminded that at present the hills are naked, stripped of the soil which once rendered them fertile. But we have read in a late publication, that they are limestone rock, and that it would not require overmuch labor, by breaking them up with spade and plough, to make them pay the husbandman's toil with plentiful crops of all kinds of farm produce. This is said to be the case even with the naked hills; but what shall we say of the fertile valleys, which now lie desolate, because there is no farming population to plant them? Other lands suffer because the population is too dense for their productiveness; but here is a spot situated in the centre of the courts of commerce, between the east and the west, weeping, so to say, because there are too few to satisfy its craving to nourish them. And who more than the Israelites have a claim on the soil of Palestine to obtain therein their support? Who, more than we, are better calculated to draw the full benefit of Nature's bountiful gifts in our ancient patrimony? Many nations have borne sway over it; but it has not responded with its healthful products to their desire.95

Many people, Leeser went on, had questioned why it was that Jews still clustered about the shrines of the ancient land where once they had been lords but now were little more than beggars. Leeser asked where in the world, with the exception of America, Holland, Belgium and France, the Jews were better off.

Let us go where we will . . . the badge of political slavery and degradation is still ours. . . . Oh! what a freedom this is! What a state that is, to satisfy the longing of the Jewish patriot for happier days—for a time when the land of Israel is again to be ours, to be occupied by the sons of freedom and industry, sitting each under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, with none to make him afraid! Whatever others may do, we do not blame the oppressed, not even the free, in all lands, who look toward their ancient home as the true country of Israel.96

Leeser thought Russia, Germany, Hungary, and similar lands of oppression the proper source of colonists for Palestine. He envisioned the Jews of America as a source of financial support for the establishment of agricultural colonies that would ultimately become self-supporting. Thus he anticipated by a century the present situation. Warder Cresson, formerly American consul at Jerusalem, had been converted to Judaism and, from 1850, had been attempting to found an agricultural colony "near Jerusalem in the Valley of Rephaim." The Occident for January 1854 contains a prospectus for another colony, sponsored by the "Agricultural Committee at Jaffa," and nam-

ing Leeser as "chairman of the Central Committee in America . . . empowered to nominate committees in every town where Israelites live." Commenting on this prospectus, Leeser said he could not decide whether to support this newer plan, Cresson's older plan, or both. He was certain, however, of the excellence of the idea of establishing permanent stability and prosperity among the Jews in Palestine, "to restore . . . an honorable feeling of self-dependence and self-support, and . . . to do away with the necessity of constantly appealing for alms to feed starving thousands in our ancient patrimony."

In the 1880's and early 1890's several more or less successful attempts were made to form organizations in imitation of the Russian Hoveve Zion (Lovers of Zion) movement. Many men who were later to become active leaders of American Zionism served their apprenticeship in these groups. The comment made by Bernard Richards sums up this

trend:

The ultra-orthodox would have nothing to do with what seemed to them a contravention of Messianic belief. The radicals and laborites had nothing but scorn for . . . Jewish nationalists who merely sought to regenerate the Jewish people when socialism heralded the early arrival of universal human brotherhood and redemption for all humanity. Between these divisions and the indifference of the large masses absorbed in the immediate economic struggle of new immigrants to gain a foothold in a strange land, the early pioneers here of Hibbat Zion had innumerable obstacles to contend with. 97

The activities of Joseph I. Bluestone, physician, Hebrew scholar, and editor of early Zionist publications, deserve to be singled out for

special mention in this period.98

Very soon after the publication in 1896 of Theodor Herzl's Der Judenstaat, American interest in the "new" Zionism began to grow. For years the Eastern European Jewish immigrants supplied whatever "mass" interest there was in Zionism in America, although among the leaders were Jews of Western European ancestry. Progress was slow in all sections of the country, but steadily the Zionist movement gained adherents. Perhaps the most important forward step before World War I was the establishment (1912) of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America; Henrietta Szold, daughter of Rabbi Benjamin Szold of Baltimore, was its creator and builded well. Hadassah mobilized American Jewish womanhood behind the Zionist movement, and its corps of devoted members worked not only in the community but also in their own homes to gain recruits to the Zionist cause. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was an important crossroad for Zionist history in America. Prior to the Declaration, the Zionist minority was on the defensive, forced at every step to explain its

raison d'etre. After the Declaration had been enunciated, although no great number of American Jews became adherents of the Zionist cause, the situation was altered. Now the neutralist or the anti-Zionist was the one who was forced to explain himself and his stand.

It was not, however, until the 1930's that Zionism achieved its greatest foothold in American Jewry. The rise of Hitler in Germany, the spread of Nazi racialist doctrines beyond the confines of the Third Reich, and the development, under the spur of world-wide depression, of a revived anti-Semitism, should be noted as the most telling reasons for the increase in Zionist feeling in America. Again, the feeling was moralistic; here were the millions of European Jews who were being subjected to policies of restriction, discrimination, and even extermination. Something had to be done for them, and that as rapidly as possible. Zionism seemed to be the answer; if not the final answer, it was at least worth the trial. And the moralistic zeal of the American Jew, whether synagogue-attending or unsynagogued, poured forth service and money in full measure for the relief of his fellow-Jews of stricken Europe. For a time, the Zionist wave had about it a revivalistic quality. It became a form of hysterical identification. Social pressure operated to make Zionists as it had never operated in America to make adherents to any interpretation of Jewish tradition.

Although the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox groups have all gone through similar stages in the acceptance of the Zionist hope, they have passed through the stages at different rates of speed. Zionists were, first, a small party within each group. The great bulk of each group was either indifferent or opposed to Jewish nationalism. Within the Conservative group, the shift to a Zionist majority came most rapidly and with least disruption. For a time there was some difficulty felt about the problem of dual allegiance, to America and to Zion, but once this difficulty was resolved by showing that the two forms of nationalism did not conflict, members of the Conservative group had little trouble accepting Zionism. In both the Reform and Orthodox groups, the difficulty was a more complicated one and less easy of resolution. Reform Judaism had deliberately eliminated from its thinking the conception of the Jews as a nation. "We have warmly, and earnestly enough, held that the Jews are not a nation. In accordance with this view, we have allowed the purely national holidays of Judaism to drop into the background and have expurgated the prayers for return to Jerusalem from the ritual of others." 99 Despite this elimination of the idea of Jewish nationhood, explicitly set forth in the Pittsburgh Platform, many of the older generation of Reform rabbis, including Gustav Gottheil of Temple Emanu-El in New York and Bernard Felsenthal of Chicago, as well as younger men like

Stephen S. Wise, had early found a vivifying faith in Zionism. There are still two camps in Reform Judaism, but in 1943 the Central Conference of American Rabbis adopted a resolution declaring the compatibility of Zionism and Reform Judaism. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in a carefully phrased resolution in 1937, affirmed "the obligation of all Jewry to aid [in building Palestine] as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven or refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life." While these actions removed the official agencies of Reform Judaism from the anti-Zionist camp, it has been left to each congregation to determine what its positive stand shall be. Orthodox Judaism was split between those who were prepared to accept a "political" return in lieu of a "miraculous" return, the Mizrachi organization, and those who were unwilling to give up supernatural messianism, the Agudas Israel movement. The official Orthodox rabbinical council, Agudath ha-Rabbanim, endorsed both movements. As the younger generation of Orthodox laity matured, their support went overwhelmingly to the Mizrachi movement, and today (1954) Agudas Israel has scant support in the United States. As an Orthodox group, however, the Mizrachi organization has maintained its separateness; it will cooperate but not affiliate with the Zionist Organization of America.

As recently as 1948, the strength of the Zionist movement held together. To the shocked horror of some segments of American Jewry, rabbis went so far as to devote their sermons on the holiest of occasions to promoting support for Zionist activities or to making appeals for funds to be used in the building up of the Jewish National Home. Whatever the formal religion of the Jews may have been, for a time it was support of Zion that was their living religion. So intensely was this the case that in 1948, when the partition plan for Palestine was a major issue in the politics of the day, virtually the entire Jewish population of the United States was turned into a gigantic pressure group for the achievement of Zionist objectives. The Synagogue Council of America, an organization representing both rabbinical and lay groups in Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform camps, called for a day of prayer, April 8, 1948, "to give expression to the shocked conscience of America at the inexplicable action of our Administration in reversing its Palestine policy" by abandoning the partition plan, "to demand the fulfillment of the plighted word of this country and of the nations of the world, and to pray for God's help." 100

But the force of Zionism as a vital unifying factor in Jewish life in the United States did not last. While it did, completely "secular" Jews, of the Labor Zionist wing of the movement, were able to work side by side with Mizrachi Orthodox Zionists, subordinating their many differences of opinion to the discipline of a common hope and a common ideal. Community of Jewish experience, which in earlier days in America was sought in the unity of synagogal life, was, in the heyday of American Zionism, found in the struggle for realization of Jewish nationhood. Suddenly, however, to the surprise of observers and the dismay of Zionist leaders, the driving force of the ideal of nationhood no longer operated in the mind of American Jewry. Organizations on whose active sympathy Zionist leaders relied were no longer to be counted upon. Individuals dropped out of Zionist activities, and collections for Zionist purposes declined considerably. We shall not presume here to attempt to explain this change of heart, but merely to record it. From the middle of the decade of the 1930's to the early 1950's, there was a vital Jewish community in America founded not in religious faith but in a moralistic hope. This was the nearest that the American Jewish community has ever come to complete unity. What will replace Zionism as a focus of unification-indeed, whether there will ever arise another focus of unification-only the future can tell.

Moralism in the Synagogue

Our emphasis thus far has been placed on moralistic activities and causes centered outside of the synagogues, or involving the synagogues only secondarily. This should not lead to the conclusion that moralism had no place in American synagogue life. Quite the contrary; a moralistic concern for social justice has been a continuing force in synagogal life in America from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. This emphasis is nothing new in Judaism. The passionate pleas of the prophets for a world ordered by justice were reenforced in the Talmud and later codes by regulations that were aimed at the more limited but, realistically, more realizable end of achieving a Jewish community ordered by justice. Tenuous as was their own position, the early Jewish settlers in America maintained explicitly the tradition that no Jew should become a public charge, but that his needs should be met by his fellow-Jews. In the first instance, the institution through which this concern was expressed was the synagogue, and despite the later development of specialized Jewish welfare agencies and the professionalization of Jewish welfare workers, the synagogue is still a vital link in supplying the needs of individual Jews.

On a more formal and generalized level, synagogue councils and rabbinical associations have taken the lead by adopting programs of guiding principles of social justice. These programs and pronouncements, revised from time to time to take account of changing circum-

stances, have in all cases been represented by those who drafted them as continuous with earlier Jewish tradition. The Program of Social Justice adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1928 begins with the words, "Deriving our inspiration for social justice from the great teachings of the prophets of Israel and the other great traditions of our faith and applying these teachings concretely to the economic and social problems of today, we . . . make this declaration of social principles." The 1934 Pronouncement of the Rabbinical Assembly of America on Social Justice makes the same point:

Judaism has always recognized certain basic principles for social organization and has endeavored to apply them to the changing social situation. The authors of this pronouncement believe that its essence is traditional. For its general principles, historic Judaism is the sanction. Only its specific applications to contemporary social problems are their own.

To assure the continued application of the principles set forth in these manifestoes to matters of current concern, the Central Conference maintains a Commission on Social Justice, and the Rabbinical

Assembly a Committee on Social Justice.

There is a striking similarity of content in the Reform Program and the Conservative Pronouncement. Both speak out frankly and freely on the major issues in our age of collective insecurity. Both accept the general principle of private ownership, with reservations concerning the use that is made of private property. Both argue for the maintenance of the rights of individuals in an era of over-organization. Both advocate social security and the increase of cooperative enterprise. Both manifest a deep concern for international peace. There are differences, of course. The Reform statement makes specific reference to women and children in industry and to the reform of prisons and penal institutions. The Conservative statement includes a specific paragraph expressing antagonism to both Communism and Fascism, and support of democracy as a third way. The dates of these statements may go far toward accounting for the differences. The similarity needs no other explanation than that the fundamental background of both is traditional Judaism, the Reform group emphasizing the prophetic writings, the Conservatives the historic tradition. Nor should the absence of an official statement by Orthodox spokesmen lead us to believe that there is less social concern among the Orthodox; it is perhaps differently expressed but it is actively present.101

The pronouncement of the Rabbinical Assembly affirmed that "questions of politics and economics are legitimate and necessary subject

matters for treatment from the pulpit by ministers of religion." The Reform rabbis, too, have held that the pulpit is not fulfilled unless matters of this sort are freely discussed by the preachers. It is, however, far easier to maintain this position in an assembly of rabbis, or, for that matter, in a convention of synagogal representatives, like the Union of American Hebrew Congregations or the United Synagogue of America, than it is for the individual rabbi or synagogue leader to realize it in practice in a local synagogue situation. Not a few of the conflicts between rabbis and laity in American congregations have arisen because of resentment in the pews of economic, social, or political comments from the pulpit. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which this fact of life has vitiated the bold declarations of rabbis in convocation assembled.

It should be noted, however, that very frequently the original form of the criticism is that the rabbi is not preaching on "religious" subjects. Part of the problem of the rabbinate and part of the reason for the wide circulation of even the most general declarations of principles is to educate the laity to the recognition that when a rabbi discusses social themes he is preaching religiously. Nowhere has this been better stated than in the Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism, adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1937:

In Judaism religion and morality blend into an indissoluble unity.... The love of God is incomplete without the love of one's fellowmen. Judaism emphasizes the kinship of the human race, the sanctity and worth of human life and personality and the right of the individual to freedom and to the pursuit of his chosen vocation. Justice to all, irrespective of race, sect or class, is the inalienable right and the inescapable obligation of all.

Nowhere has this been better justified than in the Pronouncement of the Rabbinical Assembly of America on Social Justice:

It is the duty of religion . . . to ally itself with those forces that make for social education and the fostering of a social conscience. . . . We who profess to dedicate ourselves to the advancement of Jewish religion must bring it into the arena of social life as a force for reconstruction and rebirth. . . . Only to a society which aims to realize these ideals can we give our complete moral assent, for only in such a society will the doctrines of the divinity of God and the brotherhood of men be translated from theological abstractions into the applied principles by which the communities of men may order themselves.

To the extent that the ideals of the Jewish faith can be realized in America, the rabbis seem to say, America, too, can be a holy land, not only for American Jews but for all mankind.

NOTES

1. Cambridge, Mass., Vols. I and II, 1927; Vol. III, 1930.

2. Although the formulation of this principle is my own, its content represents my understanding of the teaching of Professor Salo W. Baron.

3. As we have recently and unhappily seen in the destruction of the centuries-

old Jewish syntheses of Germany and Poland.

4. Cf. Yitzhak F. Baer, Galut. New York, 1947. "All modern views of the Galut... are inadequate.... [They] fail to do justice to the enormous tragedy of the Galut situation.... The Galut has returned to its starting point. It remains what it always was: political servitude, which must be abolished completely.... We went among the nations neither to exploit them nor to help them build their civilizations. All that we did on foreign soil was a betrayal of our own spirit."

p. 117, 118, 122.

5. Cf. Ludwig Lewisohn, The American Jew: Character and Destiny. New York, 1950. "One thing is clear to all except the self-stupified [sic] laggards of a perished age: we cannot remain in freedom and dignity on the terms of the old pseudo-liberalistic emancipation. . . . It is the post-emancipation Galuth that must be negated in its essential character. . . . Dispersion becomes Galuth when the Jew unresistingly yields to environmental pressure; when he consents to alienation from the sources of his being. . . . Galuth in that precise and unescapable sense is self-created, created by Jews with a sub-conscious drive to Jewish death." p. 6, 13, 34, 45-46.

6. Although today there are about 100,000 Jewish farmers in America.

7. Cf. Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture. New York, New American Library

(Mentor Books), passim, for such tribal names as Zuñi.

8. J. L. Gordon's phrase, often used to characterize one phase of the Jewish Enlightenment (haskalah) in Eastern Europe, is given in a variant form in Jacob S. Raisin, The Haskalah Movement in Russia. Philadelphia, 1913. p. 13, 261. Wise's remark is quoted by Hyman B. Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654–1860. Philadelphia, 1945. p. 462.

9. Rena Michaels Atchison, Un-American Immigration: its present effects and

future perils. Chicago, 1894. pp. 41-42.

10. For discussion of McCollum v. Board of Education (333 U.S. 203) and Zorach v. Clauson (343 U.S. 306), see Leo Pfeffer, Church, State, and Freedom. Boston, 1953. Chap. 10, especially pp. 342-73.

11. According to the 1947 census of religious bodies.

- 12. For the context of Leggett's phrase, cf. Joseph L. Blau, ed., Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy. New York, 1954 (second printing) p. 78-81.
- 13. See Winthrop Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches (New York, 1953), for an excellent recent discussion of voluntarism.

14. It seems to us that there is this much of general and universal truth in the

old and arbitrary distinction of priests and prophets.

15. For Increase Mather, see Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province. Cambridge (Mass.), 1953. passim. Miller quotes Mather's insistence that by 1674 a new generation had arisen "who give out, as if saving Grace and Morality were the same." (p. 34.) For Edwards, see Joseph L. Blau, Men and Movements in American Philosophy. New York, 1952. p. 17-27. For the story of the Apostolic Letter of Leo XIII, see The Catholic Encyclopedia, which also gives

translations of excerpts from the text of the letter. It is interesting to note that the view we have been presenting here is partly anticipated by one of American Protestantism's most subtle (and hence least-read) theologians, Henry James the Elder, father of the novelist Henry James and the philosopher-psychologist William James; the distinction between moralism and ecclesiasticism, and the struggle of each religious group to achieve a balance is suggested in two of James's titles: Moralism and Christianity; New York, 1850; and The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism; London, 1856.

16. This is, of course, because Judaism derives from the Pharisaic tradition. The Sadducees were the party of ecclesiasticism. For a full-scale discussion of the sociological backgrounds of Pharisaism making clear its relation to prophetic religion, see Louis Finkelstein, The Pharisees. 2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1938. It is especially noteworthy that Finkelstein asserts a continuity between ancient Pharisaism and such a (relatively) recent moralism as the Musar (ethicist) movement of Israel Salanter. See, too, R. Travers Herford, "The Law and Pharisaism," in Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, ed., Judaism and Christianity III. Law and Religion. London, 1938. Note here Herford's statement: "My purpose in this lecture is to present to you one system of belief and practice in which the sense of obligation is brought into the closest possible connection with religion, so close that religion and morality (which is based on the sense of obligation) are inseparably blended and hardly to be distinguished" (p. 92; italics ours). Here is a statement of moralism differing in language but not in meaning from Increase Mather's statement, quoted in note 15, above. Noteworthy instances of moralism in American Jewish life are to be found in group pronouncements on social justice. For a discussion of this, see section on "Moralism in American Jewish Life," p. 149 and f.

17. A full scale discussion is available in Salo W. Baron, The Jewish Community; Its History and Structure to the American Revolution. 3 volumes, Philadelphia, 1942. Baron emphasizes the internal influences in the development of the "Diaspora

community," which we necessarily slight in this brief discussion.

18. See the careful studies by Guido Kisch, especially The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status. Chicago, 1949. See also the documents collected by Kisch, Jewry-Law in Medieval Germany. Laws and Court Decisions Concerning Jews (American Academy for Jewish Research, Texts and Studies, volume III), New York, 1949.

19. In some ways the threat of this seems greater in the mid-twentieth century

than at any earlier time in American national experience.

20. Details of the Jewish community of New York are drawn chiefly from Grinstein, op. cit., passim. Supplementary information in Israel Goldstein, A Century of Judaism, 1825–1925. New York, 1930; Taylor Phillips, "The Congregation Shearith Israel," in Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society (henceforth PAJHS), no. 6; M. Kohler, "Jewish Life in New York before 1800," PAJHS, no. 2; Albion M. Dyer, "Points in the First Chapter of New York Jewish History," PAJHS, no. 3; Peter Wiernik, History of the Jews in America. Second edition, revised and enlarged, New York, 1931. An extended discussion of the problems of Shearith Israel in administering its cemetery properties is available in the introductory section of David de Sola Pool, Portraits Etched in Stone. Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831. New York, 1952.

21. Text as given in Wiernik, op. cit., p. 65.

22. Text as given in Wiernik, ibid.

23. In addition to the sources listed above, valuable information, especially concerning the curricula of the early schools, is to be found in Alexander M. Dushkin, Jewish Education in New York City. New York, 1918.

24. For Newport, see Morris A. Gutstein, The Story of the Jews of Newport:

1658-1908. New York, 1936; for Philadelphia, Henry S. Morais, The Jews of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1894; for Charleston, Barnett A. Elzas, The Jews of South Carolina . . . Philadelphia, 1905, and Charles Reznikoff and Uriah Z. Engelman, The Jews of Charleston. Philadelphia, 1950; for other cities, consult Wiernik, op. cit.

25. For this decision, see M. Kohler in *PAJHS*, no. 2, p. 90. Other writers are in general agreement on the extent of laxity in religious observance in the eighteenth century. This makes all the more startling the declaration of Moshe Davis that "Jewish life maintained its traditional character. Religious life and practices were traditional in every respect." "Jewish Religious Life and Institutions in America" in Louis Finkelstein, ed., *The Jews*. New York, 1949. p. 357. Davis himself indicates considerable "community disintegration and laxity in observance" (p. 358).

26. Jacob R. Marcus, Early American Jewry, Philadelphia, 1953, vol. II, p. 435,

486-88.

27. Davis, op. cit., p. 358 tells of the perpetuation of lay control in 1862. "Dr. Morris Raphall, the rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, was compelled, in accordance with his congregation's ruling, to request permission from the parnas

to officiate at the wedding of his own daughter!"

28. In 1821 the young Jewish community in Cincinnati (first services held in 1819; Congregation Bene Israel organized 1824, incorporated 1830) acquired cemetery property in order to bury a man who confessed on his deathbed that he was a Jew, although he had never lived as one. See Lee M. Levinger, A History of the Jews in the United States. Cincinnati, 1944, p. 152.

29. Morais, op. cit., p. 89-90.

30. See Grinstein, op. cit., p. 91, 233 f., and, especially, 395-98; and documents in Appendix XI, p. 513-17.

31. So, for example, Leeser's editorial on "The Jewish Creed" in the July, 1843

issue insisted on the teaching of the literal coming of the Messiah.

32. Typical of the opposition to union is the following resolution, adopted by Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, S.C., August 10, 1841: "Resolved that all conventions, founded or created for the establishment of any ecclesiastical authority whatever, . . . are alien to the spirit and genius of the age in which we live, and are wholly inconsistent with the spirit of American Liberty." Quoted from the minutes of Congregation Beth Elohim by Joseph Buchler, "The Struggle for Unity: Attempts at Union in American Jewish Life, 1654–1868," in American Jewish Archives, vol. II, no. 1 (June, 1949), p. 27.

33. Davis, op. cit., p. 366.

34. Occident, December, 1848.

35. Asmonean, November 2, 1849. The phrase quoted at the end as the "Amer-

ican rule" was Davy Crockett's motto in the War of 1812.

36. Asmonean, January 18, 1850. "Unite, combine and be harmonious. Your combination will not only give stability and permanency, but bring with it an elevation of character, that will tend very considerably to enhance the position of the Israelite in the esteem of his fellow citizens."

37. Ibid.

38. Asmonean, May 10, 1850.

39. See Mordecai M. Kaplan, Judaism in Transition. New York, 1926, Appendix I, p. 301-06, for a statement of Kaplan's view. See Ira Eisenstein and Eugene Kohn, eds., Mordecai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation. New York, 1952, especially for comment by Samuel Dinin, Samuel C. Kohs, and Louis Kraft.

40. It would be impossible even to summarize these theories here. See Joseph

L. Blau, "Kaplan as Philosopher of Democracy," in Eisenstein and Kohn, op. cit.

41. Judaism in Transition, p. 302.

- 42. Indianapolis (Indiana) Jewish Post, June 24, 1949.
- 43. "Need Rabbi and Social Worker Clash?" in Opinion, March 28, 1932.
- 44. "The Synagogue Center," Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, IV (1933), p. 273.

45. J. Priestley, Memoirs. Vol. I, p. 572.

46. Asmonean, January 2, 1852.

47. K. Kohler, Jewish Theology Systematically and Historically Considered. New York, 1918, p. viii.

48. G. Deutsch, Scrolls: Essays on Jewish History and Literature, and Kindred Subjects. Cincinnati and New York, 1917, Vol. I, p. 97.

49. See Deutsch, ibid.

50. Shulhan Arukh, Hoshen Mishpat, 17, 3.

51. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 96.

52. See The Jewish Messenger, July 17, 1857, where the editorial, "What Is Needed," calls for the establishment of a "Jews' College of America." "In that case, we should no longer be obliged to send abroad for our teachers, we could find them at home. Far more useful expounders of the Supreme's law would they be, than those who are imported from Germany and obliged to practise the language generally employed in this country for a long time before their lessons can be of advantage to those who need them." There is special animus in the case of Isaacs, editor of the Messenger, who was an English Jew, chazzan first of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun and, later, of Shaarey Tefilah in New York. Similar sentiments had been voiced by Leeser in the Occident a decade earlier; see editorials of March, 1846, and January, 1847.

53. Occident, March, 1844.

54. Lilienthal's attack was published in Isaac M. Wise's paper, *The Israelite*, of which Lilienthal was corresponding editor. It is given here as reprinted by Leeser in the *Occident*, November, 1856.

55. Occident, November, 1856.

56. Jewish Messenger, October 23, 1857.

57. For the jeremiad in New England, see Perry Miller, op. cit. (note 15, above).

58. Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference, November 16, 17, 18, 1885. Published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis in honor of . . . Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler . . ., 1923, p. 6.

59. Ibid., p. 7-8.

- 60. Ibid., p. 24-25. A fuller discussion of the "social justice" theme is presented below.
- 61. Uriah Zevi Engelman, "The Congregation and Hebrew Education," in *Jewish Education*, XXIV, no. 2 (Fall, 1953), p. 42.
- 62. The modern reader can get a feeling, somewhat sentimentalized, of what the "inner world of the Jew in Eastern Europe" was like in Abraham J. Heschel's beautiful essay, *The Earth is the Lord's*. New York, 1950.
- 63. Occident, May, 1864. "Much as all sincere Israelites must regret the possibility of separation, there can be no question that the evils of a declared severance will be far less than the fatal mingling of all sorts of ideas, in which the strict observance of our doctrines and laws is regarded as something useless in this age of vaunted enlightenment, in which everything is sacrificed to outside appearance, and reality is looked upon as far less valuable than a deceptive outside."

64. Charles I. Hoffman, "Memories of Solomon Schechter," in Cyrus Adler, ed., The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. New York, 1939, p. 64.

65. Morris Silverman, "Report of Survey on Ritual," in Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, IV (1933), p. 322-43.

66. Op. cit., p. 130.

67. Indianapolis (Ind.) Jewish Post, May 21, 1948.

68. Proceedings of the Second Annual Rabbinical Assembly Conference on Jewish

Education, December, 1947. New York, 1947, p. 4.

69. See Engelman, op. cit., p. 39-47 for discussion of these and other difficulties in the path of congregational religious schools. The position Engelman finally takes is one of qualified optimism.

70. Proceedings of the Second . . . Conference on Jewish Education, p. 3-4.

- 71. See Richard C. Hertz, "The Jewish Religious School-Its Basic Purpose," in Religious Education, XLIX (1954), p. 352-53.
- 72. A Message to Every Jew (a pamphlet published by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, 1927), p. 5.

73. Davis, op. cit., p. 391.

74. Leo Jung, "Orthodox Judaism," in Aaron Opher, ed., Judaism, a study course published in mimeographed form by the National Council of Jewish Women, 1945, p. 1.

75. A Message to Every Jew, p. 2.

76. Leo Jung, "What is Orthodox Judaism?" in Leo Jung, ed., The Jewish Library, second series, New York, 1930, p. 114-15.

77. L. Jung, in A. Opher, ed., op. cit., p. 5. Italics supplied.

78. A particularly vivid representation of the change in Reform thinking is available to the general reader in the collection of essays by Hebrew Union College Alumni, published under the title Reform Judaism. Cincinnati, 1949. In this volume, contributions from older and younger graduates may be directly compared, and the newer orientation made evident. Another important sign of change is the shift of the Central Conference of American Rabbis from an anti-Zionist to a "neutralist" stand which will be discussed later.

79. For the text, see Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis

XLVII, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 97-100.

80. Hertz, op. cit., p. 352.

81. Tehillah Lichtenstein. British Liberal Judaism took this step many years ago, accepting Lily Montague as one of its leaders. Despite the world importance of Henrietta Szold and the aid she gave in formulating the program of Conservative Judaism, American Jews have been far too tradition-bound to recognize Miss Szold or any other woman as a religious leader. The loss and the shame fall alike on all camps.

82. The spiritual life of the unsynagogued is discussed in the final section of

this essay.

83. See, as one illustration of how this limitation worked, b. Talmud, Makkoth, 23b-24a.

84. Grinstein, op. cit., p. 333.

85. Jewish Messenger, January 14, 1859.

86. Samuel Oppenheim, The Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810, p. 5-8. (This is an offprint from Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, vol. XIX).

87. Ossian Lang, History of Freemasonry in the State of New York. New York,

York, 1922. p. 38.

88. Oppenheim, op. cit., p. 25.

89. Julius Bien, "A History of the Independent Order Bnai Brith," as quoted in Grinstein, op. cit., p. 109.

90. Charles H. Brigham, "The Progressive Jews: A Christian View," The Golden Age, April 1871, reprinted in the Jewish Times, May 5, 1871.

91. In 1945, a Roper poll showed just under 90 per cent of American Jews

favoring further Jewish settlement in Palestine.

92. After the establishment of the State of Israel, some of the members of the American Council for Judaism resigned because (a) with the establishment, their opposition no longer had meaning and (b) the American Council for Judaism had failed to develop a positive program.

93. Israel Goldstein, Towards a Solution, New York, 1940. p. 176.

94. The story of Noah's "Ararat" colony is an oft-told tale. See the romantic version in Isaac Goldberg, Major Noah: American-Jewish Pioneer. Philadelphia, 1936, and the soberer version in A. B. Makover, Mordecai M. Noah. New York, 1917.

95. Occident, December, 1853. 96. Occident, January, 1854.

97. Bernard G. Richards, "Zionism in the United States," supplementary chapter in American edition of Israel Cohen, *The Zionist Movement*. New York, 1946. p. 328.

98. See the summaries of Bluestone's unpublished memoirs and scrapbook presented by Hyman B. Grinstein, in PAJHS, vol. 35 (1939).

99. The Hebrew Union College Journal, November, 1896.

100. The call was reprinted widely. This quotation is excerpted from the text as given in the Atlantic City (N.J.) Jewish Record, April 2, 1948.

101. See, for example, Leo Jung, "Judaism and the New World Order," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology IV (1944-45), p. 385-393.

Socio-Economic Data

JEWISH POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1954

THE JEWISH POPULATION of the United States may still be said to be slightly over the 5,000,000 mark as of July 1, 1954. This estimate, first published in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 (Vol. 55), p. 3, is supported by the results of the survey undertaken during 1954 of all known Jewish communities in the United States with more than 100 Jews. The over-all estimate is based upon the data derived from this survey, together with a projection for those communities which did not report or which had fewer than 100 Jews. Individual estimates for more than 700 communities are contained in Table 1 appended below. This marks the third revision of the pioneer compilation of Jewish population estimates published in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1949 (Vol. 50); prior revisions appeared in volumes 52 and 55 of the YEAR BOOK.

Method of Operation

The estimates listed in Table 1 of the Appendix to this article were secured during 1954 through methods similar to those employed in previous years. First, the more than 200 members of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (CJFWF) located in the United States were asked in a questionnaire circularization: (a) What is your current 1954 estimate and is it different from the previous estimate? (b) What method has been used to arrive at this estimate? and (c) Do you contemplate making a survey of Jewish population in the near future? Then, for those communities which were not members of the CJFWF or which did not return the questionnaire, the files of the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) were examined. The UJA files were particularly helpful in obtaining estimates for the smaller Jewish communities.

Suburban New York City Survey

The estimates of Jewish populations of the suburban communities in the Greater New York area secured for the first time in 1953 through separate questionnaires were again checked in 1954. Those who had not answered in 1953 were again asked: (a) What is your estimate of the number of Jewish families in your community? (b) Is this number larger or smaller than it was five years ago? (c) Within what age bracket does the average head of house-

hold in your community fall? and (d) What area did the new residents in your community come from? Informants who had replied to the 1953 questionnaire were asked: (a) What is your present estimate of the number of families residing in your community? (b) What is your estimate of the average size of the Jewish household? (c) On what basis is your population estimate compiled? and (d) What is the exact geographical area covered by your estimate, (See below, for an analysis of the replies.)

The current suburban inquiry helped to develop additional information concerning the Jewish populations in these areas, as well as to re-evaluate the data obtained in the previous year. Although it has proved generally more difficult to secure information from such suburban communities because of the lack of a central community organization, enough information has been obtained to prove the value of such inquiries. It is hoped that future studies may be conducted among suburban areas surrounding other large Jewish urban centers. This would do much to trace the movement in the Jewish population from urban to suburban areas.

New York City Estimate

No new estimate was attempted for New York City proper. The data appearing in the Appendix was derived from an estimate made in 1953 based upon the Yom Kippur method (see below). This estimate indicated that the Jewish population in New York City proper was approximately 27 per cent of the total city population. The Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP), a major health organization, undertook in 1952 a sample study of health problems which obtained as collateral data the religious preferences of the heads of households interviewed. Of the 13,558 individuals (selected on the basis of area probability) covered in this study, 26.4 per cent were estimated as Jewish. There is consequently a difference of less than one percentage point between the HIP study and the one described above. The importance of the New York City estimate is evident when we consider that its Jewish population comprises approximately 40 per cent of the total American Jewish population.

National Estimates

The estimates contained in Table 1 of the Appendix are of value because they offer information on the spread of the Jewish population within the United States and on the relative density of this population. They are in fact the only centralized source for such data. In the use of such data it is however essential to keep in mind its inherent limitations. While the material offers information on the gross magnitudes involved, an attempt to evaluate dynamic changes in Jewish populations on this basis is bound to encounter serious limitations. The reasons for these limitations have been discussed at greater length in the earlier articles in the American Jewish Year Book mentioned above, and need be only touched upon here. They are: the ab-

sence of any consistent methods of estimation or of definitions, and the lack of any accepted goals or standards in Jewish population research. Consequently, changes in individual estimates, particularly in the larger communities, proceed by fits and starts. For several years a community may discuss whether or not to study its Jewish population. During this period the old estimate may be maintained, although there may be constant changes. Eventually, when the long-contemplated study is conducted, these population changes may all be compounded in the estimate reported for the year of the study; this radical new figure may become the community's standard estimate for many years to come. Thus, the estimates reported may give little indication of the gradual population change.

Another basic difficulty is that the majority of communities responding to the questionnaire continue to rely on one form or another of a community master list. Even the most complete of these lists has the inherent weakness of tending to overlook the unattached Jew. This omission is particularly serious where there is in-migration to a community in areas where Jews have not hitherto densely settled. Again, these master lists are composed of families rather than individuals. Before an estimate of the total Jewish population can be made, some knowledge of the average size of family must be available. Yet the absence of demographic studies in any great number leads to differing ideas on this subject. Many of the respondents report that they multiply their estimated number of families by ratios between 3.5 and 4.0 to secure Jewish population estimates. However, since most of the demographic studies which have been made indicate that the average size of Jewish household is less than that reported by the United States census for the total white population, the author of this article has used the figure of 3.1 persons per household when converting the estimates of families obtained in the New York suburban questionnaire into total number of individuals.

Techniques for Estimating Jewish Populations

Some of the larger Jewish communities have relied on such methods as the Yom Kippur and the death rates techniques to estimate their populations. The Yom Kippur method estimates the number of Jewish school children in the community studied by referring to the number of children absent from school on Yom Kippur, and assuming them to be Jewish. The total Jewish population is then computed by using the known ratio between all children in the school age bracket and the general population, and assuming the same ratio to exist between the Jewish school age population and the Jewish population. The death records technique establishes the number of Jewish deaths in the community by referring to Jewish cemetery and undertakers' records, or by searching health department records for "typical" Jewish names. The number of Jews is then estimated on the basis of the general ratio between deaths and population. St. Louis used the Yom Kippur technique in part in modifying its current estimate; the death rates technique is the basis for studies not yet completed in Detroit and Chicago. Both of these methods rely on the assumption that certain characteristics of the Jewish population are similar to those of the total white population. The Yom Kippur method assumes that the ratio of children (between the ages of six and seventeen) to total population is the same for the Jewish population as it is for the general population; the death rate method assumes that the general ratio between deaths and population is the same for Jews as it is for the general population. Evidence has accumulated that the Yom Kippur method, in particular, tends to understate the size of Jewish population at this time because the proportion of youth to the total population is smaller among Jews than is the case for the general population. In a study reported on elsewhere in this volume, Louis Rosenberg shows that the use of such a method in Canada would have seriously understated the Jewish populations during the years since 1931.

Plans for Population Studies

Of the 172 communities which responded to the question "Do you contemplate making a survey of Jewish population in the near future?" the largest number (125) once again indicated that they had no plans for any formal survey. A group of 11 communities were either in the midst of making some form of a survey, or had completed one at some time during the past few years. The remaining 35 indicated that they were planning a survey; however, it was obvious from some of their answers that not all of these communities had firm commitments to undertake population surveys in the near future.

Table 1 gives the answers to this question, distributed by the size of Jewish population.

TABLE 1
Community Surveys Planned, 1954

Pop. Range	"Yes"	"No"	Conducted in Recent Past or Currently in Process
Over 40,000	0 3 7 18 7	7 9 28 52 29	5 0 4 2 1
Total	35	125	12

A comparison of this table with the one published in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 (Vol. 55), p. 6, reveals that, except for the communities with more than 40,000 Jews, most of the communities that reported in 1953 that they were planning to conduct a population study had not yet put these plans into operation. Of the largest communities, Los Angeles made a com-

plete demographic study in 1950 and St. Louis conducted a limited population study using both the Yom Kippur method and that of distinctive names. In addition, Pittsburgh was completing the analysis of its population study based upon sampling techniques, while both Detroit and Chicago had studies in process using the death rates method.

Since the questionnaire sent to the community did not define the term "study," one can expect wide differences in the levels of community aspirations in this regard; some communities had plans for elaborate demographic inquiries, while others were content simply to hope to arrive at a more accurate estimate of the over-all Jewish population.

Revision of Community Estimates

Of the 172 communities returning estimates in 1954, 38 (22 per cent) revised their 1953 estimates upwards, 11 (6 per cent) revised their previous figures downwards, while the remainder (72 per cent) reported no change. The last group, by far the largest, was composed of two elements: (a) those communities which had recently undertaken studies, e.g., New Orleans and Los Angeles; and (b) those communities whose estimates had remained the same for many years, and who had made little effort to measure possible change, e.g., Boston, Baltimore, and Newark.

Since Jewish population changes can be assumed to follow the direction of general population trends, though the degree of emphasis may vary, it is instructive to note that the September 1954 estimate of the total United States population was 162,947,000, as compared with 151,132,000 at the time of the 1950 census. Hence, an individual community's estimate which has remained static for many years need not be taken at its face value as an indication that there has in fact been no movement in that community's Jewish population. It is to be hoped that continued interest in this field will decrease the number of communities which have made no current effort to re-evaluate their population figures.

Changes in population estimates as reported by the 172 communities did not seem to be related to size of community. Table 2 below shows this by breaking down the responses to this question by size of community.

TABLE 2 Changes in Estimates, 1954

Pop. Range	Higher Est.	No Change	Lower Est.
Over 40,000	3 1 7 19	8 11 29 50 25	1 3 3 4
Total	38	123	11

Analysis of Suburban New York City Estimates

The communities in the Appendix marked with an asterisk are those that were the subject of a special inquiry first instituted in 1953 and followed up in 1954. In 1953 almost all respondents to this special inquiry indicated that they had increased their population over the previous five years and that the bulk of this increase had come from New York City. Most of the family heads, they further reported, were between the ages of thirty-five and fifty. Five additional communities reported in 1954 and bore out these findings. All five reported larger populations than five years before; all reported the major source of this increase to be New York City; three communities thought the modal (most frequent) age of family heads to be 35-50, one considered it to be evenly divided between 20-35 and 35-50, and one gave it as 20-35. Eighteen of the communities which had reported in 1953 responded to the new questionnaire described above in this article, pp. 171-72. Nine of these eighteen communities reported population increases, while five indicated no change. Surprisingly enough, four reported decreases. Since it is most unlikely that any real decreases took place, this information is further evidence that many of these suburban estimates are still quite fluid. In at least one of these cases the lower estimate was the result of reducing the geographical area covered in 1953. Ten of the sixteen suburban communities reporting differed with the figure of 3.1 used by the author as the average size of Jewish household. Two respondents thought the figure should be lower, but eight thought it should be between 3.5 and 4.5. In the absence of demographic surveys of suburban areas, it was impossible to decide whether it would be valid to use a higher average household size for suburban areas. For this reason the author has continued to use the figure of 3.1 in converting households to total population, since most Jewish surveys tend to approach this figure. Almost all of the communities reporting stated that they used some form of membership lists within their community to arrive at their estimate. Most communities also reported that they endeavored to avoid counting multiple memberships, and that they made some adjustment for unaffiliated families. Estimates based upon such lists, particularly where in-migration was proceeding rapidly, necessarily tended towards understatement.

Since no new data were available, the estimate for New York City derived by the use of the Yom Kippur method remained at 2,294,000. It is true that the Yom Kippur method tends to understate the number of Jews (see discussion above), but this is most true where the Jewish population is relatively small. In such cases, any discrepancy between the general population and Jewish age distributions becomes accentuated when the Yom Kippur method is used as the basis for an estimate. However, this discrepancy is minimized in New York City, where the Jewish population bulks so large and consequently the general age distributions and the Jewish age distributions tend to converge. This conclusion is borne out by the results of the HIP study discussed above.

ALVIN CHENKIN *

^{*}In collaboration with Ben B. Seligman.

TABLE 1

COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE (ESTIMATED)

	Tewish		Jewish		7ewish
State and City	Population	State and City	Population	State and City	Population
ALABAMA		San Bernardino	1,146	Stamford	5,500
Anniston		San Diego	6,000	Torrington	360
Bessemer	126	San Francisco	51,000	Wallingford	300
Birmingham	4,350	San Jose	1,750	Waterbury	5,000
Dothan	140	San Leandro	Ť	Westport	
Gadsden	196	San Pedro	600	Willimantic	425
Huntsville	112	Santa Ana	400	Winsted	137
Jasper	120	Santa Barbara	400	Woodmont	250
Mobile	1,750	Santa Cruz	140		
Montgomery	1,200	Santa Mariab	147	DELAWARE	
Selma	210	Santa Monica	8,000	Wilmington	6,500
Tuscaloosa	240	Santa Rosa	160	***************************************	0,500
		Stockton	1,300		
ARIZONA		Tulare ⁶	146	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	<0.000
Phoenix	5,000	Vallejo	400	Greater Washington.	60,000
Tucson	5,000	Ventura County	550		
				FLORIDA	
ARKANSAS		COLORADO		Clearwater	170
Blytheville	100	Colorado Springs	400	Daytona Beach	625
Ft. Smith	250	Denver	16,000	Ft. Lauderdale	560
Helena	204	Greeley	113	Gainesville	148
Hot Springs	525	Pueblo	500	Hollywood	2,000
Little Rock	1,000			Jacksonville	4,072
Pine Bluff	275	CONNECTICUT		Key West	120
		Ansonia	700	Lakeland	300
CALIFORNIA		Bridgeport	12,000	Miami	60,000
Alhambra	1	Bristol	250	Orlando	1,000
Bakersfield	1,085	Colchester	540	Pensacola	800
Belvedere	Ţ	Danbury	1,500	Sarasota	300
Berkeley	Ţ	Danielson	120	St. Augustine	205
El Monte	150	Derby-Shelton	340	St. Petersburg	2,000
Elsinor	450	Greenwich	875	Tallahassee	140
Fontana	140	Hartford	26,000	Tampa	2,200
Fresno	1,333	Lebanon	140	West Palm Beach	2,300
Long Beach	7,000	Lower Middlesex	150		
Los Angeles	325,000	Manchester	700	GEORGIA	
Martinez	122	Meriden	1,200	Albany	330
Modesto	267	Middletown	1,000	Atlanta	11,000
Oaklanda	10,000	Milford	800	Augusta	800
Ontario-Pomona	600	Moodus	262	Brunswick	108
Palm Springs.	500	New Concer	3,000	Columbus	1,000
Pasadena	1,800	New Canaan New Haven	110 20,000	Dalton	102
Petaluma	600	New London	3,000	Macon	800
Redondo Beach	+	Newtown	192	Savannah	3,150
Richmond	+	Norwalk	3,000	Valdosta	240
Riverside	224	Norwich	2,000		
Sacramento	4.000	Putnam	120	IDANIO	
Salinas	300	Rockville	415	Boise	120
	500		113	20100	

Places in New York and New Jersey marked with an asterisk were respondents in the special survey of of Metropolitan New York population estimates undertaken in 1953 and repeated in 1954. † Estimates in earlier listings were from information derived in 1950 and earlier. Because the author has not been able to secure more up-to-date information, no estimate is presented in this issue although it is assumed that the Jewish population remains over 100.

‡ This suburban community is presumed to have more than 100 Jews. No estimate was received in time for inclusion in this listing.

- a Includes Piedmont.
- b Includes San Luis Obispo. e Includes other communities
- d Includes Fairview.

in Kings County

- e Includes Leonia.
- Includes Smithtown, Brightwaters, Islip, East Islip, Islip Ter-race, Central Islip, West Islip.

 * Includes Tuckahoe and East-
- chester
- h Cedarhurst figure is for Five Towns: Cedarhurst, Inwood, Lawrence, Hewlett, Woodmere.
- i Includes Irvington, Ardsley, Hastings on Hudson.
- Includes Huntington Station, Huntington Village, Cold Spring Harbor, Northport, East Spring Harbor, Northport, East
 Northport, Centerport, Greenlawn, Syosett.

 k Includes Mamaroneck.

 Includes Lido Beach.

 m Includes Chappaqua, Bedford Hills, Bedford Village,
- Katonah.
- n Includes Sayville, Bellport, Bayport.

- o Includes Lake Mohegan, Montrose.
- p Includes Manhasset (also included in estimate for Roslyn),
- included in estimate to Rosands Point, Plandome.

 q Includes Roslyn Heights,
 Manhasset, Sea Cliff, Glen Cove,
 Albertson, East Williston, Old
 Westbury, Old Brookville.
- r Includes Irvington, North Tarrytown, Scarborough, Elms-
- Includes Harrison,
- dale, Elmsford.

 * Includes Seatord, Belmore, South Levittown

TABLE 1 (Continued)

	JEWISH YOU CEATIONS		OR WIORE (LITTIMATE)	
State and City Population	m State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Population
		- 0,	and and any	2 opaiasion
ILLINOIS	Harlan Zone	195	Plymouth	220
Alton †	Henderson		Salem	1,600
Aurora 40		122	Southbridge	204
Belleville	Louisville	8,250	Springfield	10,000
Denton	Owensboro	125	Taunton	800
Bloomington 15		150	Ware	125
Champaign 41 Chicago 350,00			Webster	140
Chicago Heights 350,00		390	Worcester	10,500
Danville		750		
Decatur		194	MICHIGAN	0.10
Decatur	Lake Charles	100	Ann Arbor	240
in S. Illinois)	Monroe	900	Battle Creek	150
Elgin	0 Morgan City	†	Bay City	800
Galesburg 15	8 New Orleans	9,200	Benton Harbor	750
Harvey-Blue Island . 15	5 Shreveport	2,300	Detroit	72,000 3,000
Joliet	0		Flint Grand Rapids	1,300
Kankakee 27			Iron City	
Mattoon		120	Iron Mountain	
Park Forest 1,40		100	Tackson	200
Peoria		1,200	Jackson	506
Quincy		100	Lansing	700
Rockford 80 Rock Island 2,00		232	Marquette City	175
Rock Island 2,00	O Calais	137	Mt. Clemens	300
Southern Illinois 3,00		1,400	Muskegon	400
Springfield	O Pittsfield	120	Pontiac	700
Waukegan 65		3,500 150	Port Huron	130
INDIANA	Rockland Waterville	110	Saginaw	600
Anderson 10		110	South Haven	450
East Chicago-	MARYLAND			
Indiana Harbor 1,00		1,000	MINNESOTA	
Elkhart		78,000	Austin	115
Evansville	() Lumberland	510	Duluth	3,100
Ft. Wayne 1,20	0 Easton Area	140	Hibbing	275
Garv	0 Frederick	150	Mankato	122
Hammond 1,20	0 Hagerstown	316	Minneapolis	23,000
Indianapolis 8,00		100	Rochester	120
Kokomo		100	St. Paul	11,000
Lafayette		109	Virginia	140
Marion		227		
Michigan City 32			MISSISSIPPI	
Muncie		210	Biloxi-Gulfport	160
Shelbyville		140	Clarksdale	380
South Bend 2,50		125	Cleveland	250
Terre Haute 87	O Ayer 5 Beverly	700	Greenville	395
Vincennes 11	4 Boston	140,000	Greenwood	174
Whiting 22		3,100	Hattiesburg	232
	Clinton	112	Jackson	350
IOWA	Fall River	4,500	Meridian	235
Cedar Rapids 42	0 Framingham	600	Vicksburg	280
Council Bluffs 45	0 Gardner	140		
Davenport 85	0 Gloucester	280	MISSOURI	100
Des Moines 3,50	0 Great Barrington	132	Hannibal	100 200
Dubuque		250	Hayti	200
Fort Dodge 11		2,500	Joplin	20,000
Iowa City	5 Holyoke	1,600	Springfield	240
Marshalltown 22		250	St. Joseph	1,020
Mason City 21		2,500	St. Louis	53,000
Muscatine				00,000
Sioux City 2,25		2,000	MONTANA	
Waterloo	8 Lynn 0 Medway	10,000	Billings	100
	Milford	300	Butte	206
KANSAS	Millis	160		
Leavenworth 13	0 New Bedford	4,000	NEBRASKA	
Topeka 14	3 Newburyport	437	Lincoln	950
Wichita 1,00	0 North Adams	500	Omaha	6,500
	North Attleboro	100		
KENTUCKY	Northampton	350	NEVADA	
Ashland 17	5 Peabody	1,200	Las Vegas	1,000
Lexington 1,00	Pittsfield	1,900	Reno	320

TABLE 1 (Continued)

COMMUNITIES		WISH FOPULATIONS		OR WICKE (ESTIMATED	
State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
NEW HAMPSHIRE		Morristown	1,000	Cohoes	105
Claremont	200	Mt. Freedom		Corning	100
Concord		Mt. Holly	204	Corning	200
Dover	150	Newark		Central Islip (see	200
Keene		New Arlington	1	Bay Shore)	
Laconia		New Brunswick	7,500	Croton-on-Hudson	+
Manchester		New Millford	†	*Dobbs Ferry 1	930
Nashua	418	Newton		Dunkirk	168
Portsmouth	480	Nutley		East Islip (see Bay	
		Oranges		Shore)	
NEW JERSEY		*Palisades Park*	1,550	East Northport (see	
Alliance	400	Paramus	1	Huntington)	
Arlington	7	Park Ridge	200	Ellenville	800
Asbury Park	3,000	Passaic	12,000	Elmira	1,525 6,200
Atlantic City		Paterson	20,000	*Elmont	6,200
Bayonne	9,000	Paulsboro	135	Farmingdale	I
Belleville	†	Perth Amboy	4,650	*Floral Park	1,085
Belmar	800	Plainfield	4,100	*Freeport Five Towns (see	2,170
*Bergenfield-Dumont.		Penns Grove	140	Five Towns (see	
Bloomfield	†	Pine Brook	175	Cedarhurst)	
Boonton	240	Pt. Pleasant		Garden City	Ţ
Bound Brook	350	Pompton Lakes		Geneva	120
Bradley Beach	1,000	Princeton		Glen Cove (see	
Bridgton	600	Rahway	960	Roslyn)	700
Burlington	250	Red Bank	1,200	Glens Falls	700
Caldwell	9,000	Ridgefield	500	Gloversville	1,400 11,780
Camden		Ridgefield Park	360	*Great Neck	11,780
Carmel		Ridgewood	350	Harrison	1,500 480
Clauter		River Edge	170	Haverstraw	4 200
Clayton *Cliffside Parkd		Riverside		*Hempsteads	6,200 180
Clifton	†	Roselle	1,000	Herkimer Hewlett (see Cedar-	100
Clifton Closter-Cresskill-			220	hurst)	
Demerest		Salem		Highland Falls	100
Cranford	600	South Amboy	+	Hornell	100
Dover	700	South River	400	Hudson	700
Dunellen		Stelton		*Huntington J	2,480
East Paterson	. 1	Summit		Inwood (see Cedar-	-,
Elizabeth	10,500	Teaneck	4,000	hurst)	
Elmer	. 137	Toms River	1,000	Irvington (see	
*Englewood	3,100	Trenton	. 8,800	Tarrytown)	
Englishtown	. 260	Union	1,750	Islip (see Bay Shore)	
Fair Lawn. Fairview (see Cliff-	4,030	Union City		Ithaca	400
Fairview (see Cliff-		Vineland	2,000	Jamestown Jeffersonville	260
side Park)		Westfield	. 384	Jeffersonville	150
Farmingdale	800	Westwood	400	Kerhonkson	175
Flemington	340	Wildwood	. 500	Kingston	2,400
Freehold	1,000	Woodbine	350	Lake Huntington	175
Garfield	1	Woodbridge	. 1,000	*Larchmontk	2,170
Gloucester C'ty Hackensack	900 1,600	Woodbury	400	Lawrence (see	
Hasbrouck Heights	440	NUMBER AND ASSESSED OF		Cedarhurst)	600
Heightstown	1,100	Albuquerque	1,000	Liberty Lindenhurst	1
Hillside	1,100	Los Alamos	. 120	Little Falls	105
Hoboken		Santa Fe	. 125	Livingston Manor	150
Irvington	1,500	Duitte I Gereal I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	. 145	Loch Sheldrake-	250
Iersev City	20,000	NEW YORK		Hurlevville	500
Jersey City Kearney	. 1	Amenia	. 132	*Long Beach1	7,750
Keyport	400	Albany		*Lynbrook	3,100
Lake Hiawatha	. 400	Albany	. 1	Malone	122
Lakewood	. 2,800	Amsterdam	. 500	Malverne	1
Leonia (see Palisades		Auburn		Massena	140
Park)		Babylon		*Merrick	7,440
Linden	. 2,625	*Baldwin	930	Middletown	1,400
Long Branch	. 2,000	Batavia*Bay Shore!	. 300	Mineola	I
Lyndhurst	200	*Bay Shore 1	1,860	Monroe	350
Madison	. 100	Beacon	. 550	Monticello	1,200
Maplewood	200	Binghamton	3,000	Mountaindale	280
Maywood	. 200	*Bronxvilles	4,030	*Mt. Kiscom	465
Metuchen		Buffalo	22,000	*Mt. Vernon	13,950
Millburn	200	Canandigua		Newburgh *New Hyde Park	2,505 3,870
Montclair		Catskill*Cedarhursth	18,600	*New Rochelle	6,820
ATAUMATIC		Countings,	10,000	TYCW TOURISTIC	0,020

TABLE 1 (Continued)

COMMUNITIES		WISH TOPOLATIONS O		R WIORE (ESTIMATED	
State and City	Jewish Population	State and City 1	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
NEW YORK (Cont'd)		Wilmington	300	Coatesville	510
New York	2,294,000	Winston-Salem	428	Connellsville	160
Manhattan	346,000			Coraopolis	152
Bronx	556,000	NORTH DAKOTA	4.60	Donora	160
Brooklyn	1,077,000	Bismarck	168 500	DuBois	160
Queens	307,000	Fargo Grand Forks	240	Duquesne	200 1,600
Richmond Niagara Falls	8,000 1,100	Minot	110	Easton	140
Norwich	120	272111001111111111111111111111111111111	110	Elwood City Erie	1,750
North Tarrytown	120	OHIO		Farrell	500
(see Tarrytown)		Akron	6,500	Glassport	120
Nyack	276	Alliance	122	Greensburg	440
Oceanside	1,860	Ashtabula	315 240	Hanover	120
Ogdensburg	135	Canton	3,000	Harrisburg	4,500
Olean	335	Canton	25,000	Hazleton	1,600
Oneida Oneonta	120	Cleveland	85,000	Homestead Indiana	130
Uswero.	120	Columbus	7,200	Irwin	100
Oyster Bay	İ	Dayton	5,850	Jeannette	200
Parksville	140	East Liverpool	365	Johnstown	
Patchoguen	1,550	Elyria	360	Johnstown Kittanning	275
Pawling.	110	Fremont	114	Lancaster	2,000
*Peekskillo	1,240	Hamilton	500 418	Latrobe	150
Plattsburg	330	Lima Lorain	800	Lebanon	656
Port Chester	2,300	Mansfield	308	Levittown	2,100 250
Port Jervis *Port Washington*	1.240	Marion	165	Lewistown	350
Poughkeepsie	2,800	Massillon	130	Lock Haven Mahonoy City	112
Kochester	20,000	Middletown	310	McKeesport	2,400
*Rockville Centre	6,510	New Philadelphia	180	McKees Rocks	160
Rome	250	Piqua	170	Monessen	250
TKOSIVN ^Q	6.200	Portsmouth	120 100	Mt. Carmel	272
Rye	. //5	Sandusky	488	New Castle	800
Saranac Lake	100	Springfield Steubenville	1.000	New Kensington	640
Saratoga Springs Scarsdale	1,500	Toledo	6,500	Norristown North Penn	800
Schenectady	3,500	Warren	800	(Lansdale)	200
Sharon Springs	165	Wooster	128	Oil City	360
South Fallsburg	1.100	Youngstown	5,500	Oxford-Kennet	
Spring Valley	2,250	Zanesville	300	Square	132
Sunern	544	OKLAHOMA		Philadelphia	245,000
Syracuse	11,000	Ardmore	120	Philipsburg	136
*Tarrytown Troy	2,300	Ardmore Oklahoma City	1,750	Phoenixville	268 47,000
Tuckahoe (see	2,300	Seminole	124	Pittsburgh Pottstown	
Bronxville)		Tulsa	1,977	Pottsville	
Utica* *Valley Stream	3,500	OREGON		Punxsutawney	
*Valley Stream	9,300	Eugene	120	Reading	3,500
vv alden	140	Portland	6,600	Sayre Scranton	105
"wantagh"	12,400	Salem	210	Scranton	5,526
Warwick Watertown	126 450			Shamokin	250 920
White Lake	354	Aliquippa	400	Sharon	444
White Plainst	6,500	Allentown	3,250	Stroudsburg	222
White Sulphur	,,,,,,	Altoona	1,100	Sunbury	160
Springs	100	Ambridge	300	Tarentum	160
Woodbourne	. 200	Beaver Valley	830	Titusville	120
Woodbridge	400	Berwick	119	Uniontown	900
Woodmere (see Cedarhurst)		Bethlehem	1,000	Vandergrift-	120
Yonkers	. †	Bloomsburg	102 600	Leachburg	130 120
Z OILLOID	1	Braddock	430	Warren Washington	
NORTH CAROLINA		Bristol	176	West Chester	. 360
Asheville	. 600	Brownsville	260	Wilkes-Barre	
Charlotte	1,200	Butler	430	Williamsport	850
Durnam	. 300	Canonsburg	240	York	1,100
Fayetteville	. 228	Carbon City	300		
Gastonia	. 130 135	Carbondale	335 268	RHODE ISLAND	1 000
Greensboro	550	Carnegie Chambersburg	268	Newport	1,000
Hendersonville	. 118	Charleroi	200	Pawtucket Providence	20,000
High Point	. 208	Chester	2,100	Westerly	100
Raleigh	375	Clairton	110	Woonsocket	795

JEWISH POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1954 181

TABLE 1 (Continued)

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
Beaufort. Bishopville. Charleston. Columbia Georgetown. Greenville.	. 116 . 2,192 . 500 . 111	San Antonio. Texarkana Tyler. Waco. Wharton. Wichita Falls.	129 480 1,200 215	WEST VIRGINIA Beckley. Bluefield. Charleston. Clarksburg Fairmont Huntington.	. 300 . 2,200 . 300 . 200 . 750
Spartanburg Sumter	. 164	Ogden Salt Lake City		Morgantown Parkersburg Weirton	. 211 100 350
Sioux Falls	. 350	VERMONT Burlington		Welch	. 800
TENNESSEE Chattanooga Jackson Knoxville Memphis Nashville TEXAS Amarillo Austin Beaumont Breckenridge Corpus Christi Dallas El Paso Ft Worth Galveston Houston Kilgore Laredo Longview Lubbock Odessa Port Arthur	. 155 800 . 8,000 . 2,700 . 270 . 875 . 111 . 1,100 . 2,500 . 1,200 . 17,000 . 17,000 . 108 . 10	Rutland VIRGINIA Alexandria Arlington Charlottesville Danville Fredericksburg Hampton Hampton Roads Harrisonburg Lynchburg Martinsville Newport News Norfolk Petersburg Portsmouth Richmond Roanoke Suffolk Winchester WASHINGTON Bremerton	† † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † †	WISCONSIN Appleton Beloit. Eau Claire. Fond du Lac Green Bay, Kenosha. La Crosse Madison. Manitowoc. Marinette. Milwaukee. Oshkosh. Racine. Rice Lake Sheboygan. Stevens Point Superior. Waukesha Wausau. WYOMING Cheyenne	150 150 160 500 150 150 150 150 150 184 120 30,000 130 100 600 105 481 100 250
Rio Grande Valley. Rosenberg San Angelo	. 300	Seattle	9,500 550	Cheyenne	. 500

Civic and Political Status

CIVIL LIBERTIES

ON THE WHOLE, the climate of public opinion in regard to civil liberties improved during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through November 30, 1954), and particularly in the period after January 1954. There was less irrational and panic fear of the Communist threat, and more realistic appraisal of it. There was less readiness to seek a quick answer to subversion in measures that struck at dissent rather than conspiracy, or restricted the basic civil liberties of all citizens in the effort to find easy ways of trapping the disloyal. Demagogues began to appear in their true light, and were less easily mistaken for saviors. In part, this was doubtless due to the partial relaxation of international tension which followed the end of the Korean war. In part, it may also have meant that Americans were gradually learning to live with the cold war and to react rationally rather than emotionally to the day-to-day problems which it posed, as well as to the long-term Communist danger. One indication of the changing climate was the widespread favorable response to three television programs presented by Edward R. Murrow. One of these (November 24, 1953) related to the difficulties which the American Civil Liberties Union had in securing a meeting hall in Indianapolis in November 1953; a second (October 20, 1953) dealt with the case of Milo Radulovich, who had been branded a security risk in August 1953 by the Air Force on the basis of political opinions imputed to his father and sister; he was subsequently (November 24, 1953) cleared by action of Air Secretary Harold Talbot; the third broadcast (March 9, 1954) recounted the career of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Yet paradoxically, the period also saw an objective increase in the restrictions imposed on civil liberties, both procedural and substantive, in the name of anti-Communism. Measures ostensibly directed against Communism were still all too apt to be of a nature which interfered with the liberties of all Americans more than it did with the conspiratorial activities of the Communist movement, and which provided the Communists with priceless weapons in their ideological war against American democracy. This was true in terms of legislation, administrative action, and court decisions; and on the state and local level, as well as nationally. In part, this was due to the normal lag of governmental processes behind public opinion; the transference of a public attitude into statutory or administrative form is a time-consuming process, and courts cannot decide on the validity of laws or acts of the executive until these reach them in due course. And in part it was probably due to the fact that the groups favoring the restriction of civil liberties were, if less widely supported, nevertheless better organized than at any other period in recent history, and driven into more intense activity by the very fact that

they were losing ground.

Velde and Jenner Committees

In Congress, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, under the chairmanship of Representative Harold Velde (Rep., Ill.), and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator William Jenner (Rep., Ind.), continued their investigations very much along the same lines as in previous years. The Velde Committee occupied itself largely with turning the spotlight on individuals who were suspected of Communist activity. The Jenner Committee was both more active and more systematic in its investigations into the pattern of Communist infiltration in various fields. The Velde Committee, as an aftermath of its clash with various religious groups (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 14), devoted much of its time to a study of its own procedures, with a view to decreasing the danger of damaging innocent individuals.

McCarthy Committee

Much the most publicized investigations of the year, however, centered around Senator Joseph McCarthy (Rep., Wis.), either as investigator or investigated. McCarthy, as chairman of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, switched from his well publicized investigation of the United States Information Agency (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 16-18), to one of the Army, its Signal Corps, and particularly its Fort Monmouth, N. J., laboratories. At Fort Monmouth, McCarthy announced that he had found evidence of active espionage and of the continued existence of a spy ring set up by the executed atomic secrets spy, Julius Rosenberg, at the time he had worked there. McCarthy's charges were followed by a series of thirty-three suspensions, beginning in August 1953; three additional employees were suspended later. All the suspended employees answered all questions in full both before the McCarthy committee and at their Army hearings-in those cases which reached the stage of hearings-and none of them pleaded the Fifth Amendment at any point. Of the original thirty-three individuals suspended, thirteen were subsequently reinstated in full after hearings on charges, six were reinstated in full and two reinstated without full clearance without ever having charges preferred against them, and two were reinstated without charges and then resigned. Only six were dismissed after hearings, while at this writing (November 1954), one was awaiting a decision after a hearing on charges and three were still waiting for charges. Of the three persons subsequently suspended, two were awaiting the results of hearings and one was reinstated in full without charges. In only one out of twenty-two hearings did a witness appear in person against the individual facing charges; in all other cases, the "derogatory information" came exclusively from anonymous sources, not subject to cross-examination. None of those suspended was charged with espionage, sabotage, or membership in the Communist Party. Rather, the charges related to such activities as having attended one or two Young Communist League meetings fifteen years previously, having vacationed at a Communist-controlled camp in the 'Thirties, fraternizing with relatives suspected of Communist affiliation, following the line of columnist Max Lerner, or having been a member of the United Public Workers when that union was still in good standing in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and was a recognized bargaining agent in government offices. In some instances, individuals were accused of associating with others who themselves denied any Communist sympathies but who, since they were not the ones formally accused, had no opportunity to offer evidence. And General Kirke Lawton, commandant of Fort Monmouth at the time of the suspensions, gave some indication of his security criteria in a speech in which he indicated his belief that graduates of certain New York city colleges were apt to be security risks.

ARMY-McCarthy Controversy

The Fort Monmouth affair was the beginning of a conflict between the Army and Senator McCarthy, which later extended to other fields. McCarthy was annoyed when Army Secretary Robert Stevens denied that espionage had been shown at Fort Monmouth; he also claimed that the Army had endeavored to stop his investigation there. This charge the Army denied. Meanwhile, another cause of conflict between the Army and McCarthy was brewing in the efforts of the Senator's unpaid assistant, G. David Schine, to secure a commission in the Army, or to get himself assigned after induction to continued work with the Senator, and the pressure exerted on Schine's behalf by McCarthy and more particularly by his committee counsel, Roy M. Cohn. The conflict broke into open warfare when, in an interval of the Fort Monmouth affair, McCarthy discovered that a dentist named Irving Peress had been promoted from captain to major at nearby Fort Dix although he had not filled out a loyalty questionnaire and, when called for questioning on his reputed Communist affiliations, had pleaded the Fifth Amendment. During the investigation Peress received an honorable discharge; and in his investigation into this case, McCarthy violently denounced the commandant of Fort Dix, General Ralph Zwicker, when the latter refused to violate his orders by divulging classified information. Secretary Stevens came to Zwicker's defense, and shortly afterward the Army released a series of charges relating to the Cohn-Schine case.

The eventual result was a series of televised hearings, covering thirty-six days, before the McCarthy subcommittee, with Senator Karl Mundt (Rep., S.D.), substituting for McCarthy as chairman and Senator Everett Dworshak (Rep., Idaho) taking his place as a member of the committee. The hearings were necessarily somewhat inconclusive, since only the major principals were heard, so that there was no opportunity to test their statements by those of other witnesses. From the testimony of McCarthy, Cohn, Secretary Stevens, and Army Counsel John Adams, the committee concluded that Cohn had exerted undue pressure on behalf of Schine, and that the Army had attempted to appease him for fear of what the committee might do to it in the way of investigations.

McCarthy's troubles continued; new charges by Senators Ralph Flanders

(Rep., Vermont) and J. William Fulbright (Dem., Arkansas) resulted in the appointment of a special committee under the chairmanship of Senator Arthur Watkins (Rep., Utah). This committee brought in a report (in November 1954) recommending that McCarthy be censured for his abuse of General Zwicker, as well as for his defiance of the Gillette Committee investigating his financial manipulations and his abusive language in regard to members of that committee. A committee, headed by a number of retired generals and admirals, was formed to secure ten million signatures urging the Senate not to censure McCarthy; it was possible that this committee might form the nucleus of a new political movement under the Senator's leadership. The Senate nevertheless voted, on December 2, to condemn McCarthy for his attitude toward the Gillette Committee, and on an additional count of abusing the Watkins committee by referring to its members as "unwitting handmaidens of the Communist Party." This latter count, however, was substituted for the charge relating to McCarthy's abuse of Zwicker. Thus Mc-Carthy was censured for his contemptuous behavior toward the Senate and its committees, but not for his abuse of witnesses; the censure vote in itself did not place any obstacles in the way of such abuse in the future, whether by McCarthy or any other senator. Critics of McCarthy's methods felt that there was still need for a reform of committee procedure to assure the rights of witnesses and persons accused in testimony before such committees.

Anti-Communist Legislation

Meanwhile, Congress acted on a number of proposals for strengthening the laws against Communists. Some of these proposals had originated with the administration; notable among these were a law1 permitting a Federal judge to grant a witness immunity from prosecution and direct him to testify at the request of a Congressional committee or the attorney general, and one² revoking the citizenship of persons convicted of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government. The first measure was signed by the President on August 20, 1954, and the second on September 1, 1954, although some doubt existed as to their constitutionality, and the late Senator Pat McCarran (Dem., Nev.), opposed the citizenship revocation proposal both on constitutional grounds and because it would prevent subsequent prosecution of the individuals involved for treason-a crime of which only a citizen can be guilty. McCarran succeeded in blocking a third administration measure which would have permitted various investigative agencies to engage in wiretapping if they first obtained the authorization of the United States attorney general, and would have made the evidence thus obtained admissible in court. Another measure 3 sponsored by Senator Hubert Humphrey (Dem., Minn.) and Representative Martin Dies (Dem., Tex.) purported to outlaw the Communist Party. In the form in which it was originally introduced by Dies and Humphrey as an amendment to an administration bill providing for the dissolution of Communist-infiltrated labor unions, it would have done just that-at

Pub. Law 600, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess.
 Pub. Law 772, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess.
 S. 3706.

least if the courts had upheld it. But the administration, with the support of Senator McCarran, succeeded in getting the bill amended in the conference committee of the two houses, which had been appointed to adjust the differences between the versions they had passed, so as to remove the criminal penalties for membership in the Communist Party. The final version 4 merely denied the party all legal rights and privileges—a provision whose meaning and constitutionality both remained in doubt-and reaffirmed that members of "Communist action groups" were subject to the penalties of the McCarran Internal Security Act. In addition, it contained a modified version of the original measure in regard to unions, providing that those which were declared Communist-infiltrated by the Subversive Activities Control Board were to be denied the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board. The practical effect of this part of the measure seemed likely to be slight for some time to come, since the SACB had so far only completed hearings in the cases of the Communist Party and the Labor Youth League (successor to the Young Communist League), which it had designated as Communist-action organizations—a decision which had been appealed to the courts—and held hearings on charges that the now-dissolved International Workers Order and the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship were Communist fronts. It seemed likely that the board would be busy for some years with such hearings, required by the McCarran Act, on charges already brought before it by the government, before it would be able to reach any union cases. In its final form, the law was signed by President Eisenhower on August 24, 1954. At this writing, the only result of the act had been a decision by a New Jersey judge barring a Communist candidate in Trenton from the ballot on the ground that the law barred the Communist Party from running candidates; the higher courts had as yet had no opportunity to decide whether the law did-or constitutionally could-have this effect.

Security Program

While Congress was thus engaged, the administration was active on a number of fronts. Perhaps the most widely publicized was its security program. The effects of this in the Fort Monmouth case have already been described. A case which aroused wide discussion was that of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist under whose direction the original atomic bomb had been developed. Cleared under the Truman loyalty program, Oppenheimer was suspended and confronted with charges under the Eisenhower security program, in December 1953. The case was heard by a special board under the chairmanship of Gordon Gray, who had been Truman's Secretary of the Army. Numerous witnesses, both for and against Oppenheimer, appeared before the Gray board and submitted to cross-examination; on the basis of their testimony and that of Oppenheimer himself, the board decided on June 1, 1954, by two votes to one that Oppenheimer was loyal but a security risk. The procedure in the Oppenheimer case had been far fairer to the defense than the normal procedure under the Eisenhower security program (since the security pro-

⁴ Pub. Law 637, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess.

gram of the Atomic Energy Commission had been established independently by statute). But the decision aroused widespread resentment in the scientific community. Scientists were especially indignant that one of the grounds for the board's decision was Oppenheimer's initial opposition to concentrating on the development of the thermonuclear (hydrogen) bomb. Scientists felt that it was both unjust and dangerous to penalize a man for his advice on a question of judgment; it was noted that Oppenheimer's position on the matter in question had been shared by the great majority of atomic scientists, by the chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, Representative Sterling Cole (Rep., N. Y.), and by David Lilienthal, then chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Oppenheimer appealed the decision to the full membership of the AEC. By a vote of four to one on June 29, 1954, the commission decided against Oppenheimer on the ground of what it considered his questionable associations and lack of candor, but specifically declared that its decision was not based on his attitude on the thermonuclear bomb, and that a man's judgment on a question of policy was not a sound basis for a determination that he was a security risk. The decision was nevertheless still the object of widespread criticism from those who felt that the criteria used were unsound, and that Oppenheimer's record of reliable performance of the most highly confidential tasks should have outweighed the past political and present personal associations which formed the basis of the AEC's decision.

While the AEC rejected the criterion of judgment on controversial issues in the Oppenheimer case, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles applied it in the case of John Paton Davies. Davies, a career diplomat who had run afoul of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, had been cleared by eight State Department investigations; in the spring of 1954, Dulles summoned Davies home to face a new hearing board, and dismissed him in November on the recommendation of that board, mainly on the basis of the charge that he had shown bad judgment. Other widely publicized security cases were those of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, who was suspended from an Army clerical job on February 25, 1954, after being denounced by Senator McCarthy, reinstated without charge on March 26, 1954, and then suspended again on charges on August 4, 1954; of Abraham Chasanow, who was dismissed from a scientific post with the Navy on the basis of anonymous and unsworn accusations on April 7, 1954, and reinstated on September 1, 1954, after his case had received the attention of the press; and of William Carlos Williams, a leading poet, who had been prevented during 1952-53 by lack of security clearance from assuming a lectureship to which he had been appointed at the Library of Congress.

The greatest controversy in respect to the security program, however, revolved about what came to be called "the numbers game." Critics of administration policy in regard to its security program called attention especially to what they regarded as the tendency of certain Republican leaders—notably Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., Vice President Richard Nixon, Postmaster General A. E. Summerfield, and Governor Thomas Dewey of New York—to cite total figures of persons removed under the security program in

such a way that they appeared to be figures of subversives dismissed. An incomplete breakdown of the figures was released by the Civil Service Commission on October 11, 1954, based on the reports submitted to it by the various departments. It indicated that a total of 6,926 Federal employees had been dismissed by the Eisenhower administration as security risks or had resigned while adverse information was in their files. Of these, a total of 1,743 were cases whose files contained "derogatory information relating to subversion." These figures were cited by the Republican leaders as justification for their public statements. However, the nature of this information, the extent to which it was responsible for the separations, and the number of cases in which individuals had resigned for personal reasons without ever knowing of the existence of the "derogatory information" in question, were not revealed. It was therefore impossible to judge accurately the full effect of the Eisenhower security program in its first year of operation; it was however clear, on the basis of the available information, that some serious injustices had been done.

PROSECUTIONS

The Justice Department continued to institute prosecutions of minor Communist leaders under the Smith Act, and a number of them were convicted and sentenced to prison terms in the course of the year. The same act served as the basis in June 1954 for prosecuting a number of leaders of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, which had been responsible for a terrorist attack on the House of Representatives, and for the conviction on December 21, 1953, by a military court of a soldier who had deserted to East Germany and then returned to the West. The Justice Department also announced that it was planning to initiate a prosecution based solely on the "membership" section of the Smith Act; all previous prosecutions had been based on the "conspiracy" section, and in the Dennis case,5 Judge Harold Medina had thrown out a count based on membership.

The Justice Department also prosecuted a number of individuals on charges of perjury or making false statements to government officers. The Owen Lattimore case arose from testimony by Lattimore before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Lattimore was indicted on December 16, 1952, on charges of certain specific misstatements, and was also accused of having falsely denied that he was a Communist sympathizer and promoted the Communist Party line. Certain of the counts were dismissed by Judge Luther Youngdahl of the United States District Court of the District of Columbia on May 2, 19536; in respect to the major counts, dealing with Lattimore's support of the Communist line, his decision was upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals on July 8, 1954.7 The Department of Justice then secured a new indictment (October 7, 1954) on what appeared to be essentially the same charges contained in the dismissed counts, and filed on October 13, 1954 an affidavit of prejudice, based on Youngdahl's opinion in dismissing

Dennis v. U.S., 341 U.S. 494 (1951).
 U.S. v. Lattimore, July 8, 1954.
 U.S. v. Lattimore, 112 F. Supp. 507 (1953).

the previous counts. Judge Youngdahl rejected the affidavit on October 23, 1954, as insufficient and "scandalous," in view of the fact that the law specifically states that such an affidavit cannot be based on a judge's rulings in a case. The government announced that it would not appeal on November 17, 1954, but it did not reply to a request from Judge Youngdahl that it withdraw the allegation of prejudice. At the time of writing the Senate Judiciary Committee was planning an investigation of the action of the Department of Justice in the matter.

Another case which drew wide notice was that of Val R. Lorwin, After two hearings before a State Department Loyalty Board in 1951, in which ninetyseven witnesses had appeared in his behalf and one against him (and in which that one was discredited), Lorwin had been fully cleared and had then resigned in 1952. In December 1953, Lorwin was suddenly indicted on a charge of having falsely stated, in his loyalty hearing, that he had never been a Communist. Shortly afterward, Attorney General Brownell cited this indictment as an example of the good work his department was doing. Before the case came to trial, however, Lorwin's lawyers obtained a court order permitting them to inspect the testimony given by the single adverse witness before the State Department Loyalty Board, since they had reason to believe that this testimony was the basis of the prosecution. The prosecutor, William Gallagher, refused to obey the court order on the ground that the testimony was confidential. When the judge threatened to cite Attorney General Brownell for contempt, the latter was constrained to examine the facts of the case. The result was that, on May 25, 1954, the Deputy Attorney General came into court and announced that the Department was dropping the case and suspending Gallagher, in view of the fact that the indictment had been obtained by fraudulent representations to the grand jury.

A number of trade union officials, the most important of whom were Ben Gold of the Furriers and Maurice Travis of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, were prosecuted on charges of having filed false non-Communist affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act. (Both of these unions had been expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] for following the Communist line.) The National Labor Relations Board announced in December 1953 that it would revoke the certification of unions whose officers had been indicted on these grounds; however, the Supreme Court on April 12, 1954, refused to review two District Court decisions holding that such a refusal was beyond the board's powers.8

The Supreme Court also refused to review the case of William Remington (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 18), who had been convicted of lying in his own defense in his trial under an improperly obtained indictment. Remington, who had started to serve his sentence while his appeal was still before the courts, became eligible for parole in June 1954, but his application was rejected. He was later (November 1954) murdered by fellow-prisoners in the Lewisburg (Pa.) Federal Penitentiary.

⁸ Farmer v. United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers .74 S.Ct. 638 (1954); Farmer v. International Fur & Leather Workers, ibid.

⁸Remington v. U.S. ,74 S.Ct. 476 (1954).

All the perjury prosecutions were launched against persons who were accused of lying on their own behalf. None was initiated against persons charged with making false accusations, although certain such cases had come to public notice. Thus in June 1953 Senator William E. Jenner (Rep., Ind.), had sent the Department of Justice the testimony of one Thad Mason in regard to a conspiracy which the senator believed to have no basis in fact. A Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) informant, Milton J. Santwire, in the Michigan Smith Act Case was denounced from the bench by Judge Frank A. Picard on December 23, 1953, for having perjured himself during the trial. And one of the most active prosecution witnesses, Paul Crouch, was shown by the Alsops in their column in the New York Herald Tribune of May 19, 1954, to have sworn to contradictory statements in two trials. In the Crouch case, Attorney General Brownell announced that he was investigating the charges, and on May 28, 1954, suspended Crouch from his position as a consultant to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

PASSPORT AND VISA CASES

A number of passport and visa cases again made news. Several related to persons attending the sessions of the United Nations on behalf of various organizations. Two representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Iraj Eskandary and Jan Dessau on April 9, 1954 were denied visas; one was eventually granted Dessau, but Eskandary remained barred, on the charge that he had participated in a plot to assassinate the Shah of Iran. Mrs. Dora Grace, representing the Communist-controlled International Federation of Democratic Women, received a visa on March 13, 1954, limited to the part of Manhattan between 28th and 96th Streets. A similar visa was granted to the Rev. Michael Scott, who came on behalf of various South African tribes. Rev. Scott, however, was granted a special dispensation permitting him to go up to 110th Street to preach at the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine. In spite of protests from the Illinois American Legion, the State Department granted visas to a number of churchmen from behind the Iron Curtain, permitting them to attend the World Council of Churches, meeting in Evanston, Ill., on July 18, 1954. But one of them, Bishop Peter of Hungary, was granted a visa limited to passage to and from the Evanston area, and forbidden on July 20, 1954, to make any speeches while in the United States, except at the sessions of the Council, on the ground that he was an agent of the Hungarian secret police. Non-Communists were among those who had trouble with the immigration authorities; one case which attracted considerable attention was that of the former Colombian Minister of Education, German Arciniegas, now a professor at Columbia University and an officer of the anti-Communist Committee for Cultural Freedom, who in September 1953 was admitted on orders from Washington after the immigration authorities in New York had blocked his admission.

Americans denied passports were at last given the opportunity to appeal from the decisions of the State Department's Passport Division when on May 10, 1954, Secretary Dulles finally appointed the members of the Board of Passport Appeals whose creation Dean Acheson had announced in 1952. An

issue of an unusual type arose when the government refused a number of Chinese students permission to return to China on the ground that their skills would be of use to the Communist government of that country. In the case of one such student, Han-Lee Mao, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled that he could not be deprived of the right to leave the country without a fair hearing. 10 There had, however, been no final determination by the courts as to the right of the government to prevent a person from leaving the United States in time of peace.

Federal Court Decrees

Two United States Supreme Court decisions narrowed the scope of protections which citizens would appear to have had under previous court decisions. In the so-called Readers Digest murder case, 11 the court voted six to three to uphold a conviction, where the police had extorted confessions, on the ground that there had been enough evidence independent of the confessions and that the court had charged the jury to disregard them if it considered them forced. In previous cases, the court had regarded the introduction of an illegally obtained confession as sufficient to taint the whole proceedings and void a conviction, irrespective of what other evidence might have been introduced. And in the Irvine case, the court upheld a conviction obtained on the basis of an admittedly illegal search and seizure by California police.12 The court did, on the other hand, extend a previously enunciated principle in the Pete Hernandez case by voiding a conviction because of the systematic exclusion of citizens of Mexican descent from juries. 13

There were also certain lower Federal court rulings of interest. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld the Coast Guard screening program for maritime workers, but ruled that the Coast Guard could not refuse a worker clearance without a fair hearing, including a detailed specification of charges. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit ruled that abuse of prisoners in a Florida penitentiary was punishable under the Federal Civil Rights Act. 14 The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held that the placing of a government agent on the staff of defense counsel constituted an effective denial of the right of counsel.¹⁵ And in another case the same court ruled that the failure of a Congressional committee (in this case the Kefauver Committee) to advise a witness of his right to have the advice of counsel, and to refuse to answer on the ground of possible self-incrimination, constituted an unreasonable search and seizure.

State and Local Security Programs

State and local governments continued to conduct their own version of anti-subversive activity. On February 25, 1953, a Georgia law defined as subversive any organization engaging in or teaching activities designed to over-

Han-Lee Mao v. Brownell, 207 F. 2d 142 (1953).
 Stein v. New York, 346 U.S. 156 (1953).
 Iroine v. California, 347 U.S. 128 (1954).
 Hernandez v. Texas, 347 U.S. 475 (1954).
 U.S. v. Jones, 207 F. 2d 785 (1953).
 Caldwell v. U.S., 205 F. 2d 879 (1953).

throw the government of Georgia or of the United States, made knowing membership in such an organization a crime, and empowered the state to dissolve such organizations and seize their files and property by court action. The Ohio legislature passed, over Governor Lausche's veto, an anti-subversive bill more or less modeled on the Smith Act, but providing in addition for a staff to conduct continuous investigations of subversive advocacy. A series of California laws, signed by Governor Earl Warren in October 1953 just before he resigned to become Chief Justice, required loyalty oaths from all persons or groups claiming tax exemption, and provided for the dismissal of all teachers and other public employees who either refused on any grounds to answer the questions of legislative committees or "persist in active participation in public meetings" conducted by groups adjudged subversive under the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Act. The states of Texas and Alabama passed laws requiring that textbooks carry certifications of the non-Communist character of their authors; the Alabama law, which also required such certification as to the authors of all books cited in the textbooks, was voided by the Circuit Court of Montgomery (Ala.) County on May 10, 1954.16 The state of Massachusetts set up a joint legislative-executive committee to investigate subversion, under various procedural safeguards. In May 1954 Massachusetts also prosecuted the state secretary of the Communist Party, Otis Archer Hood, under the state's anti-subversive act. In Pennsylvania, the state's highest court upheld the validity of the Pechan Act, requiring loyalty oaths from public employees, on February 10, 1954. New York State began enforcement of its loyalty-security program for public employees; in New York City, a sweeping loyalty questionnaire was withdrawn after a group of private agencies had protested the form of the questionnaire and the AFL's Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers had sought an injunction against it. The city of Louisville, Kentucky, achieved a special eminence with two incidents: In one, two representatives of the Socialist Labor Party were arrested for disorderly conduct; in the other, which followed the bombing of a house purchased by a Negro in a white neighborhood, a group of the victim's friends were indicted in October 1954 on charges of engaging in subversive activities and planning the bombing. In Miami, Fla., an investigation into Communist activity was conducted by a grand jury acting under Florida's so-called Little Smith Act, which went into effect in August 1953. A number of persons questioned by the grand jury refused to answer on the grounds of possible self-incrimination. Fourteen of them were imprisoned for contempt by Judge George E. Holt, who held that they could not claim the privilege against self-incrimination in regard to events prior to the period to which the law applied. (Testimony in regard to such events, however, might conceivably subject them to Federal prosecution under the Smith Act or help the state of Florida to prepare a prosecution for subsequent acts.) Moreover, the judge refused to admit to bail the persons he sentenced while their appeals were pending. When the State Supreme Court overruled him on this, he refused to accept it as a precedent and forced each individual defendant to get a Supreme

¹⁶ American Book Co. v. State Board of Education.

Court writ before being admitted to bail. On September 3, 1954, another Miami judge, Vincent C. Giblin, disbarred an attorney named Leo Sheiner on the ground that he had claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment in a hearing before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The disbarment case was on appeal at the end of November 1954. On November 19, 1954, the State Supreme Court upheld the right of the fourteen persons held in contempt of court to refuse to answer grand jury questions on the grounds of self-incrimination.17

Censorship

The issue of censorship arose in various forms during the period. The Post Office Department's somewhat erratic enforcement of the ban on the receipt of subversive propaganda from abroad, except for purposes of research, by persons other than registered foreign agents, continued to cause trouble. Thus the department first refused and then consented to deliver some of Ezra Pound's works to a Minneapolis bookstore, and it held up a shipment of books by Lenin to Brown University. The department also applied a policy of refusing all mail service (in the case of the nudist magazine Sunshine and Health) to publishers of any matter which it deemed obscene, irrespective of the contents of the particular items of mail. The Supreme Court overruled the ban on the picture M, imposed by Ohio.18 Local and state censors, however, continued either to ignore court limitations on their power, necessitating numerous local suits to apply principles already established by Supreme Court decisions, or tried to amend their laws to avoid the specific language of these decisions while accomplishing the same results as before. Thus, the New York legislature passed a new motion picture censorship law whose language seemed even broader and less precise than that of the statute previously in effect.19

Private Action

Despite the increasing activity, both legislative and administrative, of all levels of government against subversion, many individuals and private groups still felt called upon to supplement it. The American Legion at its September 2, 1953, convention demanded an investigation of the American Civil Liberties Union; on August 6, 1954, it renewed this demand and added a denunciation of the Girl Scouts. Considerable excitement was aroused when it was discovered on January 27, 1954, that the Norwalk, Conn., branch of the Veterans of Foreign Wars had set up a committee to screen subversives; after considerable adverse publicity, the project was dropped on February 12, 1954. A boycott by the AFL Motion Picture Operators Union prevented the showing, except in a few small theaters, of the film Salt of the Earth, produced under the auspices of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, which had been expelled from the CIO on charges of having fol-

Feldman v. Kelly,—Fla.—(1954).
 Superior Films v. Dept. of Education, 346 U.S. 588 (1954).
 Chap. 620, Laws 1954, effective April 12, 1954.

lowed the Communist line. And numerous private blacklists of persons suspected of subversive connections continued to circulate in various fields.

Elections

Accusations of subversive activity also played a part in the 1953 and 1954 elections. On February 7, 1954, after the Republicans had lost congressional seats in special elections in Wisconsin and New Jersey and just before another special election in California, Attorney General Brownell made a speech in which he charged that Harry Dexter White had been a Communist spy, and that he had been kept in the government service by President Truman with knowledge of this fact. In the ensuing controversy Brownell made public part of a confidential FBI report to support his statement, but somewhat watered down the original charge after President Eisenhower had expressed his confidence in Truman's patriotism. Whether or not the Brownell speech was responsible, the Republican candidate in the California district was victorious.

In 1954, supporters of Senator McCarthy attempted to smear the Republican senatorial candidate in New Jersey, Clifford Case, by charging that his sister had formerly had Communist connections. In New Jersey also, supporters of Republican Representative Kean distributed literature asserting that the Communists wanted his Democratic opponent elected. Both Case and Kean were elected; it is doubtful whether the smears played a major role in either campaign. In Wyoming, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney was victorious in spite of a campaign which coupled accusations of Communist sympathies with exploitation of his status as a registered foreign agent (as a representative of Cuban sugar interests) to give the impression that he was in the service of Moscow. But in Colorado, advertisements asking "How Red is John Carroll?" were generally believed to have played a significant part in enabling Carroll's Republican opponent, Gordon Allott, to win an election that had been generally conceded to Carroll. Similarly, in the Democratic primary campaign in Nevada, Tom Mechling's defeat was generally attributed to a television appearance by a member of the McCarran organization, in which Mechling was charged with having received campaign contributions from "15 Union Square"-the headquarters, though the speaker did not say so, of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers. And Representative Robert Condon of California, who had been denied security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission, was narrowly defeated in a campaign in which Vice President Nixon was charged with using secret reports from government investigative agencies for political purposes. (Nixon denied the charge; but The New York Times, on October 27, 1954, stated that "the text of mimeographed staff notes that the Vice President has been using in his attacks on Representative Condon makes three specific references to FBI reports." The Times went on to reprint those notes verbatim.)

In general, the intense fear of subversion which had developed on a wide scale in recent years appeared to be abating. It could still, in some cases, influence elections, but it could no longer be relied on for this purpose. How-

ever, the laws which it had produced, such as the McCarran Internal Security Act and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, remained on the statute books, and its momentum was still sufficiently great to produce additional laws and administrative measures of a similar nature. In no case during the year was any such law, either state or national, repealed or made less restrictive by amendment.

MAURICE J. GOLDBLOOM

CIVIL RIGHTS

CIVIL RIGHTS refer to those rights and privileges which are morally the heritage of every human being, regardless of his membership in any ethnic group: the right to work, to education, to housing, to the use of public accommodations, of health and welfare services and facilities, and the right to live in peace and dignity without discrimination, segregation, or distinction based on race, religion, color, ancestry, national origin, or place of birth. They are the rights which government has the duty to defend and expand.

EDUCATION

The major civil rights event of the period under review (July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954), was the decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, that compulsory racial segregation in state-supported elementary and secondary schools violated that clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which required that all persons born or naturalized in the United States should be afforded the "equal protection of the laws." This decision, handed down in five cases (four coming to the Court from the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware, and one from the District of Columbia 2) culminated a two-decade drive by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to bring about a reappraisal of the "separate but equal doctrine" enunciated by the United States Supreme Court in 1896.3

For over half a century, the Supreme Court had accepted the doctrine that it was not discriminatory to require separation of the races, provided the facilities maintained by the state for the two races were substantially equal. Increasingly during recent years, that doctrine had been attacked by lawyers and social scientists on the ground that it failed to take into account the stigma of inferiority implied by compulsory segregation. Finally, on May 17, 1954, after three days of argument by attorneys for both sides in December 1952 and similar reargument in December 1953, the Supreme Court rendered its unanimous decision.

¹ The opinion of the Supreme Court in these four cases will be cited as Brown v. Board of Education of Topska, 347 U.S. 483.

³⁴⁷ U.S. 483.

² Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497.

⁸ Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537.

Court Opinion on Segregation in State-Supported Schools

The Negro plaintiffs had contended that racially segregated public schools were not "equal," and could not be made "equal," and that their children were thereby deprived of the equal protection of the laws, required as a standard of state action by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. They argued that even if the school buildings, curricula, teaching staffs, and other physical facilities were equal at the two sets of schools, the mere fact that the state required the separation of the races was discriminatory and hence violative of the Constitution.

In its opinion, the Supreme Court held that the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 did not provide sufficient information to resolve the problem with which the Court was faced.

At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the postwar Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States."

Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect.

The Court then reviewed all cases decided by it since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and concluded that in the cases before it the question of the discriminatory nature of compulsory segregation in state-supported schools was presented for the first time in such a way as to require a decision on whether or not compulsory racial segregation was, per se, discriminatory and violative of the Constitution. The Court decided to look at the effect of racial segregation on public education and consider it in the light of the current importance of education in American life.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship.

Today, it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment.

In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

The Court then quoted with approval from the findings of the lower courts in two of the pending cases. The lower Federal court, in the Kansas case,⁴ after hearing testimony from social scientists, had found that segregation of white and Negro children had "a detrimental effect upon the colored children." Segregation sanctioned by law, the lower court had said, had a tendency "to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system." A similar finding was made in the case arising in Delaware where the state court had said:

State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated.⁵

Chief Justice Earl Warren pointed out that psychological knowledge had progressed since the *Plessy* decision and that any language in the 1896 opinion which negated the findings of the modern social scientists with respect to the effect of compulsory racial segregation in education was being rejected by the present Court. The opinion concluded that:

in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Having decided that compulsory racial segregation in state-supported schools violated the Constitution, the Court asked the parties to present further briefs and arguments in the fall of 1954 with respect to the type of decree that the Court should enter in the various cases. The questions that the Court wanted discussed at such reargument were whether its decrees should order the school boards to admit the Negro children forthwith to the schools closest to their residence and in accordance with normal geographic districting, or whether the Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, could permit a gradual adjustment from the existing segregated systems to an integrated system. The Court also asked that certain procedural questions be discussed at such reargument. These included whether the Court should formulate detailed decrees in all five cases, or whether it should appoint a special master to hear evidence and make recommendations to the Court for each such decree. Another possibility to be discussed was whether the Supreme Court should return the cases to the courts in which they had originally been tried with general or specific instructions to enter final decrees disposing of the

The effect of deferring the entry of final decrees in these cases was to postpone implementation of the decision for at least another year and thus afford the local boards of education an opportunity to plan for the racial integration of the schools in their communities.

⁴ Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 98 F. Supp. 797. ⁵ Gebhart v. Belton (Del.), 87 A. 2d 862, 865.

The District of Columbia Case

The problem presented to the Supreme Court by the District of Columbia case was somewhat different from that presented by the cases arising in the states. The Fifth Amendment, which is applicable to the District of Columbia, does not contain a clause which requires all persons born or naturalized in the United States to be afforded the equal protection of the laws, as does the Fourteenth Amendment, which applies to the states. The Fifth Amendment does, however, contain a "due process" clause.

The Court, in deciding the District of Columbia case, said:

In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government. We hold that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial of the Due Process of Law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Thus, in this series of five cases, the United States Supreme Court held that neither the states, nor the District of Columbia, nor any of their political subdivisions, could use race or color as a criterion for admission to or exclusion from state-supported institutions of learning.

Reaction to the Desegregation Decision

Many law school deans and educators in both the North and South issued public statements following the desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court. Generally, these statements endorsed the decision and commended the Court for its wisdom in separating the decision on principle from the specific mandate on implementation. Favorable reaction was expressed by the deans of Yale, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Harvard Law Schools; by professors and college presidents at the University of Chicago, Harvard University, Stamford University, Sarah Lawrence College, New York University, Georgia Peabody College; and by the superintendent of schools of the Southern Regional Education Board. Endorsement of the decision came also from historians at the University of Wisconsin, Harvard University, University of Kentucky, University of Chicago, and Smith College. The National Education Association, at its annual meeting held in July 1954, with only the South Carolina and Missouri delegations voting in the negative, approved the decision and called for a speedy end to racial segregation in the public schools throughout the United States. Newspaper editorial comment everywhere in the United States, including the South, was generally favorable. A majority of the southern papers took the position that the decision would require calm study and the application of sound judgment.

By the end of the reporting period (July 1954), departments of education in Delaware, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia had started to desegregate their public school systems. Attorney

General H. Albert Young of Delaware declared that the Supreme Court's decision "is now the law of the land and our state, of course, will abide by it." Wilmington, Del., which had begun to plan for desegregation of its public school system even before May 17, was prepared for an integrated school system for the opening of school in September 1954.

Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland declined to attend a meeting of southern governors to consider what steps to take with respect to the desegregation decision, and said: "We obey the law." On June 3, 1954, the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore voted to end racial segregation in the largest segregated public school system in the country upon the open-

ing of the schools in the fall.

The State Board of Education of Missouri expressed its intention of complying "to the full extent of its authority and jurisdiction" with the decision of the Court. State Attorney General John M. Dalton advised the commissioner of education that the Court's decision had voided the state's constitutional provision requiring separate schools and that local school districts did not have to wait for a specific decree of the Supreme Court in order to desegregate their schools. Plans immediately went forward in St. Louis to desegregate its public school system, which, it was expected, would be completely integrated by September 1955.

Governor William C. Marland of West Virginia pledged that his state would do "whatever is right and proper under the Supreme Court order to end school segregation." He expressed the conviction that the people of his state would accept the decision in good faith. The State Board of Education issued general instructions to local school superintendents for the reorganization and readjustment of school districts to comply with the Supreme

Court's decision as quickly as possible.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower requested that the District of Columbia "lead the way" and become "a model" for other sections of the country with respect to desegregating its public school system. The District Board of Education thereupon adopted a plan for gradual integration, which was to be

completed by February 1955.

In other southern states, the decision was not accepted with such good grace. The State Board of Education of Alabama voted to continue racially segregated schools until ordered to discontinue segregation by the decree of a competent court. Similar action was recommended by Governor Francis Cherry of Arkansas, who advised the State Board of Education that Arkansas law required segregation and that the state law remained in effect until the Supreme Court should enter a decree declaring such statute null and void. Governor Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, one of the staunchest advocates of racial segregation, continued to insist that his state's public schools would be abandoned, if necessary, to prevent their being desegrated. Some opposition to this proposal was being expressed, however, by labor, educational, and parent groups within the state. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Kentucky told local school boards to plan to continue to operate in 1954–55 in the same way as before. The Louisiana legislature, which was the first in the South to meet following the Supreme Court decision, set up a com-

mittee to study means of "continuing the existing social order," and adopted a resolution calling for the maintenance of racial segregation in the public schools.

A subcommittee of the State Legal Education Advisory Committee of Mississippi commenced drafting a series of amendments to the state constitution to abolish the public school system of that state to avoid compliance with the Court's decision.

While the State Board of Education of North Carolina voted to continue segregation pending the issuance of a decree by the Supreme Court directed to the Board of Education of that state, the Greensboro School Board, by a vote of 6 to 1, directed its superintendent "to work out a system for an orderly changeover" from segregated to desegregated schools, and boasted of being the first school board in the South to seek to comply with the Court's decision.

Governor Johnston Murray of Oklahoma expressed the opinion that "there will be no trouble integrating the races in Oklahoma public schools."

South Carolina, like Georgia, decided not to accept the Supreme Court's invitation to participate in the forthcoming argument on implementation of the Court's decision. Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee said that his state would adopt a wait-and-see attitude since "this is no time for snap judgments, quick decisions or demagogic excitement."

Governor Allan Shivers of Texas stated that "the segregation problem is not insurmountable. . . . The transition to integrated schools will require a long time. Instead of abolishing the public school system, I hope it will continue to progress." The State Education Commissioner expressed the view that Texas would comply with the Court's decision without too much difficulty.

Governor Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia took the position that his state

would use "every legal means" to continue segregated schools.

Samuel Miller Brownell, United States Commissioner of Education, offered the aid of his office and staff to help state education authorities work out the various problems they faced in their efforts to comply with the Court's decision.

Southern church leaders generally hailed the decision in public statements. Thus, the Reverend Frank W. Price of Lexington, Va., in his opening address as retiring Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, declared that racial segregation could not be "justified before God" and predicted that it was "certain to pass away as slavery passed away nearly a century ago." The Executive Council of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina adopted a resolution urging members of their church to accept the Court's decision. The Little Rock (Ark.) Methodist Conference lauded the "wise decision of the United States Supreme Court." A directive issued by the Most Reverend William L. Adrian, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nashville, Tenn., ordered an end to all racial segregation in the parochial schools of the City of Nashville and of Davidson County.

EUROPEAN PRESS REACTION

Virtually the entire press of Western Europe reacted with enthusiastic approval to the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. Publications which were usually lukewarm to United States policies, or opposed to them, joined in this approval. These publications included: in England, the Labor Party's Daily Herald, and the respected The Observer; in France, Le Monde, spokesman of "neutralist" elements; in Switzerland, the Tribune de Génève; and in Germany, the influential Stuttgarter Zeitung. Some idea of the ideological importance of the decision in the struggle between the western world and Communism can be gleaned from the fact that papers like L'Humanité, the leading French Communist daily newspaper, did not print a single word about the action of the Supreme Court, though it was front-page news in all but the Communist papers.

Segregation in Public Colleges, Housing, and Accommodations

The legal significance of the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases was emphasized on the following decision day,6 May 24, 1954, when the Court handed down a series of rulings affecting racial segregation in public colleges, housing, and accommodations. The Court remanded a case involving a refusal to admit a Negro to a state-supported law school to the Supreme Court of Florida "for consideration in the light of the Segregation Cases decided May 17, 1954 . . . and conditions that now prevail." Two other cases, one involving racial segregation in a municipally owned theatre in a public park in Louisville, Ky., and the other involving admission of a Negro to the State University of Louisiana, were similarly treated.8 On the same day, the Supreme Court refused to review, thus finalizing, the decision of a Federal Court of Appeals which had held unconstitutional an ordinance of the City of Houston setting aside certain parks for the exclusive use of Negroes and providing that all other parks-including those which contained the only public golf courses-were for the exclusive use of whites.9 It also refused to review a decision of another Federal Court of Appeals that the Wichita Falls Junior College, a Texas school supported by public funds, might not constitutionally refuse to admit otherwise qualified Negro students. 10 The Court accorded similar treatment to the decision of the District Court of Appeal of California that the local housing authority could not constitutionally operate its low-rent public housing projects on a segregated basis in order to maintain the "racial character of the neighborhood." 11

The effect of this series of rulings was to send back for further consideration by the lower courts those cases in which Negroes had been refused admission to the public facility in question, while putting an end to litigation

The practice of the Supreme Court is to hand down decisions on Mondays.

Hawkins v. Board of Control of Florida, 74 S. Ct. 783.

Muir v. Louisville Park, 74 S. Ct. 783;

Beal v. Holcombe, 74 S. Ct. 783.

Michita Falls Junior College v. Battle, 74 S. Ct. 783.

Housing Authority of San Francisco v. Banks, 74 S. Ct. 784.

in those cases where the lower courts had ordered the admission of the Negro complainants on an equal footing with whites.

Housing

The Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases had an almost immediate impact in the housing field (see footnote 11). Obviously, there would be some areas in the South where "black belts" would perpetuate racially segregated public schools. Those who would like to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision were therefore examining anew Northern cities where many public schools were exclusively Negro or exclusively white as a result of residential segregation, notwithstanding state laws and policies which prohibited compulsory racial segregation in the public school system.

Another immediate effect was the unsuccessful attempt of Southern Congressmen on May 26, 1954, to eliminate the public housing provisions from the Housing Act of 1954, in the belief that the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases presaged an end to racial segregation

in public housing.

National Action

In December 1953, the President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs submitted its report to the President.¹² The Committee recommended action in five areas to meet the needs for a closely integrated comprehensive program to satisfy the demand of the American people for good homes and the maintenance of a sound and growing economy: (1) a vigorous attack on slums and a broad effort to prevent the spread of slums; (2) the effective maintenance and use of existing houses; (3) a steady increase in the volume of building of new houses; (4) special assistance for families of low income; and (5) reorganization of the Housing and Home Finance Agency for greater efficiency and economy.

The Committee stated in its general report section that it was "deeply concerned with the housing problem of minority groups," commenting that its recommendations, "if supplemented by changes in the attitude of private investors and bolstered by vigorous administrative practice, offer a basis for substantial improvements in the housing conditions of minority groups."

In terms of planning, the report moved a large step forward. Federal assistance was recommended for "well-planned neighborhood projects at any stage of the urban renewal process, provided they clear blight and establish sound healthy neighborhoods." Special technical and planning assistance, the report urged, be offered local governments for these purposes. The report, unfortunately, did not recommend tools which would lower the price to the home purchaser, decrease the speculative aspects of home ownership or provide for the thousands of families who would be replaced by the "urban renewal process." Similarly, the report failed to recognize the racial implications of

¹² Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

current population movements in the United States. No proposals were made to check or reverse the developing racial imbalance between the central cities

and the outlying suburbs.

The report further recommended a continuation of the low-rent public housing program, although it did not suggest any increase in the number of public housing units to be built. In August 1953 the Congress had placed a limit of 20,000 units a year on the public housing program during 1954, and it was unlikely that this figure would be increased substantially in the absence of a strong recommendation from the Advisory Committee and from the President. This number could not begin to provide for the low-income families displaced by rehabilitation and slum clearance, much less to fill the total need.

The report placed hope for equalizing housing facilities for minority families on "changes in the attitude of private investors" and "vigorous administrative practices." There was no proposal to use Federal funds, credits, or powers to assure the flow of mortgage money to housing for minority group families.

Although the Congress had not passed a National Housing Act by the close of the reporting period, one was enacted before adjournment of the second session of the 83rd Congress and approved by the President on August 2, 1954. The Housing Act of 1954 contained no new safeguards against discrimination or segregation in federally aided housing. The act did limit the extension of the public housing program to one additional year and to 35,000 additional units. Furthermore, it restricted those additional units to communities which had slum clearance, urban redevelopment, or urban renewal programs, and which required housing for the relocation of persons

displaced by such programs.

The decisions of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases and in Housing Authority of San Francisco v. Banks (see footnote 11) caused officials in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Public Housing Administration, and in many local housing authorities to re-evaluate their policies with respect to racial segregation in public and publicly assisted housing. Commissioner Norman P. Mason of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in May 1954 stated at a meeting of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing that "I believe that FHA's first responsibility is to the people of America. I share the fear which has been expressed quite often in recent weeks that FHA has tended to drift too far away from this concept." As part of this new awareness of consumer interest on the part of FHA, Mason pledged to "institute a concrete program of training and orientation of all staff personnel with regard to agency policies and procedures, the potential market, techniques for meeting the market, new concepts in property evaluation, demonstrable experiences and other factors . . ." in connection with open-occupancy housing.

With a softening of the housing market among whites, the interest of private builders and lenders was stimulated in the potentially profitable market for upper- and middle-income housing among minority racial groups. In the spring of 1953 the National Association of Home Builders, with the assistance

of the National Urban League, created a standing Committee on Minority Group Housing under the chairmanship of a Memphis builder. The Mortgage Bankers Association organized a Minority Housing Committee with a leading lender of Baltimore as chairman in November 1953. This increased interest in making housing available to minority racial groups was further evidenced by two provisions of the Housing Act of 1954 which were endorsed by industry spokesmen. One of these authorized the Federal National Mortgage Association to make direct loans for housing available to minorities, the other created a system of voluntary credit committees which would concern themselves with stimulating the flow of credit for such housing.

Local Action

On July 6, 1953, Federal District Judge William E. Steckler handed down his decision in a case in which a group of Negro applicants sought to enjoin the Evansville (Ind.) Housing Authority from continuing its practice of racial segregation in the projects under its jurisdiction.¹³ Judge Steckler held that the plaintiffs had been denied consideration for admission to these projects solely because of their race and color, "in violation of rights secured to them by the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States" and in violation of the Federal civil rights statutes.

In overruling the Authority's argument that the two housing projects involved provided "separate but equal" facilities and thus came within the Plessy v. Ferguson doctrine, the Court stated its conclusion that the Plessy holding had "by many decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in recent years, lost most, if not all, its weight as a guide in cases concerning ownership or occupancy of real property as distinguished from those cases involving public service."

Judge Steckler, therefore, entered judgment in favor of the plaintiffs.

On January 8, 1953, the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority had adopted a resolution that vacancies in low-income projects operated by it would thenceforth be available to all eligible applicants, without regard to race or color. On January 23, a second resolution deferred implementation of the nonsegregation policy pending receipt of a report to be made by a special study committee of the Board of Community Relations of Toledo.

On March 17, 1953, before the special committee completed its study and submitted its report, a law suit had been commenced by four Negro applicants, on their own behalf and on behalf of others similarly situated, charging that the Housing Authority had refused to consider their applications for available vacancies in one or more of the three low-rent housing projects occupied exclusively by whites. After this, the special committee of the Board of Community Relations completed its study and submitted its report, endorsing the Housing Authority's nonsegregation policy. The Housing Authority then issued a third resolution which directed the implementa-

¹⁸ Woodbridge, et al., v. The Housing Authority of the City of Evansville, Ind., et al.

tion of the nonsegregation policy "as soon after the adoption of this Resolution" as was deemed "proper and advisable to do so in the light of all the events and circumstances."

On June 23, 1953, Judge Frank L. Kloeb, of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, had granted the Negro plaintiffs' request for a mandatory injunction, thus placing the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority under court order to abandon its prior practice of racially segregating its low-rent housing projects. The Court had allowed the Toledo Housing Authority a four-month period within which to put into actual operation its latest resolution abandoning the policy of racial segregation in its projects.

On October 3, 1953, Judge Kloeb, who had rendered the decision in Vann v. Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority, convened a special session of his court. Indicating that "incendiary statements" had been made in consequence of this decision, Judge Kloeb asserted his intention "if anything should happen," of using "every facility of this Court, not only to

restrain, but to punish."

On October 5, 1953, the first three Negro families moved into public housing projects in Toledo on a nonsegregated basis and on October 13,

1953, a fourth family followed suit, all without incident.

On October 7, 1953, a Denver District Court, consisting of Judges Joseph J. Walsh, Robert W. Steele, Edward C. Day, and Robert H. McWilliams, ruled in favor of the Denver Housing Authority in a suit brought to clear title to a group of lots in Denver. 15 The lots had been subject to restrictive covenants that the property should not be sold to or occupied by persons of African descent. The Denver Housing Authority brought the action because its Westwood Homes project was located on the property and some of the apartments in this project were either occupied or about to be occupied by Negroes. The complaint asked the court to clear the plaintiff's title to the land, claiming that the thirty-year-old racial restrictive covenants were "contrary to the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America."

After hearing testimony and argument in the matter, the four-judge court ruled that the Denver Housing Authority was the absolute owner of the property and enjoined all persons from disturbing the Housing Authority, or those claiming under it, in the quiet and peaceful possession and enjoyment of the land. The effect of this ruling was to void all the racial, religious, and ethnological restrictions incorporated in the old deeds to the property in question.

NEW YORK CITY

A basic study of tenant relocation problems was released in January 1954 by the New York City Planning Commission. The report outlined the immensity of the problem for families displaced because of public projects,

¹⁴ Vann, et al. v. Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority. 15 Housing Authority of Denver v. Ford, et al.

greatly accentuated by the tight housing supply, the immigration of nonwhite and Puerto Rican families into New York, the shortages of vacant land sites, the large number of existing dwellings more than fifty years old, and the size of future relocation needs for various improvements.

Although the report's release was delayed by political controversy, and the Planning Commission's members split 4 to 3 on the recommendations, there was no substantive disagreement on the report's factual analysis and

the statistics presented.

These revealed that a total of approximately 170,000 persons had had to leave their dwelling accommodations during the period from January 1, 1946, through March 31, 1953, in order to make way for both public and private residential and nonresidential construction projects in New York City.

Of the total number of tenants displaced, 37 per cent were nonwhite and Puerto Rican (the in-migration of Puerto Ricans to New York City was currently averaging about 45,000 per year). Based on the expected housing and public works programs, a total of approximately 150,000 persons would be displaced in the three-year period from April 1, 1953, to March 31, 1956.

On July 6, 1954, the New York City Council passed and Mayor Robert F. Wagner signed the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law. As of August 1954 laws prohibiting discrimination or segregation in housing were limited to public housing and housing receiving substantial public assistance. Housing which received public aid only in the form of mortgage insurance was not deemed to lose its character as "private" housing. The Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs ordinance, however, prohibited discrimination in housing built or improved after July 1954 with funds protected by Federal mortgage insurance, during the lifetime of the insurance. This was the first attempt to bring FHA and Veterans Administration (VA) housing under anti-discrimination legislation. The ordinance was limited to multiple dwellings—those occupied or to be occupied as the residence or home of three or more families living independently of one another.

NEW YORK STATE

On February 3, 1954, two bills were introduced in the New York State Legislature to create a temporary commission to investigate the nature, causes, and effect of discrimination and segregation in housing, and to give the State Commission Against Discrimination (the FEP Commission) jurisdiction to enforce the state law prohibiting discrimination in publicly assisted housing. These two bills, sponsored by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing and its affiliated organizations, were similar to bills which had been introduced, unsuccessfully, for the past several years. The state legislature once again failed to act on either of these proposals.

New Jersey

On July 28, 1954, Governor Robert Meyner of New Jersey signed a bill which vested jurisdiction in the Division Against Discrimination over the

several statutes which prohibited discrimination in public and quasi-public housing in the State of New Jersey. Upon signature by the governor, New Jersey joined Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island in placing jurisdiction for the enforcement of their anti-discrimination laws in housing in the same administrative agency which enforced the laws against discrimination in employment and in places of public accommodation.

MUNICIPAL ACTION

The Wilmington, Del., Housing Authority voted on December 10, 1953, to adopt a policy ending racial discrimination or segregation in the city's low-rent public housing projects.

The San Francisco Housing Authority announced on January 5, 1954, its intention to include an anti-segregation clause in an agreement covering the operation of four temporary war-housing projects.

VIOLENCE

On July 30, 1953, the first Negro family moved into the Trumbull Park Homes in Chicago, Ill., a public housing project built with Federal funds and then under the management and control of the Chicago Housing Authority. On August 5, 1953, after this event became public knowledge in the area, the first signs of serious racial tension appeared; by August 10, 1953, there were nightly gatherings of large mobs of restless, threatening people. Fire crackers and stones were thrown at, or into, the apartments thought to be occupied by the Negro families. They were assaulted when entering, or leaving, the project area. Large numbers of police were moved into the neighborhood and a twenty-four-hour patrol system was established. On some occasions, 1,000 or more policemen were assigned to the project. They found it necessary, when tensions mounted, to disperse all gatherings within a half mile, to close bars and taverns, and to erect police lines around the area.

Periodic violence and rioting continued from August 1953 to the end of the reporting period. During this time, over a dozen Negro families moved into Trumbull Park Homes and more than 100 persons were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, illegal possession of fire arms, assault and battery, incitement to riot, or attempted arson. The courts did not see fit to impose substantial jail sentences on any of those convicted. Instead, many of the more youthful offenders were paroled in the custody of their parents or lawyers while others received small fines. Despite the continued protests and pressure of civic, religious, labor, and nonsectarian organizations directed to Mayor Martin Kennelly, Governor William G. Stratton, and even the Federal housing authorities, it was generally felt that the city government was refusing to use more effective police techniques which could have put a prompt end to the racial disturbances.

Other instances of violence or threats of violence to discourage nonwhites from moving into previously all-white neighborhoods, occurred during the reporting period in Atlanta, Ga. (August and October 1953); Long Island,

N. Y. (November 1953); Indianapolis, Ind. (December 1953); Birmingham, Ala. (May 1954); and Louisville, Ky. (May 1954).

EMPLOYMENT

Federal Activities

In January 1954 public hearings were held by the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on two bills. One (S. 1), introduced by Senator Everett Dirksen (Rep., Ill.), would have created a five-member commission on "civil rights and privileges" to promote respect for such rights and privileges; this bill lacked any provision for enforcement (see AMERICAN JEW-ISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 32). The other bill (S. 535), introduced by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.), would have established a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the executive branch, as recommended by the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. The following month, the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare invited public testimony on Senator Irving M. Ives' (Rep., N. Y.) Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment bill (S. 692), which would have established a Federal commission to administer and enforce a policy of nondiscrimination in employment for all employers engaged in interstate commerce and employing fifty or more employees, for all employment agencies dealing with such employers, and for all labor organizations having fifty or more members employed by such employers. No fair employment practices (FEP) bill reached the floor of either branch of the Congress during the reporting period.

President Eisenhower's Committee on Government Contracts (CGC-see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 32) implemented several of the recommendations of its predecessor committee. Thus, conferences were held in September 1953 between a subcommittee of the CGC and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The CGC induced the local administration of the District to include a clause in all contracts to which it was a party barring discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin in the carrying out of the provisions of the contract. On October 26, 1953, the Secretary of Labor and the president of the District Board of Commissioners jointly announced that such a clause would be inserted thereafter in all District of Columbia contracts, as required in

government contracts by executive orders.

As a result of the insistence of the CGC, the telephone company serving the District of Columbia, including all the Federal agencies and departments located there, dropped its color bars. As of the close of the reporting period, Negro and white clerks and operators were working side by side in the telephone company, without friction or incident.

In November 1953 a group of representatives of national civic, religious, and labor organizations were invited to meet with the CGC to discuss more effective steps to eliminate discrimination in employment in connection with government contracts. One recommendation was to strengthen the clause which required government contractors to provide equality of employment opportunity. On April 22, 1954, Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers announced a revision in the nondiscrimination clause for the purpose of

strengthening and clarifying it.

The new clause substituted the word "religion" for "creed" and spelled out a number of the specific areas of employment in which discrimination "because of race, religion, color, or national origin" was prohibited. In addition, the new clause required the conspicuous posting of a notice informing employees and prospective employees that the plant was committed to a policy of nondiscrimination.

In June 1954 the CGC published its first informational pamphlet, "Equal Job Opportunity Is Good Business," to advise employers, Federal agencies

and the public at large of the purposes and functions of the CGC.

State Action

No new states were added to those with FEP laws during the reporting period. Since the state legislatures which were in regular session during 1954 were, with one exception, either in FEP states or in the South, this was to be expected.

MICHIGAN

The exception was Michigan, where Governor G. Mennen Williams sent a special message on December 29, 1953, to the legislature reminding the members (predominantly Republican) of President Eisenhower's campaign statements in favor of state action in this area, and urging them to enact a fully enforceable fair employment practice law. Such a bill passed the state senate on March 5, 1954, by 20 to 11, but was killed by the state affairs committee of the state house of representatives, which voted 6 to 3 on March 23, 1954, not to report the bill to the floor. An attempt on March 30 to get the house to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill failed when the representatives refused by a 53 to 43 vote to force the bill from the committee.

New York

The Holland case (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 36, 37) reached the New York Court of Appeals where the decision of the Appellate Division was unanimously affirmed on April 23, 1954. Thus, the first instance in which the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) found it necessary to seek judicial enforcement of one of its cease and desist orders was carried all the way to the highest court, where SCAD's order was upheld.

In a second litigation, an employment agency challenged the authority of SCAD to issue a regulation that all employers, employment agencies, and labor unions must post a notice in their establishments of the major pro-

¹⁸ Holland v. Edwards, 307 N. Y. 38 (1954).

visions of the Law Against Discrimination. The only question presented by this case was whether the Commission had the power to adopt such a regulation when the statute establishing the Commission was silent on this point. On June 17, 1954, Mr. Justice Thomas Corcoran of the New York Supreme Court filed his decision, in which he held that SCAD was merely supplying "a detail in the implementation of and consistent with the power given to it" when it required the posting of notices as a means of "publicizing the law so as to accomplish the work which the Legislature set out for the Commission." The Court also rejected the employment agency's argument that the posting requirement was unreasonable and unnecessary since "the public is presumed to know the law." The Court differentiated between the presumption that everyone knows the law and so is not relieved of the legal consequences of his acts, and the need to educate the public as to the provisions of a law enacted for its social and economic well-being.¹⁷

SCAD announced on October 20, 1953, that it had successfully negotiated a conciliation agreement with the Pennsylvania Railroad under which that railroad, for the first time in its history, employed a Negro as a brakeman.

Commissioner Elmer A. Carter, one of the four commissioners of SCAD, explained that agreements of this type with the railroads had been impossible to obtain previously because of the existence of large numbers of furloughed employees who had a prior right to re-employment. When, however, the Pennsylvania Railroad had rehired all available furloughed employees and began to hire employees on the "open market," three complaints were filed with SCAD charging the railroad with a refusal to hire Negroes as brakemen in violation of the New York Law Against Discrimination in employment. Following the investigation of these complaints, the agreement was negotiated whereby the railroad accepted the only one of the three complainants who had not yet found other gainful employment. In addition, the railroad stipulated that thenceforth it would consider all applicants on the basis of merit and without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. Furthermore, the railroad agreed to give all its employees, including Negroes, the opportunity to qualify for higher positions (such as conductors) on the basis of seniority and ability and without discrimination. The agreement was considered by SCAD to be "an authentic milestone in the Negro's struggle for equal treatment in employment opportunities" on major railroads in the United States.

CONNECTICUT

After the affirmation by the highest court of the state of the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission's order directing Local 35 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) to cease its discrimination against Negro applicants for admission to the union 18 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR Воок, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 35; 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 61, 62), the two Negro complainants again applied for admission. They were rejected at a mem-

Ross v. Arbury, et al., 133 N.Y.S. 2d 62 (1954).
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers v. State Commission, Conn. Law Journal, Dec. 29, 1953.

bership meeting on the ground that they failed to meet the requirement of sponsorship and employment by a union contractor for one year. This was the same reason that had been advanced by the union at the original public hearing before the Commission. On March 26, 1954, following this latest rejection of the applicants, an assistant attorney general, acting for the Commission, applied to the Superior Court for a contempt citation of the union for noncompliance with the court's order that it (the IBEW) abandon its policy of racial discrimination in admissions. After a hearing, Superior Court Judge Alcorn found "the union as a body" in contempt of court for noncompliance with the earlier court order, fined the local \$2,000, and stated that it would be fined \$500 for each additional week, starting April 26, 1954, until it complied with the 1952 Superior Court judgment directing the union to stop practicing racial discrimination.

On April 9 the local voted to admit the two complainants to full membership. One complainant was immediately referred to a job where he was employed as a union electrician and the other was similarly employed a few weeks later. This was the first instance in which a proceeding before a state commission enforcing a fair employment practice law had gone to the point of a citation for contempt of court—the ultimate enforcement

sanction available to state commissions.

OREGON

The Urban League of Portland concluded in its annual report released in April 1954 that despite the Oregon FEP law, many employers in the state "still bar their doors against non-white workers." Citing examples, the report said that "none of the large mail order houses or variety stores has yet hired a single Negro clerical worker, only one of the large grocery chains hires non-white clerks, and our largest knitting mill still employs Negroes only as charwomen."

Municipal Action

Four additional municipalities joined the ranks of FEP cities during the period under review.

Clairton, Pa., became the twenty-ninth city in the United States (and the sixth in Pennsylvania) to enact an ordinance against discrimination in employment in April 1953. The Clairton ordinance was similar to the Philadelphia ordinance, generally regarded as one of the best of its kind. It had a very broad coverage, applying to all employers within the municipality, including those with even one employee. A Fair Employment Practices Commission was established with power to investigate, adjust, and determine complaints of discrimination in employment. The ordinance also contained enforcement machinery. Violations or failure to comply with cease and desist orders of the Commission were punishable upon conviction by fines up to \$100.

On June 9, 1953, Duluth, Minn., became the thirtieth city in the United States (and the second in Minnesota) to enact a local ordinance prohibiting discrimination in employment. The ordinance applied to the city and its departments, divisions and bureaus; and to local private employers of two or more employees. In addition, the ordinance provided that all contracting agencies and departments of the City of Duluth should cause nondiscriminatory clauses to be included in all contracts and should cause contractors to require the inclusion of such clauses in all subcontracts.

A five-member, non-salaried board was established, to be known as the Commission on Job Discrimination. The ordinance contained no statement of findings or of policy to aid the Commission in carrying out its responsibilities, nor did it provide any enforcement machinery. The Commission, however, was expressly charged with "effecting the purposes and policies of this resolution"; promoting cooperation toward this goal among all groups; receiving and investigating complaints; conducting studies, surveys, and projects; disseminating information regarding job discrimination and related problems; aiding in the enforcement of the resolution; and making annual reports to the City Council.

On January 26, 1954, Erie, Pa., enacted a fully enforceable FEP ordinance prohibiting discrimination in employment by employers, employment agencies, and labor unions, and creating a Community Relations Commission to administer it. Prohibited practices were defined in detail, but the enforce-

ability of the ordinance was deferred until January 1, 1955.

On June 12, 1954, the city of Duquesne, Pa., became the thirty-second city in the United States (and the eighth in Pennsylvania) to enact an ordinance

prohibiting discrimination in employment.

The measure, a fully enforceable FEP ordinance, resembled closely the ordinance adopted by the neighboring city of Pittsburgh in 1952. It applied to all public employers within the city and to those private persons employing more than five employees. The ordinance prohibited discrimination by such employers, as well as by labor organizations and employment agencies. The ordinance set up a FEP Commission in the department of public affairs with power to receive, investigate, adjust, and determine complaints of discrimination in employment. The Commission was to consist of five non-salaried members appointed by the mayor. Enforcement was vested in the city solicitor, and violations of the ordinance or failure to comply with cease and desist orders of the commission were punishable upon conviction by fines up to \$100.

A serious effort was made during the reporting period to pass a municipal FEP ordinance in Baltimore, Md. The proposed ordinance would have set up a five-member Equal Opportunity Employment Commission with power to enforce restrictions against discrimination in employment on the grounds of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry. The Commission would have been vested with power to investigate and correct unfair practices which specifically included refusal to hire, the use of quota systems, making inquiries or using application forms which contained questions on race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry, publishing notices or advertise-

ments indicating any preference or discrimination based on race. The measure would have been applicable to employers, labor unions, and employment agencies. On June 14, 1954, however, the City Council, by a 12 to 9 vote, defeated this first FEP ordinance to come before a municipal council south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Public Accommodations

Accelerated progress was made during the reporting period in the campaign in the District of Columbia to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in places of public accommodation and amusement. Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court 19 that restaurants in the District of Columbia were still governed by an 1873 statute which prohibited them from refusing to serve meals to Negroes because of their color, Washington's eating establishments ended racial discrimination (see Amer-ICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 47). Officials of the local restaurant association reported not a single case of violence as a result of this new policy. At the urging of the chairman of the District Board of Commissioners, discrimination was also eliminated from the bars and dining rooms in the hotels. This was followed in some cases by a relaxation of the policy of completely excluding Negroes from sleeping accommodations. With the help of the motion picture producers, discrimination was also eliminated from the downtown theatres. Segregation was abolished in the District's recreational areas and facilities-all without a single reported instance of serious tension.

Transportation

Generally, racial segregation continued to be the rule rather than the exception in intra-state transportation in all Southern and most border states. In interstate transportation, however, deep crevices continued to appear in the wall of segregation. Thus, while railroad employees continued to direct Negroes to segregated cars, occasionally Negroes and whites mingled on day coaches travelling through Southern states. Ticket offices, waiting rooms, restaurants, and toilets in railroad stations throughout the South, however, continued to be labeled "white" and "colored."

On November 13, 1953, Attorney General Herbert Brownell publicly announced that the Department of Justice had been notified by the Southern Railway System that it had adopted new rules governing the service of patrons in dining cars operated by the railroad. The new rules directed conductors and dining car stewards to seat passengers seeking dining car service in vacant seats in the order of their entrance into the dining car.

With this new rule, the Southern Railway abandoned its long fight to retain some sort of racial segregation in railway diners.²⁰

District of Columbia v. Thompson, 346 U.S. 100 (1953).
 Henderson v. U.S., 339 U.S. 816 (1950).

Court Action

In an interesting case in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Iowa, Judge Henry N. Graven upheld the right of a Negro to bring her action for violation of the Iowa Civil Rights Law in the Federal District Court on the theory that the defendant was a Delaware corporation and that it was possible that a jury would award the plaintiff damages in excess of the jurisdictional minimum of \$3,000.21 Following this decision on the defendant's motion to dismiss the action for lack of jurisdiction, the case was tried before a jury. After the trial, the defendant moved for a directed verdict in its favor on the ground that the Iowa Civil Rights Law did not cover dance halls. Judge Graven denied the defendant's motion, and held that the words "all other places of amusement" in the Iowa Civil Rights Law were intended to include dance halls.²² He thus gave the statute a broad rather than a narrow construction.

For the second time in the same case, on February 25, 1954, a city court jury in Rochester, N. Y., failed to reach a verdict in a criminal action against the owner of a local bar and grill for violating the New York Civil Rights Law making it a misdemeanor for the owner or operator of a restaurant to deny equal accommodations because of race or color.

On September 3, 1953, President Judge Edwin O. Lewis of the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia handed down his decision in a case arising under the Pennsylvania statute against discrimination in places of public accommodation,23

The defendant moved to dismiss the complaint on two separate grounds, both of which were rejected by the Court. It was first argued that swimming pools were not covered by the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Statute since they are not specifically listed as "places of public accommodation." The judge rejected this argument on the ground that the listing of places of public accommodation after the words "shall be deemed to include" could not mean that all places not expressly mentioned were outside the provisions of the law. He held the language of the statute declaring the right of all persons "to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of any places of public accommodation, resort, or amusement" sufficiently broad to include swimming pools.

The defendant based his second defense upon the fact that the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Law provided only criminal penalties for its violation. Traditionally, courts of equity had refused to enjoin violations of criminal statutes on the theory that the legislature provided for punishment by fine or imprisonment following conviction for the crime and that such remedy was adequate. In the instant case, however, Judge Lewis chose not to follow the tradition, and issued the injunction requested by plaintiffs.

This decision was important because the case was authority for the propo-

Amos v. Prom, Inc., 115 F. Supp. 127.
 Amos v. Prom, Inc., 117 F. Supp. 615.
 Everett v. Harron.

sition that civil rights statutes, no matter what remedies they provided, were remedial statutes which should be liberally construed to be effective against the evil at which they were aimed.

Following the action of the United States Supreme Court on May 24, 1954, in Beal v. City of Houston (see page 202, supra), the Houston City Council voted unanimously to end segregation on municipally owned and operated golf courses. Negroes thereupon began to use the municipal golf courses on June 2, 1954.

Legislative Action

On March 13, 1954, the General Assembly of Virginia passed a law which prohibited discriminatory advertising by places of public accommodation. The act was limited to publication of advertisements in newspapers or magazines, to posting of signs, and to broadcasting by radio or television. The law prohibited any publication of commercial advertisements to the effect that any person "not otherwise prohibited by law from using an establishment" was not welcome, or was objectionable, or was not acceptable.

The phrase "not otherwise prohibited by law from using an establishment" was intended to exclude racial segregation and discrimination from the cov-

erage of the new statute.

Administrative Agencies

There had been a tendency on the part of vacation resorts and hotels to attempt new devices to evade laws prohibiting discrimination on account of race, religion, or national origin. One such device was that of calling resorts "private clubs" and featuring in their advertising that guests were accepted on a "club" basis, since strictly private clubs were not prohibited from dis-

criminating under traditional civil rights laws.

On June 22, 1953, the American Jewish Committee filed a complaint against The Westkill Tavern Club, a vacation resort in Greene County, before the New York SCAD, charging that the "club" was a place of public accommodation subject to the provisions of the New York Law Against Discrimination. On July 29, 1953, SCAD, after investigating the question, concluded that The Westkill Tavern Club was indeed a place of public accommodation and not a private club. The order issued through a conciliation agreement required the discontinuance of the membership procedures and the elimination of the statement in the brochure referring to selected clientele. The disposition further required that all personnel employed by the resort be informed of the policy requiring "full, equal and unsegregated accommodations . . . to all persons regardless of their race, creed, color or national origin."

On December 11, 1953, SCAD announced that it would hold its first public hearing under the recently enacted public accommodations provisions of the State Law Against Discrimination (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 68). The hearing involved complaints brought by two Bronx

residents, who claimed that the Castle Hill Beach Club, Inc., denied them admission because of their color.

Following the filing of the complaints, SCAD sought to adjust the matter through the process of conference and conciliation. The Beach Club maintained that it was a private organization and not a place of public accommodation subject to the jurisdiction of the Commission.

In New York State, as in New Jersey, the first complaint under the public accommodations statute, which the State Commission was unable to adjust through conciliation and persuasion, involved a swimming pool which claimed

to be a "private club," and not a place of public accommodation.

On October 15, 1953, the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination reported that it had successfully conciliated a complaint that a cafe in Boston's theatrical district had illegally refused to serve a Negro because of his color. Under the terms of the conciliation agreement, the cafe agreed to pay \$50 damages to the Negro complainant and, in addition, pledged that there would be no discrimination in service in the future because of race, color, or religious creed.

On January 19, 1954, Attorney General Robert Y. Thornton of Oregon, in response to a question submitted to him by the Fair Employment Practices Advisory Committee, ruled that it was a violation of the recently enacted Oregon Civil Rights Law (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 47) for a restaurant owner or operator to require Negro patrons to sit on one side of the cafe while reserving the other side for whites.

CHURCH AND STATE

The Congress

In May 1954, the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee held public hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment (Senate Joint Resolution 87) introduced by Senator Ralph Flanders (Rep., Vt.), which declared that: "This Nation devoutly recognizes the authority and law of Jesus Christ, Savior and Ruler of nations." Section 2 provided that the amendment should not be interpreted to "result in the establishment of any particular ecclesiastical organization, or in the abridgement of the rights of religious freedom, or freedom of speech and press, or of peaceful assemblage." Section 3 gave the Congress power "to provide a suitable oath or affirmation for citizens whose religious scruples prevent them from giving unqualified allegiance to the Constitution as herein amended." All of the national Jewish organizations testified or filed statements opposing S.J. Res. 87, and no further action was taken by the Senate.

Toward the end of the Second Session of the 83rd Congress, a bill was passed, and subsequently signed by the President, to amend the Pledge of Allegiance by inserting the words "under God." The pledge would then read:

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

State Action

The most significant event in the church-state field during the reporting period was undoubtedly the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of New Jersey on December 7, 1953, that the Board of Education of Rutherford could not constitutionally allow the Gideons International to distribute their

Bible through the facilities of the public schools.24

The Court stated that it was in no way modifying or departing from its decision in Doremus v. Board of Education 25 where it upheld the constitutionality of compulsory daily reading in the public schools of five verses of the Old Testament and permissive recitation of the Lord's Prayer. The Court had held in Doremus that such exercises, performed without comment, did not constitute sectarian instruction or sectarian worship. The distinction emphasized by the Court was the sectarianism present in the Gideons case and absent in the Doremus case.

It is noteworthy that the New Jersey Supreme Court failed to predicate its decision upon the broader theory that the distribution of the Gideons Bible through the machinery of the public school constituted prohibited aid to a religion. Instead, it based its holding upon the narrower ground that the Gideons Bible was sectarian and that allowing its distribution was, therefore, preferential treatment prohibited by the United States Constitution.

FLUORIDATION

On October 23, 1953, the Court of Common Pleas of Ohio held that a Cleveland City Ordinance which provided for the fluoridation of city water did not breach the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom.26 The expenditure of city funds under the ordinance was attacked by a taxpayer who claimed that there were many residents in the municipality whose religious convictions prohibited their taking medications, and that by fluoridating the city water supply, an agency of the state was, in fact, compelling such persons to violate their religious beliefs.

The Court enunciated as a legal principle that:

Freedom to act in the exercise of religion is subject to regulation for the protection of society. When government in the proper and lawful exercise of its police power seeks to attain a permissible end, in this instance a health measure both necessary and desirable, the constitutional guarantee under discussion must yield to the regulation in the interest of the public welfare. The measure being reasonable and in no manner arbitrary or oppressive, we conclude that it does not offend the constitutional guarantee.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE

In a 4 to 3 decision handed down on March 31, 1954, the Supreme Court of Ohio held that a claimant for unemployment compensation did not sacri-

 ²⁴ Tudor v. Board of Education of Rutherford, 14 N.J. 31 (1953); appeal denied 75 S. Ct. 25 (1954).
 ²⁵ 5 N.J. 435 (1950), appeal dismissed 342 U.S. 429 (1952).
 ²⁶ Kraus v. City of Cleveland, 116 N.E. 2d 779 (1953); aff'd 121 N.E. 2d 311.

fice her unemployment insurance benefits when she refused to accept proffered work which would have required her to work on Saturdays-her Sabbath.²⁷ The Ohio statute provided that in determining whether any proffered work was suitable for a claimant, the administrator should consider "the degree of risk to the claimant's health, safety, and morals." The claimant, a Seventh Day Adventist, contended that it would have been a risk to her "morals" to have accepted the offered work which required her to be gainfully employed on her Sabbath. The Court said:

What is moral to one person may be immoral to another. Moral standards change. . . . The test in the instant case, however, is not whether the proffered employment presents a risk to the morals of a majority of our citizens, but, as the statute specifies, whether it presents a risk to the "claimant's . . . morals."

The same result was reached by the Supreme Court of Michigan on September 20, 1954, when it affirmed the decision of Circuit Court Judge Blaine W. Hatch that an unemployed worker was not required to choose between compensation benefits during a period of unemployment and his religious beliefs and convictions.28

ADOPTION

Pending in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts at the close of the reporting period was an appeal from a decision of the Probate Court below, which had refused to allow an adoption of three-year-old twins solely because the mother of the children was Catholic and the adoption "petitioners are of the Jewish faith, and express the intention of bringing the twins up in the Jewish faith." 29 The Probate Court interpreted the statutes of Massachusetts as virtually prohibiting the adoption of a child by persons of a religious faith different from that of his parents, and relegated the question of the welfare of the child and the express wishes of the natural parent to an unimportant place among the considerations to be weighed.

STATE AID TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOL CHILDREN

The Circuit Court of Oregon for the Fourth Judicial District ruled on February 18, 1954, that a local school board could not refuse to admit a hard-ofhearing child to its special lip-reading classes because the child was regularly attending parochial rather than public school.30 Among other issues, the Court considered whether the separation of church and state and the use of public funds to aid religious institutions were involved in this case. The Court pointed out that "the benefit inuring to the private school in the instant situation is tenuous in the extreme, being measured by the degree to which the private school is relieved of a financial burden which it has had

 ²⁷ Tary v. State Board of Review, Ohio Sup. Ct., March 31, 1954.
 28 Swenson v. Michigan Employment Security Commission.
 29 In re Wanda and Bruce Dome, unreported, decided October 7, 1953, by the Probate Court of Essex County, Mass.
30 Elkins v. School District No.!.

a fixed intention to assume in the default of public aid." The Court held that the special instruction involved in the case under consideration was not in any significant sense a supplementation of the private school curriculum, nor in any way analogous to an application by a private school student to divide instruction time between standard courses in a private school and standard courses in a public school.

The defendant school board announced that it would not appeal the ad-

verse decision.

On October 13, 1953, an organization calling itself the Kentucky Friends of the Public Schools announced the initiation of a law suit to prevent the superintendent of public instruction from using state funds to support local public schools in which nuns in clerical garb were employed as teachers, or to help defray the cost of transporting pupils to and from parochial schools.³¹ The suit was filed after Attorney General J. D. Buckman refused to bring such an action "to compel compliance with the laws and constitution of Kentucky and the United States."

This law suit was the outcome of a controversy that had been going on in some Kentucky areas during 1953–54. Public complaint was first made by Protestant groups against the use of nuns as teachers in the public schools. Then the official organ of the Archdiocese of Louisville, The Record, ran a series of editorials attacking the Protestant group as bigoted and arguing that the traditional American principle of separation of church and state did not mean "completely secularistic totalitarianism." At the same time, these editorials suggested that the Protestant groups seek a court ruling on a series of questions implying that Protestant groups were violating separation of church and state. Among the questions so raised were: the propriety of ministers accepting payment from tax funds to serve as chaplains in state institutions, such as mental hospitals and local jails; the propriety of teachers in public schools wearing pins, rings, or buttons indicating membership in any religious organization; and the propriety of conducting public school baccalaureate ceremonies in Protestant churches.

No decision had been published by the Court as the reporting period came to a close.

RELEASED TIME

Attorney General Leo A. Hoegh of Iowa advised the Dubuque School Board on August 18, 1953, that under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the McCollum and Zorach cases,³² the Board could constitutionally approve a released-time program in which sectarian religious instruction would be given "by non-school personnel at places which are not part of the school premises." The Attorney General took pains to point out to the school board that the Zorach case turned on a lack of evidence "that the system involved the use of coercion to get the students into the religious courses."

The Board of Directors of School District 60, having jurisdiction over the

Rawlings v. Butler, Circuit Court of Franklin County, Kv.
 McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948); Zorach v. Clauson, 343 U.S. 306 (1952).

public schools of Pueblo, N. M., received a request from the local leaders of the Catholic Church to institute a released-time program in the public schools of Pueblo. The board held an open hearing in August 1953. The president of the Protestant ministerial association informed the board that his association could take no position on the issue since it had had no opportunity to discuss it. He also advised against the institution of a released-time program "until a cooperative request representing the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths has been made." Other Protestant ministers warned against compulsion to induce youth toward religious study and against any breaking down of separation of church and state. A Catholic spokesman urged the board to study the decision of the Supreme Court in the Zorach case "in which it was made clear and plain that there is no compulsion involved."

The school board voted to defer any action on released time at least until the fall of 1954, but it did approve a plan to leave Wednesday nights as free as possible of school activities to permit those nights to be used for religious education.

Teacher Education and Religion

During the reporting period, the William H. Danforth Foundation set aside \$60,000 for a Teacher Education and Religion Project to be conducted by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. This association was formed in 1948 by a merger of the American Association of Teachers Colleges, the National Association of Teacher Education Institutions for Metropolitan Districts, and the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education. On December 1, 1953, a subcommittee of the project recommended, and the project directors adopted, the following statement of the nature and scope of the intended study:

The Committee recommends that the chief purpose of this study of Teacher Education and Religion be to discover and develop ways and means to teach the reciprocal relation between religion and other elements in human culture in order that the prospective teacher, whether he teaches literature, history, the arts, science, or other subjects, be prepared to understand, to appreciate, and to convey to his students the significance of religion in human affairs.

It was expected that during the first two years of the study, emphasis would be upon an intensive analysis by the participating institutions of curriculum materials, available and to be developed, with respect to the relationship between religion and other elements in the culture. The second stage of the study, to extend over a three-year period following the preliminary stage, would concentrate upon publishing and distributing the results of the earlier studies and experimentation.

The colleges and universities that had been invited to participate in this project were: Alabama State Teachers College at Troy; Arizona State Teachers College at Tempe; Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls; Kansas State Teachers College at Pittsburg; the University of Kentucky;

Maryland State Teachers College at Towson; Western Michigan College of Education; Macalester College at St. Paul, Minnesota; New York University; New York State University Teachers College at Oswego; East Carolina College at Greenville, N.C.; Ohio State University; Oregon College of Education at Monmouth; Georgia Peabody College at Nashville; and North Texas State College at Denton.

THEODORE LESKES

ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION

ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITY increased perceptibly (though not considerably) during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30,

1954) over the level of the preceding year.

Bigots continued to try to identify Jews as Communists, or as conspiratorial agents for the Soviet Union; a frequent variant of this canard was that the Soviet Union was merely the instrumentality of a "Zionist" clique. Agitators appealed to xenophobic, isolationist, and anti-United Nations (UN) sentiment by asserting their "partisanship" of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 77-85), and of the proposed Bricker amendment limiting Federal treaty-making powers. They continued to attack the UN and the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as being plots for "world sovereignty" and "atheistic brainwashing." Agitators wooed other ultra-conservative elements by combining their racist doctrines with advocacy of reactionary socio-economic measures, and by furthering movements seeking to abolish governmental controls. In addition, the anti-Semites exploited two areas with particular vigor: they made incursions into politics, and attempted to divert the tensions associated with public school desegregation into channels of organized anti-Negro, anti-Semitic sentiment.

Politics

In a manner reminiscent of their political activities during the 1952 Presidential campaign (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 72-73), during the period under review anti-Semites intensively manipulated political issues and personalities for their own ends. This they did both in anticipation of the 1954 elections, and to provide a continuity between the 1952 and 1956 Presidential years. They continued to charge and "suggest" that President Dwight D. Eisenhower had "betrayed" the Republican Party and the ultra-conservative elements who (the anti-Semites claimed) had elected him. With varying degrees of viciousness, the President and his staff were portrayed as puppets of Communists and Jews. Bigots seized upon such incidents as the Army-McCarthy investigations (see p. 184) as a springboard for vituperation of the President and his administration. These tactics appeared to have made many bigots acceptable to certain discontented political elements.

Toward the close of the period (July 1954), anti-Semites had apparently abandoned "third party" possibilities, giving preference to the hope that ultra-conservatives might be able to win control of the major parties.

INSTANCES OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN POLITICS

California State Senator Jack B. Tenney ran for renomination in the California primaries after having been refused endorsement by the Republican organization. In 1952, Tenney (who had once headed the California Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities) had accepted the vice presidential nomination of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party. From this point on, Tenney collaborated closely with Smith and his organization. During 1952 and 1953, Tenney had written and published a trilogy of anti-Semitic pamphlets, entitled Zion's Fifth Column, Zionist Network, and Zion's Trojan Horse. The last of these included an introduction by Professor John O. Beaty (see below), and stressed invidious interpretations of Talmudic passages.

Tenney campaigned in the Los Angeles, Cal., area on the issue of "The Jews in Politics," charging in *The Tenney Record* that:

Jews are highly organized in this country. They are organized . . . also for political reasons. . . . You can see evidence of this on every hand: in the daily press (which they strongly influence); in the radio and TV industry (which they control outright); in the motion picture industry (which they monopolize); in politics (where they exert a fearful force).

Tenney's venom received nation-wide publicity when a major network, for well-intended purposes, telecast one of his speaking appearances via kinescope recording. Though Tenney lost the nomination, he received almost 200,000

votes in both party primaries.

During the week preceding the Maine primaries of June 21, 1954, Conde McGinley, publisher at Union, N. J., of the anti-Semitic Common Sense, caused approximately 50,000 copies of the May 15, 1954, issue to be distributed on the streets of Bangor, Augusta, Portland, and Lewiston, Me. The issue, headed McCarthy and His Enemies, purported to show that Senator McCarthy was under attack by Jews, Communists, and "American newspapers" which were either "Marxist-owned or Marxist-controlled." The distribution of this issue was obviously intended in support of Edward L. Jones, who had been opposing Senator Margaret Chase Smith on a pro-McCarthy platform. There was no evidence that Jones knew or approved of this action, which resulted in a wave of protest and condemnation by religious and civic leaders throughout the state. Senator Smith won renomination.

In New Jersey, McGinley was reported by the New York World-Telegram & Sun of September 28, 1954, to have distributed "vituperative 'flyers'" attacking Republican Senatorial candidate Clifford Case as one who "would be

Stalin's choice for Senator."

Georgia's long-time Commissioner of Agriculture, Tom Linder, ran in the Democratic primaries of that state (where nomination was equivalent to election) for the governorship. Years before Linder had converted an official state

publication, The Georgia Farmers' Market Bulletin (circulation 250,000), into an organ of bigotry and racism, which attacked, among other things, Negroes, Jews, the UN, and Federal aid to education. Linder ran a poor

fourth in the primary to Lt. Gov. Marvin Griffin.

On March 19, 1954, in Oregon, Richard L. Neuberger, Democratic candidate for Senator, was slurred by a Sherman County journal, which observed that: "The well-known wisdom of his [Jewish] race in financial matters has been uppermost in his policy." A disclaimer of any bias or approval of the paper's statement was issued on June 3 by Senator Guy Cordon, Neuberger's opponent.

Six delegates of Atlanta's Christian Anti-Jewish Party (CAJP) picketed the White House on August 16 and 17, 1954, bearing racist placards. The CAJP

was virtually an operational "front" for J. B. Stoner.

Desegregation of Education

The United States Supreme Court's historic decision of May 17, 1954, striking down segregation in United States public schools (see p. 195), was the occasion for an immediate rise in anti-Semitic and anti-Negro agitation. Representative of the appeal (chiefly aimed at "border" areas) were the following:

Frank L. Britton's fortnightly publication, *The American Nationalist* (Inglewood, Cal.) in its June 10 issue carried the headline: "South Indignant as Jew-Led NAACP Wins School Segregation Case." The accompanying article referred to an alleged awareness of Negro editors that "Zionists or Jewish nationalists are at the bottom of all the friction and intrusion and threats of intrusion among the races."

Large quantities of the July 1, 1954 issue of McGinley's Common Sense turned up in Southern localities and other potential trouble-spots, its heavy-typed headings proclaiming that "Communism Hits South With Non-Segregation. Jewish Marxists Threaten Negro Revolt in America! Communists Plan Black Republic In South!" The June 1954 issue of The White Sentinel, organ of the National Citizens Protective Association (NCPA), was converted into a racist symposium. There, Marilyn Allen, a pamphleteer who supported the Ku Klux Klan, characterized the President as a "pseudo-Republican race-mixer," while other contributors attacked the Supreme Court desegregation decision as being Communistic and Jewish-influenced. NCPA, formed in 1951 by John W. Hamilton, a former Gerald Smith staff-member, as an offshoot of Smith's organization, stepped up its membership drive at its St. Louis, Mo., headquarters, as well as in other trouble spots throughout the United States through the efforts of men like Bill Hendrix, former Grand Dragon of Florida's Klan.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE

The most dynamic of the opponents of desegregation was the previously dormant National Association for the Advancement of White People, Inc. (NAAWP), a Delaware corporation organized December 1953 by Bryant W. Bowles of Arlington, Va. Bowles established offices in Washington, D.C., and

began publishing a bi-weekly, *The National Forum*, which borrowed heavily from Frank L. Britton's *American Nationalist. National Forum's* September 1954 issue recommended the works of such bigots as Lyrl Van Hyning, Eustace Mullins, Gerald Winrod, and Professor John O. Beaty.

In September 1954 Bowles and several collaborators moved in on tense situations in the Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Md., and Milford, Del., areas, as schools opened under newly formulated policies of racial integration. NAAWP membership drives were initiated as important features of boycott and protest meetings. One such meeting at Milford was attended by 5,000 opponents of school integration. In the face of school-picketing and other forms of demonstration, segregation was reinstated in Milford on September 30, Bowles taking credit for this "victory." School-strikes and picketing in Baltimore and Washington, however, were vigorously combatted by local authorities. During October 1954 Delaware's Attorney General H. Albert Young moved to revoke NAAWP's corporate charter. Following this, Bowles was arrested (October 10) on charges of conspiracy to violate the state education law. At approximately the same time, Federal Internal Revenue authorities began an inquiry into Bowles's alleged failure to turn over withholding taxes while engaged in his previous occupation as a roofing contractor. Bailed out on the conspiracy charge, Bowles was hailed at a meeting in Milford at which anti-Semitic and other racist slurs were rife.

Use of the Conspiratorial Theme

The charge that Jews, individually and collectively, were Communist and Zionist agents, spies, operatives, and master-minds continued unabated during the period reviewed. A notorious (and composite) example of this type of propaganda was a newspaper-size sheet, published under the imprint of McGinley's Common Sense. Embellished with Communist symbols, the item was headed The Coming Red Dictatorship, contained photographs of thirty-six Americans of Jewish faith (e.g., Bernard Baruch, David Dubinsky, and Albert Einstein), and warned the reader that "Asiatic Marxist Jews control entire world as last world war commences—thousands of plotters placed in key positions."

This inflammatory sheet was mailed to specialized lists of the type obtainable from commercial mailing houses. The estimated volume of the mailing and other distribution (more than 1,000,000) and the expense entailed led to the assumption that it had been financed by one or several wealthy individuals.

Distribution of this item began in December 1953, and continued through June 1954. It was denounced by the New York State American Legion officials (January 24, 1954), while its appearance precipitated condemnation from legislators and officials of Rhode Island, Maine, and Massachusetts. The New Jersey State Assembly on February 1, 1954, went so far as to pass a resolution that:

The General Assembly of New Jersey make known its abhorrence of the organized campaign of prejudice and bigotry and of the author of that scurrilous literature, Conde McGinley.

Bearing even more sensational headlines (in red) was a four-page, newspaper format production largely distributed in the Northwest. Headed *The Secret Plot to Communize America*, this item was published by Samuel Evans Hayes, a wealthy man, who used the imprint of Learn & Live Publishers, Seattle. This lengthy "treatise" expounded at length on the theory and practice of banking and credit control, relying heavily on the "international banker" theme. It included revelations of "Zionist plots," and concluded with a plea for martial law "to remove the tremendous dangers that now threaten all Gentiles in our nation." Recommended reading included the works of Gerald L. K. Smith, John O. Beaty, and Ron Gostick, Canadian agitator.

ATTACKS ON KOSHER PRODUCTS

Mrs. Marion Strack, New Jersey anti-UN leader, in her speech at a meeting of the New Jersey Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), disclosing that the symbols (U) and (K) were "clandestine" markings denoting kosher products, took this to be evidence of "how a bold minority can impose its will and even its religious observance upon an apathetic majority." The speech was promptly repudiated by DAR officials. However, the anti-Semitic press (e.g., Women's Voice, Common Sense, American Nationalist, and Cross and the Flag) immediately stepped up its exploitation of this theme. McGinley's Common Sense published facsimiles of food advertisements carrying kosher symbols (July 15), while Gerald L. K. Smith carried the attack on "Jewish dominance" to a ludicrous conclusion in the July 1954 issue of Cross and the Flag, revealing: "U in a small circle is the symbol of the Union of Orthodox Jews. C in a small circle is the Conservative Synagogue. R in a small circle is the Reformed Rabbis."

(C) and (R) are the official symbols for, respectively, "copyright" (pictures, music, etc., Library of Congress) and "registered" (trade-marks, trade-names, United States Patent Office).

Attacks on Brotherhood Movement

Anti-Semites continued to depict the brotherhood movement as part of an over-all conspiracy to render Gentiles submissive and tractable to the "Communist-Jewish plot." The severest attacks upon the movement were generally timed to anticipate or coincide with Brotherhood Week (February 21-28). Leslie Fry (Paquita de Shishmarova), West Coast agitator who had been comparatively silent since the United States's entry into World War II, issued a pamphlet, Interfaith, which berated Seton Hall University (Catholic) for its interfaith institute, warning that "the only obstacle remaining in the path of Zionist complete success for its infernal scheme is the purity of the Christian faith," and that "tolerance" was an "equivocal misnomer which covers a multitude of cowardly deeds and weakens the spirit of defense."

Frederick C. F. Weiss, patron of the neo-Nazi National Renaissance Party (New York) wrote a leaflet issued in that group's name, bearing the heading Brotherhood, with the subheading: "In Russia They Execute Them The

Prague and Beria Way. . . . In U. S. A. They Promote Them the Dexter White Way!"

The Christian Nationalist Protective Association (CNPA) issued a pamphlet urging that February be made a "Racial Integrity Month as an answer to Brotherhood Week." Robert A. Milner and Edward R. Fields, CNPA members, on February 21, 1954, allegedly plastered some fifty establishments in Davenport, Ia., and Rock Island and Moline, Ill., with large bold-typed stickers advising that This Place Is Owned By Jews; superimposed on the stickers was the rubber-stamped message, Anti-Jewish Week, February 21-28. Apprehended in Davenport, Milner and Fields confessed. Milner was ordered by Police Magistrate Edmund Carroll to apologize to the merchants and was placed on probation. No charges could be preferred against Fields in Iowa, since he admitted having pasted up the stickers only in Rock Island, Ill.

A booklet, The Brotherhood Religion—Is It Anti-Christianism? appeared in January 1954. Written by a former Christian Front mentor, Rev. Edward F. Brophy of New York, the booklet was published in Reseda, Cal., by C. J. Schreiber, a bigot-pamphleteer. Brophy attacked prominent persons, both Jewish and Christian, for their participation in the movement, whose pur-

pose, he charged, was "to de-Christianize America."

Leonard E. Feeney continued to foment intergroup discord in the Boston, Mass., area as he and his small but fanatical following attacked Jews, Protestants, and the Catholic hierarchy at open-air meetings and by distribution of his publication, *The Point*. The Catholic Church in 1949 had suspended Feeney's priestly functions because of his insistence upon a literal interpretation of the doctrine that no one is saved outside the Church. During the period under review, Feeney appeared to have concentrated more of his attacks upon the Jews than on other groups or institutions.

Other Themes

Other themes in evidence during the period under review, and typical expressions of them, were:

Cancer It is easy to start cancer by over-exposing the body to radium or radio-active dust from the atomic energy plants (which are almost completely in the hands of Jews, many of them with long records of Zionist aiding and Communist-front activities).

(Robert H. Williams)

Oil This struggle for the off-shore oil-lands . . . is actually one step in the long-range campaign of Zionist leaders to wrest control of American oil from patriotic American businessmen.

(Eustace Mullins)

Coffee Jewish speculators have raised the price again, reaping more fantastic profits than ever before.

(Eustace Mullins)

Fluoridation Red Plan of Poison Water Revealed.

(Conde McGinley)

Attacks on UN and UNESCO

A typical expression of the agitators' antagonism to the UN was the two-day San Francisco Conference to Abolish the United Nations, held February 13-14, 1954, under the direction of Gerald L. K. Smith. Attendance at the several sessions ranged from 100 to 400. Interspersed with attacks upon the UN were many tangential references to virtually all of the other themes discussed in this article.

In the late summer of 1954 ultra-conservatives and bigots began promotion of a United States Day in opposition to United Nations Day (October 24).

The Neo-Nazis

The National Renaissance Party (NRP), centering its activities in New York City's Yorkville section, showed signs of confusion and deterioration during the period reviewed. The leadership of James A. Madole was all but superseded by Mana Truhill (also known as Manuel Trujillo), a former student at a Communist-front educational institution, who claimed to have been converted to the cause of Nazism. Under Truhill's regime, NRP's literature became more violently Hitlerite. Thus, the National Renaissance Bulletin for February 1954 contained a large portrait of Hitler, while other issues contained revolting caricatures of Jews which out-rivaled those of the Nazi propagandist Julius Streicher. Occasionally, however, Frederick C. F. Weiss (using the trade-name of LeBlanc Publishers) contributed pedantic, pseudo-intellectual leaflets, bearing NRP's imprint. One such was entitled, Should the Nazi Spirit Die? Toward the close of the period, NRP, its followers and associates, began meeting under the guise of a factional political group, devoted to the support of right-wing legislators.

Beaty Affair

Professor John O. Beaty's anti-Semitic book, Iron Curtain Over America, which had first appeared in December 1951 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 95), received considerably less distribution during 1953–54 than it had during the preceding period. Instead, however, it was more widely quoted and hailed in the anti-Semitic press. On January 20, 1954, Beaty, a faculty member of Southern Methodist University (SMU) at Dallas, Tex., published a pamphlet, How to Capture a University, in which he charged that SMU was under Communist and Jewish influence. These charges were denounced by Umphrey Lee, then SMU's president, the faculty almost unanimously concurring. Civic leaders and others of standing likewise deplored Beaty's attack. Subsequently, the charges were wholly rejected by SMU's governing board. In another Beaty pamphlet, The Cry of "Anti-Semitic," which appeared on March 1, 1954, Beaty defended his book and attacked the Amer-

ican Jewish Committee. Beaty's many denials of anti-Semitism appeared fully controverted when Jack Tenney's openly anti-Semitic pamphlet, Zion's Trojan Horse, which appeared during April 1954, contained a laudatory introduction by Beaty (dated December 1953).

Pro-Arab Propaganda

Pro-Arab propaganda by agitators was sustained during the period reviewed; its most frequent manifestation was the substitution of the word "Zionist" for "Jew." Anti-Jewish output in the United States frequently contained direct exploitation of Arab-Israel tensions. The November 23, 1953, issue of Frank L. Britton's American Nationalist contained an inflammatory treatment of the Kibya incident (see p. 277), and appeared to have received considerable Arab support and distribution. Common Sense of August 15, 1954, appeared with a lengthy diatribe headed, Arabs Victims of Zionism. World Jewry Destroys Nations With American Finance and Power. This issue was widely distributed at the UN when the Assembly met in September 1954.

The Anti-Semitic Press

The following were the high lights of activity in the anti-Semitic publish-

ing field not previously mentioned in this article.

A marked increase in the circulation of old pamphlets, leaflets, and similar items was noticeable during the period. New pamphlets included: UN-World Dictatorship, by Stephen Nenoff (Denton, Tex.), who had formerly published Nenoff's American Commentator; Is There Still Time?; Robert H. Williams's alarm that the Jews were about to seize the United States; The Federal Reserve Conspiracy, by Eustace Mullins, a 144-page modernization of the charge

of the existence of international Jewish bankers' plots.

New periodicals were: Grass Roots, published by John Henry Monk (Portsmouth, Va.), whose occasional issues averaged twenty mimeographed pages. Grass Roots appeared to offer a literary platform to agitators like F. C. Sammons of the West Virginia Anti-Communist Education League. In makeup and venom, Grass Roots closely resembled another recent arrival, Harry William Pyle's Political Reporter (Memphis, Tenn.), whose August 1954 issue had an editorial staff which included Monk, F. C. Sammons, Marilyn R. Allen (Salt Lake City pamphleteer and Klan eulogist), and Lucille Miller, who put out the Green Mountain Rifleman at Bethel, Vt. Stephen Nenoff attempted a monthly, Southern Patriotic Breeze, which expired with the issue of December 1953.

Exports of hate-literature to the United States from abroad appeared to have increased, largely as the result of the efforts of Einar Aberg, who, from Norrviken, Sweden, utilized the international mails to disseminate his Nazilike leaflets to mailing lists in the United States furnished by his friends and collaborators. Aberg's leaflets appeared, also, to have been shipped in bulk to such groups as the National Renaissance Party, which distributed them at the

UN. Other exports frequently circulated included Ron Gostick's Canadian Intelligence Service (Flesherton, Ont.); various publications from England, particularly Arnold Leese's Gothic Ripples and the Britons' Publishing Society's products; and the Writing of Ray K. Rudman, leader of the Boernasie

group in the Union of South Africa.

Examples of the informal international "syndication" among anti-Semites were an Aberg leaflet which reprinted excerpts from *The Cross and the Flag*, and Leon DeAryan's, *The Broom* (San Diego, Cal.). Early in 1954, the German-language Nazi magazine, *Der Weg* (Buenos Aires) printed a translation of McGinley's *Coming Red Dictatorship*, together with photographs from the original.

Investigations

Anti-Semitic activities were closely followed and investigated by government authorities. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Annual Report, February 6, 1954, p. 5, stated:

There are presently at work within the United States various and sundry "hate" groups, the leaders of which, while masking their activities under the guise of patriotism and devotion to the republican form of government, are in fact spreading dissension, discord, bigotry, and intolerance. In many instances, these organizations select ultra-patriotic names and devices to conceal their true and dangerous purposes. The subjects of the "hate" attacks are individuals or groups of religious and racial minorities among American citizens. The Committee is by no means unaware of these activities, and investigation and documentation will proceed to the end that the individuals concerned may be disclosed for what they are. In the opinion of the Committee, there are no degrees to subversion. It is not sufficient to be simply anti-Communist if one is anti-American at the same time.

GEORGE KELLMAN

Communal Affairs

RELIGION

During the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954), the trend towards physical expansion of congregations continued. In addition to the establishment of new congregations, many of the older metropolitan congregations sought new quarters on the outskirts of large cities, nearer the new residences of their members. A certain resistance to this expansion was encountered on the part of the general population, especially where large facilities were being planned. Court litigations developed in the suburban areas of Philadelphia, Pa., Dallas, Tex., Pittsburgh, Pa., Indianapolis, Ind., and Cleveland, Ohio. Generally, the courts held in favor of the synagogues. Thus, in Elkins Park, a suburb of Philadelphia, Pa., opponents of a new synagogue took legal action, declaring that they were not opposed to a conventional synagogue, but to the "monstrous design proposed that would attract crowds of curious." This legal action followed the announcement, in June 1954, that the new Beth Sholom synagogue designed by the noted architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, would be based on a modern interpretation of Mount Sinai, consisting of "a small mountain built of rugged, massive slabs of concrete, steel and glass."

There was sharp disagreement among observers on the significance of synagogue growth. Abraham S. Halkin (Judaism, Spring 1954), believed that "the increase in the number of synagogues built can... be readily ascribed to geographic and social factors rather than to a religious revival." Synagogue affiliation, Halkin felt, was the result of social pressure; the new synagogue building served as a social center for young parents, and the accelerated pace of physical expansion was "almost external or surface-deep." Halkin saw little evidence of "a return to Judaism... a readiness to observe," but rather

a general desire to participate in community service.

On the other hand, Will Herberg (Judaism, Summer 1954), perceived a reversal of the trend toward the abandonment of the Jewish religious tradition. Herberg saw behind the "physical growth" of Jewish religious institutions a discernible "interest in, and concern with religion as manifested by the present student generation."

the present student generation.

Organization and Planning

It had been estimated that nearly 3,400,000 of the approximately 5,000,000 American Jews were associated with a synagogue or temple, with the Reform

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and Conservative congregations accounting for approximately 500,000 members each, the remainder being affiliated with Orthodox congregations. It was the opinion of this author, based on his experiences with Jews in the armed forces and in several universities, that between 85 and 90 per cent of American Jews had some definite contacts with organized Jewish religion, even though for many they did not extend beyond ceremonials surrounding birth, marriage, confirmation, and death.

During the year under review, the national lay bodies of Orthodoxy, Conservative, and Reform, all performed a variety of functions. Each had refined and developed its services to the individual congregations. These included providing professional guidance on the procurement of rabbis, cantors, teachers, and administrative directors; assisting sisterhoods and men's clubs with programming; counseling member congregations in the building or remodeling of synagogue structures; servicing religious school needs, especially in the publication of textbooks, teaching manuals, and the creation of audio-visual materials; and aiding in establishing adult education programs.

ORTHODOX

The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (UOJC) admitted seventeen new congregations in 1953–54, bringing its total to 720. In addition, the UOJC regarded itself in November 1954 as "the parent body of over 2,000 traditional congregations" in the United States and Canada. Membership of the UOJC's Women's Branch at the time of its biennial convention in November 1953 was said to be 350,000.

CONSERVATIVE

The United Synagogue of America began its forty-second year of activities with a membership of 483 Conservative congregations in the United States and Canada. A total of 570 sisterhoods were affiliated with the National Women's League of the United Synagogue, as of January 1954.

An ambitious program of Conservative regional conferences was undertaken during the year 1953–54, with meetings held in San Antonio, Tex., Miami, Fla., Atlanta, Ga., and Des Moines, Iowa.

REFORM

In October 1953, Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) issued a report covering the decade 1943–53. UAHC congregational families had increased from 50,000 to over 150,000; congregations had increased from 300 to 461; the UAHC budget had grown from \$150,000 to \$1,370,000. Sisterhoods numbered 490, with 85,000 members in seven countries; brotherhoods, 275, with over 50,000 members; and youth groups, 370, with over 10,000 members.

At its annual executive committee meeting (June 1954), the UAHC announced the addition of eight new congregations, bringing its membership to 483 temples, an increase of 22 over 1953. It was estimated that an addi-

tional fifty Reform congregations were as yet unaffiliated with a national body.

RABBINIC BODIES

The ranks of the rabbinate were increased during the year under discussion, with the accretion of larger classes of theological seminary graduates. The 1954 Yearbook of American Churches set the figure for Jewish ordained clergy at 3,965. As of June 1954 the four major rabbinic bodies accounted for 2,402 clergymen: the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, 601; the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform), 677; the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative), 598; and the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox), 526.

LOCAL RABBINIC ORGANIZATIONS

During the year under review, the membership of the New York Board of Rabbis (NYBR) grew to 650. In March 1954, the NYBR reorganized the Millah Board, whose objective was to maintain the high standards of rabbinical and medical supervision of circumcision.

RELIGIOUS COOPERATION

In June 1954 the Synagogue Council of America announced the creation of a National Advisory Council consisting of 100 Jewish leaders from all parts of the United States, whose purpose was to develop a long-range program to assert the primacy of the synagogue in all aspects of Jewish life. Plans were being made for a general assembly to be convoked by the council in November 1954, in connection with the celebration of the tercentenary anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States. Several meetings of the presidents of the Rabbinical Council of America, the Rabbinical Assembly of America, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis were held. Agreement was reached to publish a joint semiannual rabbinical journal, under Synagogue Council auspices, which, avoiding theological controversy, would deal with practical rabbinic affairs as well as provide useful material for rabbis.

In May 1954, Ira Eisenstein, president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, attacked the American Jewish Committee for its failure to cooperate with the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC), and its usurpation of functions belonging to the Synagogue Council of America (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 95-96; see also 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 162 and f.) Rabbi Eisenstein urged that religious bodies establish closer ties with the NCRAC.

Religious Practices

At its biennial convention in November 1953, the United Synagogue of America heard a survey of religious practices among the Conservative lay leadership. It was reported, on the basis of 1,787 replies to 9,100 question-

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naires, that 57 per cent did not observe any Friday night Sabbath rituals; 37 per cent observed the dietary laws; 13 per cent recited daily prayers; 60 per cent had no religious education beyond bar mitzvah; and fewer than half of the synagogue board members had an adequate knowledge of the "aims, tendencies, and practices of the Conservative movement."

The National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods revealed in American Judaism (December 1953; March 1954) the results of a questionnaire distributed to their Reform constituents. Thirty-one per cent attended the synagogue weekly, 31 per cent attended monthly, 26 per cent seldom, and 12 per cent restricted their attendance to the High Holy Days. Friday evening services had become the norm for Sabbath congregational worship-92 per cent of the Reform congregations polled held Friday evening services, 48 per cent Saturday morning, and 8 per cent Sunday. The reading of the Torah, traditionally performed on Saturday morning, was part of the Friday evening ritual in 58 per cent of the congregations. Eighty-nine per cent of the congregations reported a kiddush ritual; 45 per cent used a cantor; 92 per cent introduced the bar mitzvah ritual; and 35 per cent the bat mitzvah ritual. Forty-five per cent favored wearing a talit (prayer shawl), and 21 per cent the wearing of a head covering at bar mitzvah ceremonies. Ninety-four per cent preferred the blowing of the shofar (ram's horn) on Rosh Hashonah (rather than the organ substitute). Fifty-one per cent fasted on Yom Kippur. Women continued to play a larger role in Reform congregational life. Eighty-two per cent of the congregations permitted women to assist in the service; 21 per cent allowed women to participate in the Torah services.

There was a greater demand for intensive religious education. While 66 per cent favored the Sunday School, 34 per cent favored two or more days of religious education; 74 per cent favored the teaching of Hebrew. Fifty-nine per cent reported lighting Sabbath candles; 26 per cent performed the kiddush ritual; 18 per cent, the blessing of the bread; 4 per cent, grace after meals; 7 per cent, the morning prayer; 33 per cent, the bedtime prayer; 74 per cent held the Passover Seder; 93 per cent ate matzot during Passover; 47 per cent placed mezuzot on their doors, A considerable proportion of Reform families still observed some elements of the dietary laws: 8 per cent kept kashrut; 24 per cent abstained from pork; 8 per cent abstained from shell fish; and 20 per cent did not mix meat and milk foods. Ninety per cent worked on the Sabbath; while 81 per cent celebrated Chanukkah, 21 per cent indicated that they had Christmas trees. Fifty-two per cent favored cremation instead of burial; 50 per cent observed kaddish weekly, and 29 per cent daily. The vast majority (84 per cent) were opposed to any restriction on marriage with a convert. Jewish literature had not found its way into most Reform Jewish homes. While nearly all congregants reported that they possessed Bibles and prayer books, 62 per cent indicated that they had few Jewish books, and only 25 per cent had libraries consisting of more than twenty-five Jewish books.

Professor Israel Bettan, authority on Reform Jewish practice (CCAR Journal, June 1954), argued that the bat mitzvah ceremony for girls had

no place in Reform Judaism, and merely duplicated the confirmation ritual. Nevertheless, 35 per cent of the congregations observed bat mitzvah rites.

A great preponderance of Reform Jews was opposed to strict codification of Reform law. Only 14 per cent desired the creation of a code, while 96 per cent favored publication of a simple guide that would be suggestive rather than mandatory.

Rabbi Morton Berman, writing in the CCAR Journal (October 1953), described the trend towards traditional observance among Reform Jews as the fulfillment of a need to "give Jews outside the State of Israel a sense of belonging and that home-feeling in Judaism which Zionism quickened in American Jews and which Jewish rite can nourish and sustain for them." As in the past, a note of caution was introduced against haphazard reintroduction of traditional rituals. Rabbi David Polish, in the CCAR Journal (April 1954), warned that the return of ceremonials should not be on the basis of popularity polls. He recommended three criteria: the extent to which the ceremonies evoked deep emotional response; simplicity; and the expression of a religious truth symbolically.

An increase in attendance from 20 to 160 per cent was reported for the

year 1953 by the UAHC.

Reports on the national UAHC project to intensify Sabbath observance indicated some measure of success. New projects were the holding of Sabbath eve dinners in some synagogues to acquaint members with Sabbath home ceremonies, and adult education institutes combined with Sabbath eve worship.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT

After many years of discussion regarding the problem of revising Jewish marriage laws, the (Conservative) Rabbinical Assembly of America, at its June 1954 convention, decided on an amended form of the ketubah (marriage contract), prepared by Professor Saul Lieberman, the noted Talmudic authority. Under the revised form, the bride and groom would turn over their rights to a Beth Din (court of Jewish law) to enforce family law. The rabbis emphasized that the revision would not only provide for proper safeguards for both parties, but would also be a constructive step in preserving marriages threatened with dissolution. Rabbi Harry Halpern, newly elected president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, announced that the Conservative Beth Din and marriage registry would soon be functioning. The Conservative rabbis passed resolutions on several other matters of Jewish law, including injunctions against participation in cremation rites, and the mechanical recording of Sabbath services. The traditional ban on marriage between a kohen (priest) and a divorcee was lifted. In a sharp reaction to this plan, the (Orthodox) Rabbis' Council of Young Israel questioned the authority of the Conservative rabbinate on the ground that they had disqualified themselves as traditionalists by countenancing an abbreviated prayer book, mixed pews, and mixed choirs. The retiring president of the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox), Rabbi Theodore Adams,

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characterized the action of the Conservatives as "an attempt to break down basic traditions that are holy."

In their annual meeting (July 1954), the Orthodox rabbis heard the noted Talmudic authority, Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik, stress the need for vigorous resistance to the modernist trend, as seen in mixed pews and use of the microphone at Sabbath worship. Similarly, Rabbi Oscar Fasman, president of the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago, declared that the Conservative leadership had abrogated its right to deal in the field of halachah (religious law). Rabbi Israel Tabak offered a ten-point program for dealing with the non-Orthodox rabbinate which included non-cooperation in ritual functions. He declared that Orthodoxy should not recognize the existence of three branches of Judaism.

JEWISH EVANGELISM

There was considerable discussion in the Jewish religious community of the question of spreading the teachings of Judaism beyond the confines of the synagogue. The NYBR prepared to follow the plan outlined by Rabbi Robert Gordis (May 1954) to open an information center for those who sought information about the Jewish religion. The UAHC also planned to expand its tract commission in order to make available more literature for the religiously unaffiliated. The Reform group seriously considered launching an aggressive missionary program. An entire session of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) convention in June 1954 was devoted to a proposal presented by Rabbis Albert S. Goldstein and Daniel Davis. Rabbi Goldstein declared that "if we have what the spiritually adrift are looking for, then we stand with open arms to welcome them." Rabbi Davis suggested that the CCAR should "seek and welcome the unsynagogued as well as the unchurched." Rabbi Max D. Einhorn reported a significant number of conversions to Judaism; Rabbi Einhorn indicated that the last 2,000 conversions had been made by Conservative and Reform rabbis, Reform conversions outnumbering those made by Conservative rabbis. According to evidence presented by Rabbi Einhorn, "converts as a group are more faithful to the Jewish religion than born Jews." It was also proposed that a commission be formed to produce literature and instructional guides for rabbis "working with non-lews" (Religious News Service, June 24, 1954).

RELIGION AND PSYCHIATRY

The new insights provided by modern dynamic psychology influenced the thinking and the educational program of many synagogue groups. Rabbis devoted more attention to the field of pastoral counseling, and in several communities courses were established to equip rabbis to handle problems of pastoral psychology. An entire workshop was devoted to the subject of the role of group dynamics in congregational life at the CCAR annual meeting in June 1954, under the sponsorship of its Committee on Psychiatry. The NYBR Institute for Pastoral Psychiatry held its sixth annual

sessions, including a ten-week course in January-February 1954. A summer course for clinical pastoral training was held at Bellevue Hospital in New York City.

Religious Education

All three religious groups expanded their efforts to reach young people. It was evident, from a survey completed by the Scientific Research Division of the American Jewish Committee, which covered an eastern seaboard community, that Jewish teen-agers had firm commitments to Jewish values, and, in some respects, showed stronger attachments than their parents.

The training of youth leaders was stressed. The Young People's League of the United Synagogue held an institute for leaders of youth in August 1953. The Conservative group also sponsored several summer camps, under a program called Ramah camps. Over 1,000 young people participated in a camp experience, with religious motivation, in which the Hebrew lan-

guage was the sole one used.

The Reform group, likewise, broadened its efforts on behalf of youth. More than sixty youth conclaves were held during the year under review. The UAHC's Temple Youth organization also sponsored ten regional meetings and two national leadership camp institutes. The latter consisted of a twelve-day period of serious study. According to a report published in December 1953 (American Judaism), a total of 6,530 young people participated in the conclaves. Over thirty-five of the group had decided upon a rabbinic career.

The widespread disclosures of juvenile delinquency roused the synagogue bodies to utilize their resources to combat the evil. The Synagogue Council of America Commission on Family and Youth Welfare, convoked a special conference in March 1954 in which religious leaders, social workers, and leading psychologists and experts in youth problems from several cities participated. Religious leaders generally placed the burden of responsibility on the home and sought means for strengthening traditional Jewish family ties. Thus, Rabbi Reuben M. Katz, addressing the (Conservative) Rabbinical Assembly of America convention in May 1954, declared that attempts to "have the synagogue preempt the religious duties and prerogatives of the Jewish home are alien to the Jewish spirit."

The Orthodox group continued its emphasis on an all-day educational program. In June 1954 an organizational meeting was held of the new National Commission for Yeshivah Education, for the purpose of raising standards of all-day schools and establishing closer relations with various

state and local educational agencies.

In April 1954, Torah Umesorah, the national society for Hebrew day schools, established a board of license, to standardize requirements for teaching certification. Ten new all-day schools were opened in the school year, bringing the total under Torah Umesorah auspices to 167. These all-day schools were located in seventy cities and twenty-four states.

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The major problem in the field of religious education was the shortage of teachers. The Reconstructionist (July 2, 1954) described the number of Hebrew school teachers graduated each year as "considerably less than the number of rabbis graduated from our rabbinical seminaries." The editors pointed out that unless stringent measures were taken to alleviate the situation, American Jewry would be faced with a critical shortage of teaching personnel.

ADULT EDUCATION

The past year saw an acceleration in the broadening of adult education programs. Many synagogue people shared the view expressed by Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof of Pittsburgh that "the moral tone of our society will not improve until grown-ups devote as much time to religious education as they impose upon their children." There was ample evidence of a new zeal for formal and informal study on the part of adults. The United Synagogue of America held a series of Torah institutes in a number of camps during the summer of 1954. During the winter months, several retreats were conducted, generally on a regional basis. One hundred persons attended the sixth annual Jewish Laymen's Institute in Pennsylvania, sponsored by the brotherhoods of three congregations in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md. (June 1945). Courses offered were in the field of Bible, Talmud, the prayer book, Jewish history, and the Hebrew language.

Sponsorship of Jewish retreats was not limited to religious bodies. B'nai B'rith institutes attracted hundreds of adult students, who spent a period of several days studying under leading Jewish Theological Seminary of America professors. The scope of this program was underscored by the appointment of a full-time director, Rabbi Harold Weisberg, in the spring

of 1954.

The National Academy of Adult Education of the United Synagogue initiated a series of newsletters, suggesting new techniques in this area (March 1954).

Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, president of the UAHC, announced that a National Commission on Adult Education, encompassing all the branches

of the Reform movement, was about to be launched (June 1954).

Another interesting trend was the proliferation of "Judaica shops," sponsored by congregations or their sisterhoods. By this means, Jewish books and art objects, as well as ceremonial objects, were made readily accessible for the first time to the synagogue-goer, to stimulate the acquisition of Jewish libraries in the homes.

Higher Learning

The three branches of Judaism all expanded their programs of higher education and rabbinical training.

ORTHODOX

Yeshiva University, in New York City, enrolled a record number of students during the academic year 1958–54, a total of 2,478 in all departments. Of these, 630 were registered in the Rabbinic School. Thirty-six men received their ordination.

A \$500,000 gift by Max Stern, in March 1954, made possible the establishment of the Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University, a liberal arts school to provide academic training. The Stern College was also expected to house the new Teachers Institute for Women established in September 1953, which was authorized to grant the degree of bachelor of religious education.

Announcement was made of the forthcoming opening of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in the fall of 1955. The Bronx Hospital, built by the City of New York as part of the medical facilities associated with the college, was opened. Sixty per cent of the goal of \$10,000,000 had been raised by the summer of 1954.

A novel course was inaugurated by the School of Education and Community Administration, in which the master's degree would be given to those who completed a two-year training program in administering agencies concerned with the care of the aged. This was the first arrangement of its

kind in the United States (September 1953).

The international character of Yeshiva University's student body was revealed in a report on the registrants for 1953-54. Seventeen countries were represented, including Israel, North Africa, South Africa, and several European countries, as well as Brazil and Peru. An Ethiopian student was planning to utilize his training to bring Jewish education to the Jewish community of his native land.

CONSERVATIVE

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTSA) observed its sixtieth annual commencement exercises in June 1954, when nineteen rabbis were ordained. A report covering the previous quarter-century, 1929–54, revealed that the student body of the JTSA had doubled. By June 1954 the Seminary Endowment Fund had reached the sum of \$1,250,000. The JTSA annual budget had grown to \$1,400,000.

REFORM

The Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR), which enrolled a total of 165 rabbinic students, including both New York and Cincinnati schools, ordained twenty new rabbis at its June 1954 commencement exercises. In addition, six cantor-educators were graduated at the School of Sacred Music. One hundred and seventy-five students were registered in the School of Education.

In March 1954 a new graduate course designed to encourage students to

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embark on careers in the Jewish field was introduced at the New York school of the HUC-JIR. Twenty students were registered at a course for pre-rabbinic students held at Camp Davan Lodge in Towanda, Pa., in the summer of 1954.

The HUC-JIR joined with UAHC in a campaign to raise \$2,195,000 during 1954.

The (Reform) Los Angeles College of Jewish Studies enrolled 108 students, a record number, according to a report released in December 1953.

PUBLICATIONS AND SCHOLARSHIP

Yeshiva University published jointly with the Sura Institute for Research in Jerusalem the first issue of an annual for 1953–54 entitled Sura, devoted to Jewish scholarship. Publication of an official Rabbinical Council of America prayer book was scheduled for the spring of 1954. The Library of the JTSA had increased from 79,000 in 1928 to 165,000 volumes and manuscripts. In November 1953, an American Jewish History Center was established at the JTSA, to be directed by Allan Nevins, famed historian, and professor of American history at Columbia University. Among the projects to be undertaken at the center was the publication of a series of biographies based on the lives of illustrious American Jews. Professor Nevins, describing the objectives of the new center, stated: "The work will emphasize the integration of the Jews in the American fabric, showing how they contributed to and were changed and colored by the general life of American society" (January 1954).

The (Conservative) United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education embarked on a publication program of pamphlets designed for Jewish parents. Six pamphlets, entitled *Your Child and You*, were issued in 1953–54.

The Conservative movement was saddened by the loss of two of its outstanding scholars, the last of the two eminent authorities brought to the JTSA by Solomon Schechter at the turn of the century: Louis Ginzberg, outstanding Talmudic scholar, and the historian Alexander Marx, who had built the largest Jewish library in the world (see p. 573 and p. 579, for appreciations). Alumni of the JTSA announced plans to raise the sum of \$500,000 to endow a Louis Ginzberg Chair in Talmud, and an Alexander Marx Chair in History (May 1954).

At the Cincinnati branch of the HUC-JIR, the Joshua Liebman Department of Human Relations published a series of pamphlets during the academic year 1953–54 which were to serve as guides in pastoral counseling. The quarterly GCAR Journal, in its second year as "a rabbi's magazine," was hailed as an important step forward. The Journal dealt with professional problems of the rabbinate, and contained several significant articles

on the practical ministry.

Relations with Israel and Jews in Other Countries

The virtually unanimous support which the American synagogue gave to the State of Israel was maintained during 1953-54 in the face of new challenges and difficulties confronting the people of the new state. The (Conservative) Rabbinical Assembly of America, at its May 1954 convention, urged the United States government "to press for action to solve the problem of Arab refugees in a manner that will be equitable to the homeless Arabs and the State of Israel." The Conservative rabbinate hoped that Washington would continue "to grant substantial economic aid to all the states in the Middle East in order that they may achieve security and a higher standard of living."

In a similar vein, president-elect Rabbi Barnett S. Brickner, at the June 1954 CCAR convention, suggested that in addition to economic aid, the United States government reconsider its whole arms aid program in the Middle East, in the light of Arab-Israel tensions. He also proposed that the

United Nations promote an Arab-Israel peace conference.

Rabbi Joseph Fink reported on his recent visit to Israel, at the invitation of Prime Minister David Ben Gurion. Rabbi Fink, in his June 1954 presidential address, was sharply critical of the anti-Zionist elements in the Reform movement. He attacked the "shortsightedness of those Jews who refuse to see the vital connection between the fate of Israel and the fate of world Jewry," and who, by misreading Jewish history, "lend themselves as weapons in the hands of Israel's enemies."

The problem of religion in Israel, long the focal point for heated debate in American synagogue circles, continued during the year 1953–54, with each of the three religious groups expanding its beachheads established in Israel. Speaking for the Reform group, Rabbi Fink called for creation of a committee of rabbis "to formulate a program that would inspire and

stimulate the indigenous extension of liberal Judaism in Israel."

The Orthodox group supported the new Mizrachi-sponsored Bar-Ilan University, whose cornerstone was laid at Ramat Gan, Israel, in July 1953. It was regarded as the first American-sponsored university in the new state, and was to be patterned along the lines of an American liberal arts college. The Mizrachi Organization planned to encourage a maximum amount of student exchange with American universities. The Young Israel movement opened two camps in Israel in June 1954.

The (Orthodox) Rabbinical Council of America, at its July 1954 convention, announced completion of the first wing of its new Yeshivath Hadorom, in Rehobot, Israel. Eighty students had enrolled, and the faculty

consisted of four full-time and two part-time instructors.

Much tension was created by the picketing of the Israel Consulate in New York City (February 1954) by ultra-Orthodox elements. Leading Orthodox rabbinic bodies quickly disavowed support of the movement, aimed at abolishing women's conscription in the Israel armed forces. They particularly deplored the "shameful riotous conduct" of the pickets. Rabbi Max Kirschblum and Rabbi Isador Levin, two officials of the religious Zionist movement, stated: "They [the pickets] do not speak for religion. They speak for a minority that refused to countenance the democratic procedures that have always characterized Judaism."

In support of the position taken by the Israel government, Rabbis Theo-

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dore Adams and Leo Segal, officials of the (Orthodox) Rabbinical Council of America, on their return from Israel (April 1954) reported the sincere concern of the Israel army for religious observance. They observed that

"positive religious values in Israel were many and strong."

The Rabbinical Council of America, at its July 1954 convention, denounced the Soviet Union for using Israel as a pawn in Middle East diplomacy at the same time that the Union and its satellites continued its policy of enslavement of Jews. Rabbi Adams also criticized the United States State Department's policy of refusing permission to American Jews to visit holy places under Jordan rule.

Generally, American Jewish religious leadership rebuffed any suggestion of weakening its ties with the State of Israel. It received coldly the address of Assistant Secretary of State Henry Byroade against "world-wide groupings of people of a particular religious faith" (April 1954). Most religious American Jews agreed with the statement of Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan at the World Brotherhood dinner of the JTSA (May 1954) that Byroade's suggestion was tantamount to a demand that "we disband our

brotherhood and renounce our religion."

The New York Board of Rabbis (NYBR) had developed contacts with Jewish religious communities abroad. At the request of the congregation of Madrid, Spain, the NYBR sent Rabbi D. A. Jessurun Cardozo to conduct High Holy Day services for the first time in 400 years. Religious paraphernalia were furnished by American synagogue groups and by Chaplain (Captain) Joshua Goldberg of the United States Navy, who had brought the problem to the attention of the NYBR. Some controversy developed in the wake of the project. Several Jewish leaders, criticizing the project, regarded it as an "instrument of Spanish propaganda." The NYBR insisted on its right to send a rabbi to any community in which he was welcome. The NYBR invited Chief Rabbi Jacob Kaplan of Paris to visit America, where he was given a citation in May 1954 because of his efforts on behalf of the Finaly children (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 183-87).

Social Action

Improvement of race relations in the United States continued to be a major concern of the synagogue groups. The CCAR observed Race Relations Sabbath in February 1954, applauding the work of the President's commission to eliminate discrimination in employment involving government contracts. The Reform rabbinate hailed the steps taken to end desegregation in the armed forces and in Washington.

The Supreme Court decision to end segregation in the public schools (May 1954) was enthusiastically received by every branch of American Judaism. Rabbi Leo Jung, an Orthodox leader, called it "a red-letter day in American history and a day of major disaster for Communism." The Conservative rabbinate asked for "early implementation of this magnificent decision by all the American people." Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, president of the UAHC, regarded the action as "a veritable fulfillment of

our own Jewish purpose and of our American dream of destiny."

Threats to civil liberties aroused strong resentment among all religious bodies, Christian and Jewish alike. Invidious references to the late Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes during a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee on September 11, 1953, aroused the ire of the Synagogue Council of America, which characterized them as "a cowardly attack." Rabbi Fink, addressing the June 1954 CCAR convention, declared: "We do not feel it is necessary to jettison our cargo of liberty in order to save our ship of state."

The conference accepted the proposals of its Commission on Justice and Peace to seek safeguards for witnesses before Congressional hearings, including the end of one-man investigation, the submission of minority reports, and the withholding of confidential material. The rabbis regarded the phrase, "Fifth Amendment Communists," as a "vicious and unjustified perversion of the law," and denounced government use of professional informers. A resolution calling for the removal of Senator Joseph McCarthy (Rep., Wis.) from his chairmanship of the Government Operations Committee was adopted. The (Conservative) Rabbinical Assembly of America called on Congress "to enact legislation that would restore traditional democratic protection to witnesses before Congressional committees" (June 1954).

A new state law in California, requiring religious groups seeking tax exemption to issue a declaration of political loyalty, brought protests from the Board of Rabbis of Northern California (April 1954). The CCAR, at its June 1954 convention, supported the Board's opposition to such laws.

The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (NFTS), affiliated with the UAHC, held a series of meetings in New York in May and June 1954, which included a leadership training institute. Its executive board went on record in support of extended human rights, liberalizing the United States immigration laws, civil liberties, and world disarmament. An intensive program of education in support of the United Nations was developed by the NFTS and its constituents.

In cooperation with the UAHC, the CCAR held a series of regional conferences in March 1954, with much attention paid to the problems of local

social action programming.

The (Conservative) National Women's League continued its wide range of activities, but with renewed emphasis on its social action program. Among the issues evoking most concern were the proposed Bricker amendment. United States immigration laws, and civil liberties.

The Women's League continued its strong support of the United Nations, and the elimination of segregation in education. Local sisterhoods were furnished with fact sheets and social action guides to stimulate congregations to communicate their views to legislators.

In support of the objectives of the United Nations (UN), the Synagogue Council of America proclaimed a United Nations Sabbath in October 1953, and called for stronger government support for the UN, the UN Educa-

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tional, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). During the High Holy Days 1953, and Passover 1954, Synagogue Council of America pronouncements on international cooperation were broadcast over the Voice of America.

Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, returning from Europe in August 1953, addressed a letter to President Eisenhower, urging him to establish a "religious Point Four Program" to offset the deleterious effects abroad of Senator

Joseph McCarthy's activities.

A new development during the year under review was the move to establish social action programs on a local basis. Beginning in November 1953, the UAHC, with the cooperation of the CCAR, issued a new monthly publication, Social Action in Review, which provided local congregations with information regarding inter-religious developments in the social action field. Additional bulletins furnished program suggestions on such subjects as genocide and immigration. Plans were offered for establishing local congregational social action groups for the purposes of study and action. A pamphlet, Social Justice, containing a compilation of all UAHC pronouncements in this area for the past eighty years, was released in January 1954.

Synagogue groups shared in the apprehensions felt over the safety of Jews in the Iron Curtain countries. The executive board of the UAHC at its annual meeting (June 1954) denounced the Rumanian government for its "spiritual and cultural genocide" against its Jewish citizens, and commended the United States State Department for arousing world public opin-

ion on behalf of the persecuted.

A Senate proposal introduced by Senator Ralph Flanders (Rep., Vt.) to amend the United States constitution to declare, "this nation recognizes the law and authority of Jesus Christ," was vigorously condemned by the Synagogue Council of America. Rabbi Isadore Breslau, testifying on behalf of the Council, termed it "an act of religious discrimination," and pointed to the historic fact that "the founders of our Republic sought forever to keep from our shore the sectarian conflicts . . . and religious warfare that plagued the Old World" (May 1954).

RELIGION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

The rabbinate expressed continued concern about the growing sectarian intrusions into public education. Several local boards of rabbis considered action to meet the increased pressure upon the public schools aimed at introducing religious teachings into the curriculum. Rabbi Joseph Lookstein, addressing the fiftieth anniversary convention of the Religious Education Association in Pittsburgh, Pa., in which leading Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish educators participated in November 1953, cautioned against the breakdown of the principle of separation as a result of the new zeal for religious training in the public schools. The Rabbinical Assembly of America, at its May 1954 convention, passed a resolution advising Jewish children not to sing Christmas songs in the public schools.

During the year under review representatives of the New York Board of Rabbis met in a series of conferences with representatives of the Protestant Council and the Catholic Archdiocese in response to a request by the New York City Board of Education, to discuss ways of implementing the New York State Board of Regents' proposal to introduce religious content into the public school curriculum. The three faiths were unable to reach agreement on a program that would steer clear of sectarian involvement.

JEWISH SOCIETY FOR SERVICE

The American Jewish Society for Service held its annual work camp at Winchester, N.H., in the summer of 1953. A total of twenty-six participated, twice the number in 1952. Writing in *The Reconstructionist* (March 12, 1954), Hyman R. Sankel, director of the project, described the daily program of the work camp. Modeled along Quaker lines, the program included simple religious rituals, a fifteen-minute period of silence, and a work day devoted to building camp structures to enable 100 underprivileged children, mostly from the New York City slums, to enjoy a summer vacation. Evenings were devoted to educational programs. Sankel saw in the program "an outlet for youth's idealism" and an opportunity to "interpret to our Christian neighbors the noble concepts of Judaism."

Chaplaincy

The end of hostilities in Korea in July 1953, while obviously affecting the lives of Jewish men and women in the armed services, did not radically change the pattern of the Jewish military chaplaincy program. In September 1953 there were 150,000 Jewish troops who observed the High Holy Days on four continents. The National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) revealed that in 1953 an aggregate total of 961,800 individuals were reached by the chaplaincy program. There was an attendance of 558,200 at 14,600 religious services; 225,600 at group activities; and 178,000 individual counseling and pastoral visits (JWB Year Book, 1951–53, Part II).

As in the past, JWB undertook the prodigious task of serving not only the large military installations at home and abroad, but even the most

remote outposts of defense.

With the ebbing of active hostilities, there was a greater emphasis on Jewish educational programs. The JWB published several pamphlets on the meaning of the feasts and fasts. Chaplains organized religious classes for children of military personnel. For example, at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., forty children were enrolled, at Pearl Harbor twenty children.

Many of the chaplains indicated that they had substituted group discussion for the sermon at Sabbath services; efforts at audience participation

were found to be far more effective in reaching the servicemen.

Writing in *The Reconstructionist* (October 9, 1953), Chaplain Daniel Silver, stationed in Korea, noted that synagogue attendance in military life was proportionately higher than in civilian life, despite the many obstacles,

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such as transportation, inherent in military life. Among the factors contributing to the trend was the craving for companionship, seeking the counsel of chaplains, and a kind of social protest. The troops were also attracted by the atmosphere of informality, and the opportunities for personal relations with a rabbi which seemed unavailable in civilian life. Chaplain Silver observed that Judaism appealed to the serviceman "when its more practical, reasonable, undogmatic and this-worldly elements" were stressed. The Jewish serviceman was vitally interested in his faith, he was curious about his Jewishness, but he demanded simple and direct answers to his queries.

The New York Board of Rabbis announced in June 1954 that thirteen full-time civilian chaplains were to be appointed for the New York State

mental hospitals.

Interfaith Relations

No significant developments were noted in interfaith relations during the year under review. Reform groups cooperated in bringing the noted scholar, Prof. James Parkes, of England, to the United States. Considered the world's outstanding authority on Christian-Jewish relations, Professor Parkes visited seventeen communities from coast to coast during 1953–54, addressing audiences in leading universities and seminaries.

The area of most potential interfaith cooperation was in the field of social action. Reacting to the step taken by the Velde Committee citing the late Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes as Communist sympathizers (see above), the National Council of Churches severely attacked the congressional group for besmirching the character of rabbis not able

to defend themselves (September 1953).

Rabbi Theodore Adams, addressing the mid-winter conference of the Rabbinical Council of America (January 1954), advocated formation of an interfaith social action group to enable Catholics, Protestants, and Jews to join in common action. Rabbi Uri Miller, addressing the conference, counseled the rabbis to "rally all religious forces so that fighting Communism, our threat from without, we succumb not to the threat from within."

Hebrew Union College continued its graduate Interfaith Fellowship. During 1953-54, five Christian clergymen held fellowships which enabled them to broaden their knowledge of Semitic languages and various Jewish

disciplines.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society, financed by the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods (Reform), expanded its program of sending speakers on Judaism to colleges and universities. In 1953–54, the society provided for fourteen resident lectureships at Christian seminaries and church-supported colleges. Several Reform sisterhoods continued their annual custom of inviting groups of Christian church women to share in a day devoted to a study of the spiritual values of Judaism.

The Hebrew Theological College of Chicago was confronted with a serious community relations problem in connection with its plan to build a campus

at Evanston, Ill. In the face of local community opposition, plans for locating at Evanston were abandoned in June 1954.

Public Information

There was a growing disposition on the part of religious groups to exploit the use of mass media in order to reach a maximum audience. Synagogue groups, while not yet disposed to invest substantial funds, made modest beginnings in the film and television field. The NYBR produced several programs on a number of television networks, including an educational program called *The Fourth R*. In cooperation with the New York chapter of the American Jewish Committee, the NYBR held its second annual TV Workshop (June 1954), in which technical advice was furnished to thirty rabbis in an advanced course dealing with religious television programming.

JTSA's Frontiers of Faith television program entered its second year. Kinescopes of over twenty of these programs were made available to religious schools through the United Synagogue Education Department. JTSA's Eternal Light series, reaching a radio audience of several million people

every Sunday, marked its tenth anniversary in October 1953.

UAHC reported in June 1954 that during the previous three years its audio-visual department had produced two full-length motion pictures, six

film strips, and three albums of Jewish history records.

Most unusual utilization of the technological advance provided by television was reported by a synagogue in Jacksonville, Fla. During the High Holy Days of 1953, Congregation Ahavath Chesed installed a mobile television unit provided by a local station, complete with technicians. The overflow congregation, in a separate auditorium, was able to see and hear the regular services on screens lent by local theatres. The UAHC Service Bulletin (Fall 1954), revealed that the mood of solemnity was adequately preserved.

The Orthodox group was also keenly aware of the need for utilizing modern mass media in order to convey the teachings of Judaism. Marvin A. Cohen, in his article, "Art, Judaism and the Sound Barrier" (Young Israel Viewpoint, January-February 1954), suggested establishing a central bureau of information comparable to those established by other religious groups where "traditional rabbis, psychologists, sociologists, public relations men and women would devise methods of reaching the American Jewish population through the various media of communications with the message of traditional Judaism."

Synagogue Architecture

A high light of the year's activity was the publication of a major work on synagogue architecture. The UAHC's Commission on Synagogue Activities, under the direction of Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman, had devoted several

years to a study of the problems of synagogue building, and for some time had offered professional counsel to congregations facing construction problems. The volume, *An American Synagogue for Today and Tomorrow*, edited by Peter Blake, sought to establish "more honest, sincere, genuinely and intrinsically Jewish houses of worship."

American Jewish Tercentenary Celebration

The JTSA's Jewish Museum planned a special tercentenary exhibit for the fall of 1954, to portray American Jewish art work, synagogue designs, and also to show evidence of Biblical themes in primitive American art. Also in the spirit of the tercentenary observance was the introduction of a course at the Women's Institute of Jewish Studies of the JTSA, during the 1954 spring semester, entitled "Three Hundred Years of Jewish Achievement in America."

The Conservative group sponsored an Israel commemoration of the American Jewish Tercentenary with a series of addresses delivered by Rabbi Moshe Davis on the American Jewish scene (August 1954).

The American Jewish Archives, attached to the HUC, planned to mark the tercentenary anniversary with special exhibits describing the growth of Reform Judaism in America.

In preparation for the tercentenary anniversary, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods produced a film strip entitled Through the Years: Jewish Women in American History

MORRIS N. KERTZER

JEWISH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

In the spring of 1954, 399,818 children attended Jewish schools in the United States, according to a Jewish school census carried out by the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States. The study was based on reported actual enrollment from 197 communities which included New York City (the five boroughs) and the counties of Westchester, Suffolk, and Nassau; the other four major metropolitan centers having each a Jewish population of more than 100,000 (Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia); four of the six large urban centers having each a Jewish population of between 50,000 and 100,000 (Newark, N. J., Essex County, N. J., Cleveland, Ohio, Baltimore, Md., and San Francisco, Cal.); and 170 intermediate and small communities. These 197 reporting communities were distributed over 40 states and the District of Columbia and comprised an estimated Jewish population of four and one-quarter million, or over 80 per cent of all Jews in the United States.

More than half of the total enrollment (208,057 or 52.0 per cent) were

attending one-day-a-week schools, usually referred to as Sunday schools, and 191,761, or 48.0 per cent, attended weekday schools: weekday afternoon Hebrew schools, all-day schools, and Yiddish schools.

Growth of Jewish School Enrollment

The enrollment for 1954 represented an increase of 63,734 or 19.0 per cent over the estimated enrollment for the year of 1952, the last year when a school census was carried out by the Department of Research of the American Association for Jewish Education (see American Jewish Year Book 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 109 and f). The method of gathering data for both years was the same, except that under the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States a better coverage was obtained of the enrollment for the smaller communities. The increase in the enrollment for 1954 was the eighth consecutive annual increase in Jewish school enrollment since the Jewish school census was inaugurated in 1945.

TABLE 1

Growth of Jewish School Enrollment 1948-54

Weekday School Enrollment of all-day schools included)		Sunday	Total		
Year	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number
1954 1952 1951 1950 1949 1948	191,761a 160,077 141,278 132,642 122,109 118,502	48.0 47.6 47.2 50.4 48.7 49.5	208,057 176,007 157,974 130,574 128,719 120,896	52.0 52.4 52.8 49.6 51.3 50.5	399,818 336,084 302,454 266,609 255,865 239,398

^{*} Of this number, 30,268 were enrolled in all-day schools; certainly no more than 10,000, and most probably fewer, were enrolled in Yiddish-speaking schools, based on the estimate for 1948-49.

Enrollment in All-Day Schools

According to a study made during the school year of 1953–54 by the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States, the total number of children who attended all-day schools was 30,268.

The boys predominated in the enrollment. They constituted about twothirds (65.9 per cent) of all students; girls constituted slightly more than one-third (34.1 per cent).

More boys than girls were also reported for each level of the all-day school.

¹ In a number of Sunday schools, because of increased enrollment, shortage of classroom facilities, and for teachers, the attendance was staggered; some classes met on Sundays or Saturdays and others met on one of the weekdays.

TABLE 2

ALL-DAY SCHOOLS, DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT BY LEVEL OF SCHOOL, 1953-54

Level of School	United	! States	New	Yorka	Enrollment in New York as a Per Cent of		
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Total Enrollment by Level of School		
Kindergarten Elementary High School (Jr. and Sr.) Not reported by level	4,133 21,259 4,326 550	13.7 70.2 14.3 1.8	2,032 15,566 3,734	9.5 73.0 17.5	49.2 73.2 86.3		
Total	30,268	100.0	21,332	100.0	70.5		

a Includes the five boroughs and the counties of Westchester, Nassau, Suffolk.

The proportion of boys in the enrollment of kindergartens was 58.1 per cent. In the elementary schools, the proportion was higher, 65.0 per cent; and in the high schools, it was highest, 76.8 per cent. Proportionately, the participation of boys in the enrollment of the all-day schools increased as the level of the school rose, while the proportion of girls in the enrollment declined with the rise in the level of the school.

Growth of Jewish All-Day School Enrollment

The enrollment in Jewish all-day schools in the United States had grown from 18,440 to 30,268, representing an increase of 64.1 per cent since the school year of 1948–49, the last year when a study of all-day schools was made by the Department of Research of the American Association for Jewish Education. New York City contributed the preponderant share, 73.8 per cent, to the total increase in the all-day school enrollment in the United States.

TABLE 3

GROWTH OF ALL-DAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN NEW YORK CITY, 1948-54

Level of School	United States		Total	New York City			Per Cent
	1948 -49	1953–54	Increase	1948-49	1953 54	N. Y. C. Increase	of Total Increase
Kindergarten and Elemen- tary Per Cent Increase High School Per Cent Increase Total Per Cent Increase	15,976 2,464 18,440	25,942 62.4 4,326 75.6 30,268 64.1	9,966 1,862 11,828	10,496 2,105 12,601	17,598 67.7 3,734 77.4 21,332 69.3	7,102 1,629 8,731	71.3 87.4 73.8

[•] Source for New York data: The Jewish Education Survey for New York sponsored by Jewish Education Committee, and under the auspices of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

Distribution of Sunday and Weekday Afternoon School Enrollment

For 195 communities, which included all the large urban centers with more than 100,000 Jews, except New York City and Newark,2 the enrollment data was reported by congregational and noncongregational auspices, congregational orientation, and level of school. The reported enrollment in these communities was 164,425, or 41.2 per cent of the total Jewish school enrollment in the United States. Almost nine out of every ten children who attended Jewish schools in these communities studied under congregational auspices, and one out of every ten studied under noncongregational auspices. There was, however, a significant variation in the proportion of Sunday school and weekday afternoon school pupils who attended schools under congregational or noncongregational auspices. Of the total Sunday school enrollment in these communities, 93.9 per cent were registered in schools conducted by congregations, and 6.1 per cent were in noncongregational schools. Of the reported weekday afternoon school enrollment, 81.9 per cent were in congregational weekday afternoon schools and 18.1 per cent in noncongregational weekday afternoon schools.

Of the aggregate Sunday School enrollment in the 195 communities, 45.2 per cent were in schools conducted by Reform congregations; 34.2 per cent, in schools conducted by Conservative congregations; 12.8 per cent, in Orthodox congregational schools; 6.1 per cent in noncongregational schools; and

1.7 per cent in the intercongregational schools.

Slightly over half (50.7 per cent) of the total weekday afternoon school registration were in Conservative congregational schools; 21.7 per cent were in Orthodox schools, 7.9 per cent in Reform schools, and 1.6 per cent in intercongregational schools. The cooperating congregations of the latter group were in some cases of the same, and in some cases of different orientations.

An analysis of the total enrollment for each congregational group by level of school reveals the following situation: Of the total Sunday School enrollment under Conservative congregational auspices, 81.1 per cent were in elementary schools, 13.7 per cent in pre-school classes, and 4.3 per cent in high school classes. Of the total reported Orthodox congregational enrollment, 69.9 per cent were in elementary schools, 14.3 per cent in pre-school classes, and 2.7 per cent in high school classes. Of the Reform Sunday school enrollment, 83.7 per cent were in elementary schools, 7.6 per cent in pre-school classes, and 8.6 per cent in high school classes.

The proportion of weekday pre-school children varied from 0.3 per cent of the enrollment for the Orthodox schools to 4.8 per cent of the enrollment for the noncongregational schools. The number of pre-school children in the Conservative and Reform weekday schools constituted slightly over 3 per cent of the total weekday enrollment for each group.

² For New York City, the information was not available by congregational orientation.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL REPORTED SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FOR EACH LEVEL OF SCHOOL BY AUSPICES AND ORIENTATION

	Nursery and Kindergarten		Elem	entary	High School		
	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	
Conservative. Orthodox Reform Intercong. Noncong.	5,201 2,020 3,772 417 742	42.4 16.7 31.2 3.5 6.2	30,729 9,888 41,882 1,310 5,987	34.2 11.0 46.6 1.5 6.7	1,635 386 4,312 124 86	25.0 5.9 65.9 1.9 1.3	
TOTAL	12,152	100.0	89,796	100.0	6,543	100.0	

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL REPORTED WEEKDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FOR EACH LEVEL OF SCHOOL BY AUSPICES AND ORIENTATION

	Nursery and Kindergarten		Elementary School		High School		Level of School Not Reported	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Conservative Orthodox Reform Intercong Noncong	29	57.9 1.9 8.3 1.7 30.2	25,883 8,335 4,071 593 7,037	56.4 18.1 8.9 1.3 15.3	421 613 41 241 1,103	17.4 25.3 1.7 10.0 45.6	2,700 — 1,100	
TOTAL	1,526	100.0	45,919	100.0	2,419	100.0	3,800	

The elementary weekday afternoon schools, like the elementary Sunday schools, claimed the largest share of the total enrollment within each congregational system. Of the total enrollment in Reform weekday schools, 96.0 per cent were in elementary weekday schools and one per cent in weekday high schools. Of the Conservative weekday enrollment, 95.2 per cent were in elementary schools and 1.5 per cent in weekday high schools. The enrollment in the elementary schools of the intercongregational group was proportionately the smallest, 69.0 per cent. It had, on the other hand, proportionately the highest enrollment in the high schools, 28.1 per cent. A high proportion of the enrollment in the Orthodox and noncongregational schools was not reported by level of school.

JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICES

The term Jewish communal services, as used in this review and as generally understood in the Jewish community, includes a wide network and great variety of programs sponsored by Jewish voluntary groups and supported in some degree by Jewish philanthropic contributions. It covers health and welfare services; projects in the fields of recreation, education, and culture; intergroup relations; international programs of immigration, refugee aid, rehabilitation; and assistance provided by American Jews toward the economic development of Israel. Services are local, regional, national, or international in scope. The majority of these programs come within the scope of Jewish federations and welfare funds, which function in about 300 local communities as instruments for the joint financing, budgeting coordination, and planning of Jewish communal services.

There were no major changes in the basic content and organizational pattern of Jewish communal services during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954). There was, however, an intensification of some of the trends which had been apparent for a number of years. The follow-

ing were some of the major developments during the year:

a) Philanthropic contributions to central Jewish campaigns (federation and welfare fund drives) continued to decline, as they had in each year since the peak campaign of 1948. The downward trend was sharper in 1954 than it had been in 1953.

- b) Prompted in large part by this decline in fund raising, there was a more intensive process of stock-taking in order to review existing programs, to achieve economies wherever possible, to determine urgent priority requirements more clearly, and to revitalize the central campaigns.
- c) A unique form of assistance was provided to the State of Israel through a loan of \$65,000,000 advanced by welfare funds to the United Jewish Appeal (UJA), and by the UJA-supported agencies to the State. The purpose of the loan, repayable within five years through deductions from local welfare fund campaigns, was to help Israel refinance its short-term obligations, thus overcoming one of the crucial problems in its financial and economic planning.
- d) After many years of recurrent discussions and negotiations, a merger was achieved of the United Service for New Americans (USNA), the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and the Migration Department of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), establishing a single, unified international agency to serve Jewish migrants.
- e) There was further growth and development of local health and welfare services, and continued interest in such services at a high level. Major interest continued to center, as it had for some years, on the medical and social problems of older people and their special needs. Growing interest was also apparent in the special needs of children, particularly in regard to emotional and mental disturbances. Similarly, there was a continuation of the trend, also noted for several years, in providing services to the Jewish population as a whole, rather than to a particularly underprivileged group.

- f) Programs related to Jewish education and cultural endeavor were receiving growing attention.
- g) Jewish communal services shared in the American Jewish Tercentenary celebration. A special national organization—the American Jewish Tercentenary Committee—was formed to sponsor national events and to assist local communities in celebrating the anniversary. Communal agencies and institutions related their work to the concept of a maturing stable Jewish community, enjoying a large measure of economic and social well-being, and engaging in a variety of Jewish communal endeavor designed to meet its own welfare and cultural needs within the framework of the voluntary pattern of American organizational work. The Tercentenary also provided the occasion for a number of special projects and studies devoted to retrospective stock-taking and projection of directions for the future.

Central Jewish Community Organizations

Amounts raised by central community campaigns continued to reflect the declining trend which had been taking place since the peak year of 1948. As Table 1 indicates, the totals raised in 1953 were about 5 per cent less than those raised in 1952. In cities outside of New York the decline was less sharp—a little over 3 per cent. The rate of decline was smaller in 1953 than it had been in 1952. In the spring of 1954, however, there was a further and sharper decline in fund raising totals. Seventy-nine welfare

TABLE 1

AMOUNTS RAISED IN LOCAL CENTRAL
COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS
(Estimate in thousands of dollars)

Year	Total	New York City	Other Cities
1945	\$ 71,162	\$36,222	\$ 34,940
1946	131,421	44,273	87,148
1947	156,589	50,227	106,362
1948	200,721	65,157	135,564
1949	170,330	63,368	106,962
1950	142,192	50,205	91,987
1951	136,035	48,187	87,848
1952	121,173	43,076	78,097
1953	114,816	39,296	75,520

funds (outside of New York) reporting to the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (CJFWF), indicated an over-all decrease in amounts raised of 8.3 per cent (compared with 3.4 per cent for the same cities in 1952). There were great extremes of variation among communities. One small community had an increase of 42 per cent whereas another suffered a decline of 35 per cent. Almost one-fifth of all the cities netted as much or more in their 1953 efforts as in 1952, despite the more general downward trend.

If the fall campaigns, whose results were not available at the time of writing (November 1954), were to conform with the experience of spring campaigns, federation and welfare fund drives would obtain about \$105,000,-000 in 1954. On the basis of this estimate, the campaigns of 1954 would have raised just about half the amount obtained in the peak year of 1948.

The level of contributions for 1953 represented about 13 per cent less than the totals raised in 1946 when the large-scale campaigns for critical overseas needs had been initiated, but was about 61 per cent higher than the funds raised in 1945, the last year prior to the postwar emergency period. Since the increase in the general price index since 1945 had been 49 per cent, federation and welfare fund collections in 1953 were only about

8 per cent higher than in 1945, in relation to "constant" dollars.

There were significant differences in fund raising experience in communities of varying size. By 1954, the smallest communities, with a Jewish population of under 5,000, had dropped 40 per cent from the level of fund raising in 1946, whereas the larger Jewish population centers had dropped less than 20 per cent during the same period. The reason for this disparity was generally attributed to the fact that the larger communities had a more stable communal organization based on their more highly developed and varied local services and longer history of federated operations, whereas the smaller communities had organized their campaigns largely around overseas emergencies.

FACTORS AFFECTING FUND RAISING

The variations among communities were related, in various ways, to the combined effects of economic conditions, the changes in Jewish needs, the psychology of contributors and organizational factors. In a number of areas in the United States and in a number of trades and industries, business conditions were not favorable during the spring of 1954, and philanthropic campaigns were affected adversely. Economic factors probably played a larger role in 1954 than they had in any previous year since the end of World

It was generally recognized, however, that economic factors alone did not fully account for the fund raising trend, but that a distinct shift in the interests and motivations of Jewish contributors had been taking place since 1948, the peak year of central campaigns. Some of the factors were the lessened sense of critical overseas emergency after the successful repulsion by Israel of the Arab invasion; the greater interest in domestic projects; the greater satisfactions, in the absence of an overriding emergency, found by some contributors in individual projects, as compared with the over-all central campaign.

Several attempts were made to gather data which would give greater understanding of these phenomena and provide help to leaders of federations in their attempts to avoid continuing declines in funds. A study conducted for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in New York 1 revealed that the

¹ Report, Committee to Study Fund-Raising Procedures and Practices, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, March 16, 1954.

major motivation of contributors was a sense of identification with the Jewish community. This was also brought out in the pilot studies conducted by the CJFWF (1953) in Albany, N. Y., Camden, N. J., and New Britain, Conn. Community workers testified to a strong acceptance of the role of the central organization in guiding and coordinating communal program—and to a sense of satisfaction gained from participation in Jewish community affairs. The pilot studies did high light the need for improvement in the channels of communication between the individual contributors, organizations and the central body. Closer attention was being paid by communal bodies to programs of interpretation, not only at the time of campaigning, but on a continuous, year-around basis.

INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGNS

A study of "multiple appeals" in fifteen cities confirmed the general impression that independent campaigns, not included in the annual central fund raising drives, raised substantial sums. In these cities the total was equal to 70 per cent of the aggregate amounts raised in the central campaigns. In some cities, more money was raised outside the welfare fund than through the central campaign. The independent campaigns were for a variety of local, national and overseas projects. Synagogues and temples were the largest single group. Others represented by considerable sums were hospitals (local and national), Israel agencies, homes for the aged, and educational projects, both local and national. To a very considerable extent these independent efforts were for building funds, and did not therefore represent appeals which would continue in the communities on an annual basis.

DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION FUNDS

There was practically no change in the distribution of federation funds among the major categories of programs during the calendar year of 1953. In both 1952 and 1953, the UJA received 60 per cent of the totals budgeted, after deductions for administrative and campaign expenses and reserves set aside against possible losses in collections. Because of the over-all decline in funds, however, the total for the UJA was reduced from \$60,000,000 to \$58,000,000. The proportion obtained by all overseas and refugee aid programs was 65 per cent in 1953—slightly less than in 1952, due primarily to a substantial decline in costs of refugee assistance programs in local communities.

It was estimated that federations and welfare funds granted \$4,686,000 to national domestic agencies in 1953, which was about \$120,000 more than had been allotted in 1952. Local services received (for operating purposes) \$1,150,000 more in 1953 than in 1952, and the proportion of the total allotted to this field similarly increased from 26 per cent to 28 per cent. On the other hand, allotments of the central campaigns for local capital purposes were reduced, both in dollars and in terms of percentage.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS RAISED IN LOCAL CENTRAL COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS®

(Estimates in thousands of dollars)

Campaigns, Agencies, Needs,	To	otal	New Yo	ork Cityb	Other	Cities
Per Cent	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952
TOTAL AMOUNT BUDGETED Per Cent	96,244 100.0	99,420 100.0	31,383 100.0	31,249 100.0	64,861 100.0	68,171 100.0
Overseas and Refugee Needs United Jewish Appeal Per Cent Other Overseas Agencies Per Cent Local Refugee Care Per Cent National Agencies Community Relations Per Cent Health and Welfare Per Cent Cultural Per Cent Religious Per Cent Service Agencies Per Cent Local Operating Needs Per Cent Local Capital Funds Per Cent Local Capital Funds Per Cent	58,064 60.3 2,335 2.4 2,474 2.6 4,686 2,529 2.6 175 0.2 423 0.4 410 0.4 1,149 1.2 26,992 28.1 1,693 1.8	60,086 60.4 2,607 2.6 3,380 3.4 4,565 2,477 2.5 193 0.2 401 0.4 1,094 1.1 25,838 26.0 2,944 3.0	19,000 60.5 ————————————————————————————————————	19,750 63.2 205 0.7 710 360 1.1 	39,064 60.2 2,335 3.6 2,474 3.8 3,936 2,154 3.3 175 0.3 423 0.7 410 0.6 774 1.2 15,359 23.7 1,693 2.6	40,336 59.2 2,402 3.5 3,380 4.9 3,855 2,117 3.1 10.6 400 00.6 744 1.1 15,254 4.2,944 4.3

a The difference between totals budgeted and totals raised represents "shrinkage" allowance for non-payment of pledges, campaign and administrative expenses, and contingency or other reserves. The figures for 1953 are preliminary, subject to revision when more complete reports are available.

payment of piedges, campaign and administrative expenses, and configured to the research. The figures for 1953 are preliminary, subject to revision when more complete reports are available.

^b Figures for New York include the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) of Greater New York and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. Local refugee costs in New York City were borne by NYANA, a direct beneficiary of the UJA nationally. Most overseas and domestic agencies which were normally included in welfare funds conducted their own campaigns in New York. The New York UJA included the following beneficiaries (in addition to the National UJA): the American Jewish Congress, the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), and in 1952, the American Friends of the Hebrew University.

The pattern of fund distribution varied with the size of community because of differences among communities in the extent of their local programs. The largest cities, with Jewish population of 40,000 and over, gave 62 per cent of their funds to overseas and refugee needs, and 33.5 per cent to local operating and capital requirements. In contrast, cities with a Jewish population of less than 5,000 gave 78 per cent of the total to overseas and refugee needs, and 15 per cent to local programs. It should be noted, however, that the figure of 15 per cent in the smallest communities was somewhat larger than the comparable percentage in 1952, thus continuing a trend toward growing local programs, even in the smallest cities.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 64 COMMUNITIES 1946, 1953

(Amounts in thousands of dollars)

TABLE 3A

INCREASES IN TOTAL
ALLOCATIONS IN 64 CITIES

1946		1953		Amounts Allo- cated in 1953	Index of	
Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	(thousands of dollars)	Change 1946 = 100	
\$2,005	24.9	\$ 2,956	19.6	\$ 2,956	147	
275	3.4	446	3.0	446	162	
486	6.0	1,089	7.2		224	
1,916	23.8	4,423	29.3		231	
1,662	20.6	3,382	22.4	3,382	204	
1,076	13.3	2,011	13.3	2,011	187	
405	5.0	536	3.5	536	132	
240	3.0	263	1.7	263	110	
\$8,065	100.0	\$15,106	100.0	\$15,106	187	
	\$2,005 275 486 1,916 1,662 1,076 405 240	Amount Per Cent \$2,005 24.9 275 3.4 486 6.0 1,916 23.8 1,662 20.6 1,076 13.3 405 5.0 240 3.0	Amount Per Cent Amount \$2,005 24.9 \$ 2,956 275 3.4 446 486 6.0 1,089 1,916 23.8 4,423 1,662 20.6 3,382 1,076 13.3 2,011 405 5.0 536 240 3.0 263	Amount Per Cent Amount Per Cent \$2,005 24.9 \$ 2,956 19.6 275 3.4 446 3.0 486 6.0 1,089 7.2 1,916 23.8 4,423 29.3 1,662 20.6 3,382 22.4 1,076 13.3 2,011 13.3 405 5.0 536 3.5 240 3.0 263 1.7	Amount Per Cent Amount Per Cent Amount Per Cent Amount Per Cent Amount (thousands of dollars) \$2,005 24.9 \$ 2,956 19.6 \$ 2,956 275 3.4 446 3.0 446 486 6.0 1,089 7.2 1,089 1,916 23.8 4,423 29.3 4,423 1,062 20.6 3,382 22.4 3,382 1,076 13.3 2,011 13.3 2,011 405 5.0 536 3.5 536 240 3.0 263 1.7 263	

N.B. During this period the United States Consumer Price Index rose by 37.3 per cent.

Aid to Israel

Financial assistance to Israel continued on a large scale through a variety of channels, including commercial investment programs sponsored by individuals and groups; the Israel government's bond drive conducted by the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel (AFDCI); grants-in-aid and technical assistance programs provided by the government of the United States; and philanthropic contributions.

BOND SALES

The Israel government's first international bond issue—the Israel Independence Issue—terminated on May 1, 1954. The total realized through this bond issue was estimated at \$137,000,000 in cash sales (\$160,000,000 in pledges) during the three-year period, May 1951 through April 1954.

A second bond issue—the Israel Development Issue—was launched in May 1954 with a goal of \$350,000,000, of which \$75,000,000 was sought in the first year. The new bond contained provisions which were more favorable to the investor than the Independence Issue. In promoting the new bond drive, there was an emphasis on establishing Israel bonds as a permanent aspect of American Jewish communal activity and as a continuous source of borrowing for the State of Israel.

Relationships between philanthropic campaigns and the bond drive did

not change. Some possibilities of greater coordination were explored while the new bond issue was being planned, but no agreement resulted from such discussions. The philanthropic campaigns and the Israel bond drive were conducted under separate organizational auspices. Generally, local agreements prevailed concerning the timing of campaigns and other matters of possible conflict. An exceptional conflict did occur in one community—Toledo, Ohio—in May and June of 1954 because of differences of opinion between the Jewish Federation of Toledo and the AFDCI as to the timing of a public event on behalf of the bond drive. This incident, which involved high officials of the bond organization and the government of Israel, engendered considerable conflict in the local community; but it did not have national repercussions and was not repeated in other cities.

PHILANTHROPIC PROGRAMS

When first established in May 1948, the State of Israel was dependent almost exclusively upon philanthropic aid for its foreign exchange resources. Other sources, as enumerated above, had developed since that time. The most recent source was German reparations payments, which Israel began to receive in 1953 (see below).

Philanthropic funds continued however to provide a very important source of revenue for Israel. While used directly for welfare programs, they also helped to solve the economic problems of Israel by providing dollars to the government in exchange for Israel pounds required for the activities in Israel.

In 1953, American Jewish philanthropic agencies reporting to the CJFWF provided over \$67,000,000 for Israel, in comparison with \$65,000,000 in 1952. This increase took place in spite of the general decline in amounts raised, because of the continuing shift in the expenditures by the overseas agencies toward larger outlays in Israel and reductions in other areas.

REFUNDING LOAN

The role of philanthropy as an aid in helping to solve Israel's financial problems was given even greater emphasis at the beginning of 1954 by the UJA "refunding" loan.

At the end of 1953, Israel's external debt amounted to about \$400,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 was due to mature in 1954. This short-term debt had for years been a very difficult problem for the government. It had been undermining the credit of the government of Israel, had necessitated excessive costs for debt service, and had presented a great obstacle to the carrying out of orderly planning processes in the government economy. The government of Israel calculated that it would require \$75,000,000 in order to meet its most pressing short-term obligations and to bring its financial situation under control. The philanthropic agencies were asked to advance this amount in the form of a five-year loan.

The plan provided for transferring the proceeds of such loans to the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Jewish Agency, in turn, exchanged the Ameri-

can dollars in Israel for pounds. As a result, the Jewish Agency secured Israel pounds to conduct its health and welfare programs, and the Israel government secured access to American dollars in order to pay off its most pressing short-term loans.

A total sum of \$65,000,000 was raised by the UJA in this loan program, through loans from local Jewish federations and welfare funds. In most instances, the monies were borrowed from local banks on the credit of the welfare funds themselves, sometimes with individual endorsers. They were to be repaid over a five-year period by deductions which the local communities would make from their collections, against allocations to the UJA.

Philanthropy continued, as in past years, to make direct contributions to the economic welfare of Israel by its own programs and activities. It had been recognized for some time that expansion of agriculture at the most rapid possible rate was a crucial element in the solution of Israel's economic problems. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which was the major philanthropic organization operating in Israel and the major beneficiary of the UJA, spent the largest part of its budget on the development and expansion of agriculture. It sought to stimulate a "town to country" movement by improving the conditions of life in the rural settlements. Other philanthropic agencies contributed toward vocational training programs, thus helping to solve another of Israel's great economic problems—namely, the absence of a skilled labor force. Other programs were concerned with development and improvement of land. Still others had as their purpose the creation of treatment and rehabilitation facilities in order to help people with handicaps to become productive.

REPARATIONS FUNDS

A major event during the period under review was the beginning of German reparations payments. Goods received from Germany on account of reparations were playing an important part in the economic planning of the government. As part of the agreement which had been made with the Bonn Government, the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CIMCAG), a world-wide body representing Jewish organizations, obtained about 15 per cent of reparations funds for the relief of Nazi victims outside of Israel, and an additional 18.3 per cent for organizations assisting Nazi victims in Israel. During the first year of reparations payments, from October 1953 through September 1954, the CJMCAG allocated about \$20,000-000 to philanthropic agencies. The major beneficiary in Israel was the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Others included the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) for vocational training, Oeuvre pour Secour des Enfants Israélites (OSE) for health services, Alliance Israélite Universelle for an agricultural school, and a variety of yeshivot, other institutions, and refugee rabbis.

The major beneficiary outside of Israel was the JDC, and additional grants went to agencies in overseas countries under the supervision of the JDC.

There were in addition a number of grants to cultural agencies in the United States and Europe, totalling about \$1,000,000.

Overseas Agencies

The UJA, the major channel for American Jewish philanthropy to Israel, was reconstituted in 1954 by agreement between United Israel Appeal (UIA), representing the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the JDC. Instead of the customary one-year contract, the UJA was reconstituted for a five-year period, in consonance with the obligations it had assumed in the refunding loan.

Provisions for the distribution of funds remained the same as in each year since 1951, except that the new agreement provided that 10 per cent of the funds for each campaign year might "be renegotiated in the event that some unusual emergency arises which may make renegotiation necessary."

The basic formula governing fund distribution between UIA and JDC provided that after allocations to other agencies, and deduction of administrative expenses, 67 per cent of the first \$55,000,000 and 87.5 per cent of all additional amounts were earmarked for the UIA, with the balance for the JDC.

USNA was included in the 1954 UJA campaign, but was not to be included in subsequent UJA campaigns following its merger with HIAS.

It was estimated that pledges to the UJA in 1953 totalled \$68,000,000, compared with \$70,000,000 in 1952. On the basis of the formulas fixed in the agreements constituting the UJA, these totals pointed to allocations for the various beneficiaries after deductions of campaign expenses, as indicated in Table 4 below.

TABLE 4
ALLOCATIONS FROM UJA CAMPAIGNS, 1952, 1953

Campaign	1952	1953
USNA	\$ 755,956	\$ 424,249
NYANA	2,348,439	1,169,266
JDC (estimated)		19,194,241
UIA (estimated)	44,591,830	44,159,685
TOTAL	\$66,952,197	\$64,947,441

The UJA agreements in 1952 and 1953 continued to include a provision setting a ceiling on the Jewish National Fund (JNF) traditional collections, similar to one which had been in each UJA contract since 1944. This provided that if the JNF should raise more than \$1,800,000 net, after deduction of expenses not to exceed \$300,000, the UIA should turn over to the UJA an amount equivalent to such excess, which should be considered the income of the UJA.

JEWISH AGENCY

The Jewish Agency for Palestine spent I £65,500,000 in the fiscal year ended September 30, 1953, compared with I £45,400,000 in the previous

year. Major expenditures (58 per cent) were for agricultural settlement. Assistance was given to about 400 settlements of all types. Projects included water supply and irrigation facilities, agricultural experimentation, loan

funds for cultivation of new crops, etc.

Expenditures for absorption of immigrants accounted for 21 per cent of the total. Almost half of the costs of absorption were for Youth Aliyah programs. Immigration to Israel was 11,867 during the year 1952–53, or virtually at a standstill, in view of an emigration at least as great. Because of a backlog of earlier immigrants needing aid, the Jewish Agency's caseload was much greater—56,573 persons assisted during the year. Youth Aliyah wards were reduced in number from 13,000 on October 1, 1952 to 12,000 a year later. The Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America and other organizations supplied 38 per cent of the cost of the Youth Aliyah program, while the Jewish Agency supplied the balance of 62 per cent with funds derived from the UJA. Youth Aliyah operations were conducted in educational (mainly agricultural) institutions and in communal settlements.

Other Agency expenditures included: (a) grants to the Jewish National Fund for land development programs, (b) grants for interest payments on loans and loan repayments, (c) educational and cultural activities, (d) organization and information activities and general administrative expenses.

JDC

JDC expenditures increased in 1953 for the first time since the peak year of 1947. Expenditures were \$22,187,540 in 1953 compared with \$19,758,882 in 1952. The rate of expenditure in 1954 indicated a further increase.

The increase was accounted for entirely by work in Israel. Malben, JDC's program of services to sick, handicapped, and aged immigrants in Israel, absorbed over 50 per cent of total appropriations, as against 30 per cent in 1952. Malben was being expanded from a bed capacity of 4,700 in 1953 to 5,500 planned for the end of 1954.

JDC appropriations for Europe continued to decline in 1953, as they had in previous years. In 1953, a total of \$2,789,000, only 12 per cent of total appropriations, was spent in Europe. The decline was accelerated by the

cessation in 1952 of all IDC operations in Eastern Europe.

In 1953 JDC continued, as in the past, to finance relief programs in Moslem countries, but on an increased scale. During the first ten months of 1954 JDC appropriated \$2,728,049 for the Moslem countries, which represented 13 per cent of total JDC appropriations during that period.

ORT

Every year since 1947, JDC, by agreement with the World ORT Union, had made grants for the latter's vocational training programs overseas. Beginning in 1953, ORT's Israel programs were included, as well as those in Europe and North Africa. The 1954 program provided that ORT would receive \$1,250,000 from JDC toward its total budget of \$1,920,000. On December 31, 1953, there were about 9,300 trainees in JDC-financed ORT schools, of whom 2,391 were in Israel.

OTHER UJA PROGRAMS

The UJA's allotments to USNA and NYANA continued to decline in accordance with the decreased volume of Jewish immigration to the United States since 1951. Immigration totalled 5,000 in 1953 and was expected to reach about 6,000 in 1954.

USNA and NYANA were to continue in the UJA in 1954. Following the merger with HIAS and the migration department of JDC, which was completed on August 24, 1954, the newly formed United HIAS Service was to raise its own funds, beginning in 1955. NYANA, which, as a local agency, was not covered by the merger, was to continue in the UJA.

UJA funds were also used for subventions to a number of Zionist organizations for various colonization and constructive projects under their sponsorship. These grants, identical with 1953, were: the Mizrachi Palestine Fund (\$750,000), the World Confederation of General Zionists (\$750,000), the Agudath Israel (\$166,000), the Poale Agudath Israel (\$181,875), and the United Revisionists (\$90,000).

These organizations were included in the UIA on the basis of agreements that none of them would conduct separate campaigns in the United States for projects in Israel.

OTHER OVERSEAS AGENCIES

Organizations other than the UJA reported total income of \$17,800,000 in 1953, which was virtually identical with the figure for the previous year (see Appendix). There was little change in either the programs or financing of these agencies. Hadassah continued to represent the largest program, with income of almost \$9,000,000. Its major projects were medical services and Youth Aliyah. The National Committee for Labor Israel (NCLI) and the Pioneer Women's Organization raised funds on behalf of the various activities of the Histadruth in Israel, such as agricultural settlements, vocational training and educational and cultural activities. The American Fund for Israel Institutions (AFII) conducted a fund-raising campaign on behalf of various Israel institutions, primarily in the field of education and culture. The Federated Council of Israel Institutions (FCII) acted as the representative of a large number of yeshivot and social welfare institutions of a traditional type in seeking support from local federations.

Efforts continued to integrate the fund-raising drives of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Weizmann Institute for Science, and the Haifa Technion, which had conducted a combined UIT campaign between 1949 and 1951. All three institutions appealed to federations for maintenance grants and for permission to conduct special building fund campaigns. Through the CJFWF, the welfare funds conducted discussions with the institutions, and with officials of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the government of Israel, in order to achieve either a combined effort, or, at least an agreed-upon formula for the distribution of allocations among the three institutions. At the time of writing (November 1954), these discussions had

not yet reached a conclusive result, although agreement was expected in the near future.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine continued, through its Committee on Control and Authorization of Campaigns, to limit the extent of American fund raising for Israel. It granted authorizations in 1953 to thirteen organizations,² including the FCII, which had been omitted from the 1953 list but included prior to that time. This list was practically unchanged since the committee was formed in 1949. The Jewish Agency exercised controls only on fund raising (timing and scope of campaigns, etc.), and did not extend its controls to questions of budget and program.

UNITED HIAS SERVICE

The merger of United Service for New Americans, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and the Migration Department of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), represented one of the last remaining examples of the bringing together of welfare institutions which had been founded in earlier years under the separate auspices of the German and Eastern European Jewish groups. Attempts to achieve a merger had been made at various times, ever since the resumption of large-scale immigration to the United States during the decade of the 1930's. HIAS, JDC, and the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) had participated in a coordinating committee for German refugees during the period 1934-38. When this coordinating committee was transformed into an operating agency in 1939, in order to handle the increased volume of immigration, HIAS operations were not integrated with the newly formed refugee service because of failure among the organizations to agree on a method of handling the immigrant load. Another effort was made during the postwar period 1946-48 to merge at least the overseas services in order to conduct a unified program for the highly mobile postwar Jewish population in Western Europe, and to deal unitedly with governmental and intergovernmental bodies. These attempts were unsuccessful, primarily because of the inability of the agencies to agree upon a parallel form of coordination in the United States. Since that time inconclusive discussions were conducted periodically. The final merger resulted from many months of continuous negotiations on the part of a small committee representing both agencies.

Domestic Health and Welfare Services

Health and welfare services were maintained and expanded in 1953, despite the decrease in funds available for distribution by Jewish federations and welfare funds. The volume of service increased in almost every field,

² American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science, Inc.; American Friends of the Hebrew University; American Fund for Israel Institutions; American Red Mogen Dovid for Israel, Inc. (membership campaign only; no application to welfare funds); American Technion Society; Federated Council of Israel Institutions; Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc.; Jewish National Fund (traditional collections only; no application to welfare funds); Material for Israel, Inc. (materials only); Mizrachi Women's Organization of America (no application to welfare funds); National Committee for Labor Israel (Histadruth Campaign); Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America, Inc.; Women's League for Israel, Inc. (New York area).

and there was a continuing rise in the number of facilities available for most types of care.

HOSPITALS

In 1953, there were sixty-four Jewish-sponsored hospitals in operation throughout the United States. With the opening in January 1953 of a Jewish hospital in Detroit, all Jewish communities of over 30,000 population except Washington, D.C., now had a hospital under Jewish auspices.

Fifty-three hospitals reporting to the CJFWF showed an increase of 5.4 per cent over 1952 in total number of patients served during the year (from

416,763 to 439,278).

This represented the continuation of the trend which had been consistent during the entire postwar period. It reflected the continuing expansion of facilities through construction of new hospitals and additions to existing ones.

Some of the continuing trends in hospital care were (a) an increasingly larger proportion of patients in the aged and chronically ill categories; (b) greater integration of hospital services with those of other agencies in providing long-term care; and (c) growing programs of home medical care. There was, on the other hand, a decline in the volume of out-patient service for the second consecutive year.

Within the 5 per cent over-all increase in number of patients served, there was a rise in volume of service given by general and psychiatric hospitals, no change for tuberculosis hospitals, and a decrease in other specialized hospitals.

Reflecting the increasingly nonsectarian character of Jewish hospitals was the fact that the proportion of Jewish patients declined from 48 per cent

in 1952 to 40.5 per cent in 1953.

About three-fourths of all hospital income came from payments for service (see Table 5). Of these payments, half were provided through "third party" sources, such as Blue Cross, Workmen's Compensation, and private hospital plans. There was a consistent increase in income from such plans.

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCIES

During 1953, there was a further decline in the number of refugee cases carried by Jewish family service agencies. Despite this decline, the *total* number of open cases in reporting agencies increased slightly (from 44,828 to 45,113) over 1952. Family service agencies were stabilizing, after the contraction which came about when the postwar immigration was reduced. In spite of the decline in immigrant load, newcomers still accounted for 25 per cent of the total caseloads of all family agencies in 1953.

Reflecting the declining refugee caseload, there was a further drop—of about one-third—in financial assistance granted by family agencies. Services for non-immigrant families did not usually entail financial aid. With the decline of the immigrant load came a constantly growing emphasis on counseling services. Some of the greatest demands for services were in aid to

aged people, and in helping families with disturbed children. Programs of family life education, on a group basis, were also developing on a larger scale.

For some time, there had been considerable discussion of the "rationale" for a Jewish family service program. In April 1954 the CJFWF published a report on "The Values of Jewish Family Service to the Client and the Community," the product of a committee which had given long study to the problem. The major conclusion of the committee was that the rationale for a Jewish family agency (as against reliance on nonsectarian casework services) lay primarily in the values of the agency as an expansion of Jewish community life, and that there were, in addition, certain benefits gained by the client from a Jewish service.

Questions about rationale and program content remained, however. One of these, discussed prominently by professional social workers at the annual National Conference of Jewish Communal Service in May 1954, was whether the family agencies were adequately meeting Jewish community needs or whether they were too highly specialized in certain limited types of counseling services. There was no general agreement on this question, and it re-

mained as a subject for further exploration.

Fee charging for service continued to increase in 1953, as part of the movement of family service agencies away from an earlier emphasis on economic assistance to underprivileged groups toward a counseling service for all groups in the Jewish population. Fees represented, however, only 2 per cent of family agency income. The bulk of income (90 per cent) was derived from Jewish federations and welfare funds and community chests.

CHILD CARE

The long-term decline which had been taking place in the number of children served by Jewish agencies continued during 1953. At the end of that year, there were 5 per cent fewer children under care than at the end of 1952 (4,428, compared with 4,642).

The reasons for this decline were the existence of public assistance programs to care for children in economic need, favorable economic conditions, an emphasis in social work practice on doing everything possible to keep the child in his own home rather than placing him elsewhere, and improved techniques of child care making it possible to reduce the time necessary

to keep a child in an agency's care.

There was a growing emphasis on the needs of children with emotional disturbances. A survey conducted by the CJFWF on behalf of the New Orleans Children's Home brought to light the fact that there were little or no treatment facilities available in the southwestern area of the country and that there was a great need felt among leaders of Jewish communal organizations for some positive services in this field. Another survey conducted in 1954, of Bellefaire in Cleveland, similarly reflected the need for the extension of therapeutic programs. These were but some examples of the nationwide concern with a shortage of treatment facilities and services.

A major problem in trying to meet such needs was the high cost of insti-

tutional treatment facilities. Experiments were being initiated in the larger metropolitan communities involving the use of specialized foster homes and small residential treatment centers as possible substitutes for the very expensive existing types of institutional care.

Small group residential treatment centers were in existence or were being developed in eight cities. Specialized foster homes were being used in seven

cities.4

About half of the income of child care agencies was derived from central philanthropic sources—Jewish federations and community chests. The other major source of funds was public assistance grants, representing 22.5 per cent of the total in 1953.

CARE OF THE AGED

The number of persons served by institutions for the Jewish aged rose by 4 per cent in 1953, continuing the rate of increase noted also during the two previous years. By the end of 1953, the number of residents under care in 71 homes reached 9,104.

Construction of new facilities and conversion or remodeling of old facilities continued during 1953-54, with chief emphasis upon facilities for the care of the chronically ill and for acutely ill residents not requiring intensive hospital care. About 4 per cent was added to total bed capacity in 1953. The utilization of bed capacity continued at a high level—92 per cent, with five homes reporting utilization rates of more than 100 per cent, reflecting the use of beds not regularly available.

Homes for the aged obtained the greater portion of their operating funds through payments by or on behalf of residents, reflecting, as did other types of Jewish social service, the declining importance of financial relief in Jewish social service programs. About half of these payments represented Old Age Assistance or Old Age and Survivors Insurance grants received by the

residents.

At the General Assembly of the CJFWF in November 1953, a definitive paper was presented, entitled "Care of The Aged in 1954," which described developments that had been emerging during the previous five years or more. Heavy emphasis was placed in this paper on total community planning for the aged, of which institutional care represented but a part. It was pointed out that only 4 per cent of the aged population were in institutions, and that a wide network, of health, casework, group work, rehabilitative, educational and cultural services, calling for a high degree of coordination among all Jewish agencies, was required to meet adequately the full gamut of needs of the aged Jewish population. A growing number of communities were beginning to develop comprehensive programs along those suggested lines. Most notable was Cleveland, which decided to organize a central commission on the aged, under federation auspices, as the result of an intensive study completed in the summer of 1954.

Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Newark, New York, St. Louis, San Francisco.
 Cincinnati, Columbus, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New York, St. Louis, St. Paul.

JEWISH VOCATIONAL SERVICES

There were twenty-three Jewish vocational service (JVS) agencies which reported regularly to the Jewish Occupational Council, their national association. All of the agencies provided individual educational and vocational guidance and job placement services. Virtually all of them had facilities for psychological testing, and fifteen conducted group guidance programs. About half also offered small business consultation, and a few made cash loans or grants for small businesses. Programs included special experimental projects designed to meet the vocational needs of the aged and of persons with physical, emotional, or mental handicaps.

One of the newer forms of service being developed was the sheltered workshop, providing training and employment opportunities for various types of handicapped groups. St. Paul established a sheltered workshop in 1953, bringing to nine the number of JVS agencies now conducting such programs. Five other communities were studying the possibility of a workshop.

Reports submitted to the JOC for the calendar year 1953 showed that approximately 79,500 applications for employment and vocational counseling came into the agencies, an increase of about 2 per cent over the previous year.

Of the applications in 1953, approximately 65,500 were in placement and 14,000 in counseling. The number of placement applications showed a rise of about 2 per cent from 1952, but the vocational guidance figures showed no change.

There was a sharp decrease in the number of job openings, from 72,000 in 1952 to 56,000 in 1953, a drop of 22 per cent. Similarly, the number of job placements decreased by 16.6 per cent, from 24,000 in 1952 to 20,000 in 1953.

These figures reflected the economic changes which took place in 1953. Many of the Jewish JVS agencies were located in industrial areas which suffered recessions in 1953. In view of the fact that such agencies dealt with marginal groups in the labor force, the drop in number of placements was considered to be a normal reflection of the economic situation.

Preliminary reports indicated that this same trend of adverse economic factors was continuing in 1954 and that the decline in openings and placements in 1954 would probably be even sharper than it had been in 1953.

Education, Recreation, Culture, and Youth Services

Jewish community life was characterized by a very large number of educational and cultural activities under a great variety of organizational auspices. Programs included formal and informal education, recreation and group work, Jewish research, youth services, and adult education and social action activities of ideological organizations. In addition, religious congregations were responsible for a very large portion of the total group activity

of American Jewry. Social and cultural activities were apparently a growing

aspect of synagogue life.

There was no central resource for collecting data on this tremendous range of activity, thus making a complete record unavailable. Only some aspects could be touched upon in this review. These were primarily the activities of organizations which were in some measure dependent upon the general Jewish contributing public for support, and/or within the reporting system of national service agencies such as the CJFWF and the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB).

Jewish Centers 5

Jewish centers accounted for the major portion of recreational and youth services on the local level. The trends during 1952 (the last year for which information was available) were consistent with developments that had been taking place since World War II. Chief among these were the following: a) Growing emphasis upon programs for younger children on the one hand and the aged on the other. The number of nursery schools and informal play groups under Jewish center auspices continued to rise. The same was true of "Golden Age Clubs" and other forms of recreational activity for the older adult; b) Migration of Jews to suburban areas continued at a rapid pace, giving rise to problems of center organization in new neighborhoods. There was a growth of suburban branch activity and also the removal of center buildings to newer neighborhoods; c) The building of new centers and the renovation of older structures continued during this period.

TABLE 5°

Receipts of Jewish Social Service Agencies, 1953

Source	Hospitals	Family Agencies	Child Care	Aged
Federations and Welfare Funds. Community Chests. Other Contributions. Payment for Services. Public Funds. Other.	\$ 6,458,851 2,267,050 2,302,184 57,011,318 6,819,686 1,948,813	\$4,806,428 2,295,571 167,374 173,288 	\$1,949,741 573,881 400,897 479,722 1,099,380 382,619	\$ 1,335,268 565,515 1,309,682 6,538,408 737,284

a Figures are incomplete for the entire country, since they include only agencies reporting financial data to CJFWF. It is estimated that reporting agencies served about 90 per cent of the total Jewish population in the United States.

Center membership had increased each year since 1943. It was estimated that total membership in all centers throughout the country was 531,000 in 1952, representing an increase of 3.5 per cent over 1951.

Thirty-five per cent of the total center membership was under fourteen years of age. The increase in center membership since 1945 was estimated

Information obtained from the National Jewish Welfare Board.

at 25 per cent. There was a decline in the number of members in the eighteen through twenty-four age group. This group represented about 10 per cent of the total membership in 1952, compared with 23 per cent in 1947. On the other hand, members twenty-five years of age or over constituted 43.5 per cent of the total membership, compared with 34.9 per cent in 1950.

In spite of the fact that the number of teen-agers was declining, a great deal of attention was paid in center programming to the needs of teen-agers, and center workers reported that this age group presented ever greater problems, reflecting the strains and tensions related to defense mobilization.

Teen-age programs stressed social activities in large groups, as well as small discussion groups dealing with personal problems, problems of Jewish identification, sex education, standards of behavior, etc.

Total operating expenditures of centers (estimated) increased by 9.4 per cent from \$12,763,000 in 1951, to \$13,975,000 in 1952. As Table 6 indicates, there had been almost a three-fold increase in the total expenditures of all Jewish centers since 1941. Corrected for changes in the cost of living, the "real" increase, reflecting expansion of facilities, program, etc., was 51.8 per cent.

Centers derived their income from a variety of sources. In 1952, 40 per cent of total income came from membership dues and income earned by the centers from functions and activities, 52 per cent from philanthropic sources, and 8 per cent from miscellaneous sources. This was about the same pattern of financing which had existed in 1948, except for a slight

TABLE 6

Total, Actual and Adjusted, Estimated Operating Expenditures of All Jewish Centers, 1941–1952

	Total Estimate	ed Operating Cost	Adjusted Estimat	ed Operating Costs
1941 1942 1943 1944 1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1951	Amount (in \$7,000) \$ 5,100 5,250 5,719 6,211 7,171 8,207 9,361 10,325 11,276 11,829 12,763 13,975	Per Cent Change from 1941 + 2.9 + 12.1 + 21.8 + 40.6 + 60.9 + 83.5 + 102.4 + 121.1 + 131.9 + 150.2 + 174.0	Amount (in \$7,000) \$5,100 4,738 4,863 5,197 5,868 6,189 6,171 6,319 6,969 7,239 7,165 7,744	Per Cent Change from 1941

[•] The amounts under this heading are adjusted from those in the first column by application of changes in the revised Consumer Price Index.

TABLE 7

PER CENT OF AGGREGATE CENTER INCOME RECEIVED FROM PRINCIPAL SOURCES, 1948-52

Source of Income	Per Cent of Total Income Received from Stated Sources						
	1952	1951	1950		1948		
Membership Dues	12.7	12.3	16.5		17.8		
Activities	27.2	25.0	23.3		23.6		
Community Chest	18.2	20.4	23.8	=0.0	24.6		
Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds	32.2	33.7	27.4		22.1		
Contributions	1.3	1.1	1.5		2.5		
All Other	8.4	7.5	7.5	6.0	9.4		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

rise in the proportion provided by philanthropic funds as against the pro-

portion obtained from earned income (see Table 7).

There was a substantial change in the participation by Jewish federations in the financing of centers. In 1948, federations had accounted for 22 per cent of total center income. Their contribution rose to 32 per cent by 1952. In contrast, there was a decline in the proportion of total income supplied by nonsectarian community chests.

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

The National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), the national association of all Jewish centers, continued in 1953 its comprehensive program of services to Jews in the armed forces and to Jewish centers, as well as its sponsorship of a number of broad cultural projects, such as the Jewish Book and Music Councils.

Beginning in 1953, the JWB participated in a cooperative "budget review" process initiated by the Large City Budgeting Conference (LCBC), an informal body made up of officers of Jewish welfare funds in the larger cities exclusive of New York. After reviewing the JWB budget, the LCBC in May 1953 recommended increased support to the JWB to meet its current operating needs and certain priority requirements which it had been unable to meet in behalf of work in the armed forces. While this recommendation had a positive effect in maintaining JWB's income from welfare funds, the JWB did not receive enough income to meet its requirements, and continued to experience a deficit.

During this period, the JWB also continued to participate as one of a group of sectarian agencies in the United Service Organizations (USO), which provided off-the-post recreational programs on a nonsectarian basis

to armed forces personnel.

OTHER NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Some of the organizations and institutions functioning on a national level are listed in the Appendix. In general, these organizations experienced modest increases of income in 1953. The range of activities covered by these various institutions included Jewish research and scholarship (the Conference on Jewish Relations, the Yiddish Scientific Institute, the American Jewish Historical Society, the American Jewish Archives, the American Academy for Jewish Research); publications and informational services (Histadruth Ivrith, the Jewish Publication Society, the Menorah Journal); membership programs involving considerable emphasis on youth activities and adult education (the B'nai B'rith National Youth Services, and the Zionist Organization of America); and institutions of higher learning (Dropsie College, and the Jewish Teachers Seminary). The table also includes a number of religious agencies, primarily theological seminaries or national congregational associations. Developments in religious institutions are treated elsewhere in this YEAR BOOK (see p. 230). It may be noted here, however, that the income of these institutions from the institutions' own sources continued to increase in 1953 as it had in 1952, whereas the amounts obtained through welfare funds decreased. Among the national institutions listed in the Appendix tables, religious institutions represented the largest single group.

Next to Jewish centers, projects sponsored by B'nai B'rith probably accounted for the largest volume of youth services. The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations operated on 207 university and college campuses in the United States, Canada, and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The foundations provided religious services and programs of Jewish education and activities for Jewish students. The B'nai B'rith Youth Organization reported a membership of 27,000 organized in 1,100 chapters, in 275 communities. Activities included holiday celebrations, Jewish book and music programs,

dramatics, round table discussions, religious services, and the like.

A number of domestic cultural agencies were beginning to benefit from funds available through German reparations. The CJMCAG met in March 1954, and decided to set aside \$900,000 for cultural programs, to include religious education (40 per cent), salvation of cultural treasures (20 per cent), and research and publications (40 per cent). Organizations applying for a share of these funds were YIVO, the Conference on Jewish Relations, the Histadruth Ivrith, the American Academy for Jewish Research, and the Congress for Jewish Culture.

In the field of formal Jewish education, an important development was a national study, sponsored by the American Association for Jewish Education, to measure the results of Jewish education in the past, to analyze the goals of Jewish parents today, and to formulate programs for future developments. The study, which was initiated in 1952, was to continue until 1957, at a cost of about \$150,000, through a combination of self-studies in local communities and independent national investigations by a national staff. Pilot studies were conducted in Cleveland, Ohio, and Savannah, Ga.,

during 1953, and were planned for Washington, D.C., Lynn, Mass., and Rochester, N. Y., in 1954.

Community Relations

Community relations programs were conducted by a number of national organizations and by community relations councils in local communities.

The national agencies received, as a group, slightly more income in 1953 than they had in 1952. This reflected primarily the relatively favorable fund-raising experience of the largest agencies—the American Jewish Committee and Anti-Defamation League—which campaigned through the Joint

Defense Appeal (JDA).

There were no major changes in the nature of the programs conducted by the agencies, nor in the pattern of organization in this field. The National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC), which was made up of twenty-seven local community relations councils, one regional council, three state-wide organizations, and six national agencies, functioned along the lines set down by its Plenary Session of September 1952, following the evaluative study and the MacIver Report (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 162-77). During 1953, a process of joint program planning was initiated. National member agencies submitted recommended projects and relative priorities for review by the NCRAC as a whole, and a joint program plan was developed for recommendation to all of the agencies, both local and national. The other major aspect of the program agreed upon in 1952 had been a process of reassessment to provide basic evaluations of current programs of Jewish community relations work. During 1953 a special committee on reassessment conducted an analysis of inter-religious activities, and began an examination of activities related to overt forms of anti-Semitism.

The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, which had withdrawn from the NCRAC because of opposition to decisions growing out of the evaluative study, continued to function in all areas of community relations program. With slightly additional funds available to these agencies in 1953, there were increases in expenditures for informational and educational activities, investigative work, and community service, with decreases in legal and legislative activities, scientific research, and over-all administration.

There was no progress toward the establishment of closer cooperation between these agencies and those in the NCRAC, except that agreement was reached after lengthy negotiations on cooperative sponsorship and financing of a motion picture project—an activity located in Los Angeles, designed to work with the motion picture industry on matters affecting the Jewish interest.

The NCRAC, and the national agencies affiliated with it, participated in the budget review process of the Large City Budgeting Conference. Their minimum budgets were reviewed and approved. Since recommendations of

the LCBC were not binding, each community allocated funds in relation to its own income and autonomous decisions.

The NCRAC itself, which became dependent for a major portion of its financing upon welfare funds following the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, obtained very favorable acceptance in its initial campaign, receiving \$110,000 from local communities in 1953, compared with \$46,000 in 1952.

Tercentenary Celebration

As the review period ended, September 1954, the date for the formal opening of the celebration of the Tercentenary of Jewish Settlement in the United States, was approaching. Virtually all domestic organizations, especially those having an educational or cultural emphasis, had related their activities to the tercentenary in some measure, beginning in 1954. The tercentenary theme was prominent at the two major conferences concerned with Jewish communal service—the professional National Conference for Jewish Communal Service, which met in May 1954, and the General Assembly of the CJFWF in November 1953. Further development of the theme was planned for the 1954–55 conferences as well. The Jewish center movement celebrated its centennial in 1953, relating that anniversary to the larger event.

In the field of Jewish communal service, the tercentenary coincided with a period of re-examination, study, and evaluation, as well as consolidation of past gains. Coincidentally, the William J. Shroder Award, commemorating the founder and first president of the CJFWF, was established in the tercentenary year, to be given annually to two agencies making outstanding contributions to social welfare, one agency in a larger Jewish community (over 20,000 Jewish population), the other in a city with a smaller Jewish population. The first awards were won by Montefiore Hospital of New York for its program of home care, and by the Jewish Federation of Southern Illinois, a federation of over sixty small towns and villages, for demonstrating an effective method of bringing services to isolated rural areas.

Included in the American Jewish Tercentenary Committee's program was a ten-volume documentary American Jewish history, on which work was begun. Some fifteen communities were planning to sponsor and finance the writing of local community histories. Nationally, histories were being written of the federation movement and of the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service. Various conferences and meetings were being called to promote projects in American Jewish history, sociology, and scholarship, and the LCBC organized a special committee to explore the possibilities of finding a more effective method of promoting Jewish cultural activity.

While no integrated or large-scale program had yet crystallized (except for the historical project included in the program of the American Jewish Tercentenary Committee), there were many indications of a rapidly growing interest in a more intensive development of American Jewish culture.

RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES APPENDIX

TABLE 1

FROM FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS AND OTHER SOURCES, 1953 AND 1952 RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES FOR OVERSEAS PROGRAMS

	Federations and Welfare Funds	Welfare Funds	Other Contributions	ributions	Other Income	ncome	TOI	TOTAL
	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952
United Jewish Appeala and Subsidiary Agencies United Jewish Appeala Duck United Israel Appealb Jewish National Fund United Service for New Americans New York Association for New Americans New York Association for New Americans	\$63,001,175	\$69,752,705	\$ 2,202,863	\$ 2,152,208	\$ 172,100 67,055 47,037 18,428 21,837	\$ 68,700 11,531 42,463 19,850 34,484	\$63,001,175 172,100 67,055 2,202,863 47,037 18,428 364,497	\$69,752,705 68,700 11,531 2,152,208 42,463 19,850 287,056
TOTAL UJA AND SUBSIDIARIES	\$63,001,175	\$69,752,705	\$ 2,545,523	\$ 2,404,780	\$ 326,457	\$ 177,028	\$65,873,155	\$72,334,513
Weizmann Institute for Science American Friends of Hebrew University American Technion Society. American Technion Society. American Technion Society. American Fund for Israel Institutions. Federated Council of Israel Institutions. Hadassah. Junior Hadassah. Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society* Medical School Campaign. National Committee for Labor Israel* Wattonal Council of Jewish Women.	\$ 165,786 413,604 174,260 398,286 128,123 286,195 371,763 40,000,0	\$ 161,699 414,129 170,205 332,083 136,129 374,750 429,231 40,0001	\$ 496,953 306,275 769,603 660,809 89,167 7,518,9224 39,617 64,568 64,568 42,901 1,467,185 436,794	\$ 644,822 237,406 426,539 581,911 284,76 7,560,4394 740,334 1,669,763 1,469,763 1,444,474	\$ 145,421 1,266,989 13,682 13,682 13,682 13,682 178,504 65,906	\$ 8,312 124,428 6,136 1,261,634 13,7830 20,845 183,231 76,269	\$ 663,578 865,300 1,059,095 217,220 217,220 8,785,911 1,087,831 65,162 1,838,948 653,854 653,854	\$ 814,833 775,963 602,880 913,994 164,605 8,822,063 1,260,164 2,095,328 2,095,328 1,520,743
SUB-TOTAL. OVERSEAS TOTAL.	\$ 1,978,017	\$ 2,058,226	\$14,013,329	\$13,881,774 \$16,286,554	\$2,146,128	\$1,823,765 \$2,000,793	\$17,811,076	\$17,763,765 \$90,098,278

The income is given for the calendar year, not the campaign year.
 Includes non-UJA income only.
 Records do not indicate what items with the properties of income came from welfare funds.

d Excludes amounts raised for JNF.
 e Excludes overseas income and governmental income.
 f Estimated.

RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES TABLE 2

APPENDIX

RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS FROM FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS AND OTHER SOURCES, 1953 AND 1952

	Federations and	Federations and Welfare Funds	Other Co.	Other Contributions	Other	Other Income	T01	FOTAL
	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952
Joint Defense Appeal. Joint Defense Appeal. American Jewish Committee Anti-Defamation League. American Jewish Congress—World Jewish Congress.	\$1,606,535	\$1,547,447	\$ 1,730,000 264,519 10,775	\$ 1,675,264 274,181 12,057	\$ 250,350 4,961 149,663b	\$ 224,110 13,819 110,249b	\$ 3,336,535 250,350° 269,480° 839,491	\$ 3,222,711 224,1103 288,0008 852,054
Council Community Relations Advisory Council C	115,949	113,684 46,375		372,728]
SUB-TOTAL.	\$2,738,428	\$2,656,247	\$ 2,370,365	\$ 2,368,075	\$ 611,929	\$ 617,694	\$ 5,720,722	\$ 5,642,016
"City of Hope" Jewish Consumptives Relief Society Leo N. Levi Memorial Hospital National Home for Jewish Children	\$ 42,839 29,531 80,494 12,562	\$ 51,982 29,791 78,117 12,758	\$ 1,116,395 510,939 199,762 258,614	\$ 860,800 446,396 184,670 305,731	\$ 176,984 72,263 133,493 36,135	\$ 233,489 108,721 96,856 24,967	\$ 1,336,218 612,733 413,749 307,311	\$ 1,146,271 584,908 359,643 343,456
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 165,426	\$ 172,648	\$ 2,085,710	\$ 1,797,597	\$ 418,875	\$ 464,033	\$ 2,670,011	\$ 2,434,278
American Associational Service Agencies Jewish Occupational Council. National Conference of Jewish Communal Service. National Jewish Welfare Board. Synagogue Council of America.	\$ 67,508 7,570 6,305 1,089,510 7,254	\$ 63,705 8,857 6,206 1,107,533 6,379	\$ 41,135 5,795 7,479	\$ 46,508 5,063 3,785	\$ 26,026 1,650 8,315 45,858 7,565	\$ 13,114 1,702 8,103 54,937 12,003	\$ 134,669 9,220 20,415 1,135,368 22,298	\$ 123,327 10,619 19,372 1,162,470 22,167
SUB-TOTAL	\$1,178,147	\$1,192,680	\$ 54,409	\$ 55,356	\$ 89,414	\$ 89,919	\$ 1,321,970	\$ 1,337,955
American Academy for Jewish Research. Bitzaron. Brial Brith National Youth Services Appeal. Conference on Jewish Relations.	\$ 3,630 2,249 426,219 2,274	\$ 3,631 2,800 417,011 2,924	\$ 8,480 5,961 1,238,606	\$ 11,435 7,256 1,233,521 5,891	\$ 4,389 13,932 54,412	2,740 11,625 41,114 6,919	\$ 16,499 22,142 1,719,237e	\$ 17,806 21,681 1,691,646
Dropsie College Histadruth Ivrith Jewish Braille Institute.	34,410 16,208 3,687	37,419 17,170 3,590	59,524 50,593 22,012	64,756 54,706 24,960	35,297 103,965 3,517	25,375 91,226 1,039	129,231 170,766 29,216	127,550 163,102 29,589

TABLE 2 (Continued)

SOURCES, 1953 AND 1952—Continued RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS FROM FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS AND OTHER

	Federations and	Federations and Welfare Funds	Other Con	Other Contributions	Other Income	Income	TOTAL	AL.
	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952
Jewish Chautauqua Society Jewish Publication Society Jewish Packers Seminary Menorah Association National Agricultural College Yiddish Scientific Institute Zionist Organization of Americas	8,014 5,173 2,523 6,351 14,000 14,000	8,595 3,826 14,387 32,098	99,572 21,529 38,953 25,133 31,000 152,963 214,701	93,474 16,181 36,706 32,470 31,000 132,553 120,346	749 222,091 6,080 2,507 197,350 594,359	760 216,155 12,858 2,304 151,975 688,868	108,335 248,793 47,556 33,991 242,350 183,847 809,060	102,829 232,336 53,330 34,774 197,362 164,651 809,214
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 555,622	\$ 543,451	\$ 1,974,005	\$ 1,865,255	\$1,260,178	\$1,252,958	\$ 3,789,805	\$ 3,661,664
Beth Jacob Tracters' Seminary Beth Jacob Tracters' Seminary Beth Joseph Rabbinical Seminary Chachmay Lublin Theological Seminary Chachmay Lublin Theological Seminary Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religioni Union of American Hebrew Congregational Jewish Theological Seminary Mirrary Rabinical Seminary Mirrary Sehiva Central Institute Mirrary Rabbinical Seminary of America Rabbinical Seminary of America Teishe Rabbinical College Medit Tiferth Jerusalem Torah Uncorah Torah Uncorah Torah Vodaath, Xeshiva Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations	\$ 2,372 2,572 2,572 6,5629 6,5629 120,300 1,7,411 1,7,411 1,7,482 3,545 3,545 3,545 3,157 2,915	\$ 4,800 2,557 7,955 7,955 7,1968 71,968 71,968 71,968 11,299 17,300 17,300 17,300 10,791 10,791 10,791 10,791 10,791 10,791 10,791 10,791	\$ 241,917 52,933 11,8,658 11,8,658 11,07,290 11,07,708 23,6,53 157,708 1175,408 1175	\$ 246,223 59,005 59,005 121,793 517,793 611,236 1,100,250 137,938 141,335 101,538 101,	\$ 62,469 66,628 70,773 59,515 28,006 28,006 28,006 28,006 31,006 31,001 22,636 4,932 4,932 114,715 171,513	\$ 51,393 5,588 55,590 55,590 224,091 227,792 227,792 23,772 23,772 24,543 4,543 15,744 4,543 15,744 4,543 15,744 17,744 4,543 17,744 17	\$ 304,386 75,306 75,306 196,271 196,271 199,164 99,164 1501 144,820 164,820 164,820 164,782 167,620 168,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 185,601 1,329,025	\$ 302,416 11,662 185,346 185,336 977,295 1723,957 1,480,376 161,698 45,878 161,698 177,882 177
SUB-TOTAL.	\$ 459,194	\$ 512,852	\$ 5,341,957	\$ 5,173,524	\$1,908,415	\$1,630,025	\$ 7,709,566	\$ 7,316,401
TOTAL DOMESTIC.	\$5,096,817	\$5,077,878	\$11,826,446	\$11,259,807	\$4,288,811	\$4,054,629	\$21,212,074	\$20,392,314

a Only non-JDA income included on this line.

b Excludes overseas income of World Jewish Congress.

• Excludes "other income" of NCRAC obtained from national agencies, to avoid

double counting.

d Excludes National Jewish Hospital and Ex-Patients Tubercular Home; data not available.

• Excludes grants of \$200,000 each year from the Anti-Defamation League.

t Records do not indicate what part of the total contributions came from welfare

funds.

The ZOA has shifted its fiscal year so that the 1952 figures cover only 11 months.

The ZOA has shifted its fiscal year so that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations by The Hebrew Union College and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations ran a joint campaign which they shared equally; each also had an independent

THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL 1

DURING THE year under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954), the United States policy in the Middle East seemed to be moving in the direction of favoring the Arab countries over Israel, despite the avowed policy of impartiality and strict neutrality toward both Israel and the Arab bloc enunciated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in his report to the nation on June 1, 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 110-11). Critics of American policy as regards the State of Israel pointed to United States action in three areas as evidence of this alleged favoring of the Arab states: border disputes between Israel and certain of the Arab states; military aid; and economic aid.

Border Disputes

On September 2, 1953, Israel began operations on a canal for the diversion of waters from the Jordan River between Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee in connection with a projected hydroelectric power station. Following an investigation of a Syrian complaint about the project, Maj. Gen. Vagn Bennike, then chief of staff of the United Nations (UN) Mixed Armistice Commission, on September 23 asked Israel to stop work until a settlement had been reached between Israel and Syria.

General Bennike's request was supported by the United States, which on September 26 urged Israel to halt the canal operations. Israel, however, refused to comply with Bennike's request, agreeing only to call a temporary halt of work while the project was under review. Hence, Dulles announced on October 20 that the United States had, since September 25, been withholding an allocation of Mutual Security Program funds to Israel. On October 23, Dulles explained that the funds had been withheld "because it seemed to us that the State of Israel should respect General Bennike's decision, and that as long as the State of Israel was acting in defiance of the decision, it was questionable at least as to whether we should make the allocation."

On October 27, however, Israel Ambassador Abba Eban announced in the UN Security Council that Israel was agreeing to a temporary suspension of the project. The next day, when the work was halted, Secretary Dulles recommended to President Dwight D. Eisenhower that a grant of \$26,250,000 in economic aid be made for the first six months of the current fiscal year, on the ground that the policy of the United States to support the UN Truce Supervision Organization in this matter had been realized "and the impediment to the present grant of economic aid to Israel" had been removed.

KIBYA AFFAIR

While the Israel-Syrian dispute was still under consideration, the Israel raid on the Jordan village of Kibya on October 14-15, 1953, provoked a

¹ See also pp. 472-77.

new controversy. According to the Mixed Armistice Commission, some 250 Israel soldiers attacked the village in a retaliatory action for the murder of three Israelis by Arab marauders some days earlier. In his report to the Security Council on October 27, Major General Bennike said that fifty-three Arab men, women, and children were killed in Kibya and more than forty buildings were destroyed.

The Kibya raid was considered by the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and France at their conference in London on October 16-18; in their final communiqué, the ministers "noted with grave concern the recent incidents culminating in Israeli armed action"; recalling the Tripartite Declaration of May 25, 1950, they "requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the tension between Israel and the neighboring Arab States."

The United States Department of State on October 18 issued the following statement on Kibya:

The United States Government has the deepest sympathy for the families of those who lost their lives in and near Kibya during the recent attack by Israeli forces. The shocking reports which have reached the Department of State of the loss of lives and property involved in this incident convince us that those who are responsible should be brought to account and that effective measures should be taken to prevent such incidents in the future.

The United States Government has been increasingly concerned at the mounting tension along the frontier between Israel and the neighboring Arab States. It is for this reason that it initiated the recommendation and subsequently, in concert with the British and French Governments, decided to request the Security Council to consider, at the earliest possible date, the situation on the frontiers, to include a direct report by Gen. Vagn Bennike, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

On November 18, the United States, Great Britain, and France circulated a draft resolution which expressed their "strongest censure" of the Israel action and called upon Israel "to take effective measures to prevent all such actions in the future." This resolution, somewhat modified by the addition of a paragraph requesting the chief of staff to report to the UN Security Council within three months, was approved on November 24 by a vote of 9–0, with Lebanon and Russia abstaining.

PUBLIC REACTION

Since the withholding of American funds from Israel coincided with the report of the Kibya raid, both events were associated in the expression of views. Though the general press was in the main critical of Israel because of the Kibya raid, a survey of 162 editorials appearing in 132 newspapers published in 99 cities in the United States during this period showed that despite the Kibya incident, 46 per cent of these editorials were generally favorable, 14 per cent were unfavorable, and 40 per cent were neutral. While condemning the Kibya raid, leading daily newspapers like the Wash-

ington Post, The New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Milwaukee Journal, and the Kansas City Star declared that the basic cause of border violence that had led to incidents like that of Kibya stemmed "from the unwillingness of the Arab States to recognize Israel as a permanent fact in the Near East." Most newspapers hailed Israel's temporary cessation of the canal project and the subsequent release to Israel of U.S. funds. A similar group of daily newspapers, the weekly Time, the nondenominational Protestant weekly Christian Century, and some Catholic publications were outspokenly critical of Israel; Time (October 26, 1953) declared that Israel had "made peace harder than ever to attain," because of its defiance of the UN and the slaughter in Kibya.

Both the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Christian Palestine Committee criticized the State Department for withholding aid from Israel because of the dispute with Syria. Jewish organizations took a similar position. The American Jewish Committee, at its executive committee meeting on October 25, 1953, adopted a resolution condemning the Kibya raid, calling for UN action to compel compliance with the armistice agreements, and expressing concern about the withholding of aid. Similar views were expressed by the National Council of Jewish Women and the New York Board of Rabbis. Statements more critical of American policy were adopted by Zionist or pro-Zionist organizations. The American Jewish Congress charged on October 22, 1953, that the "temperamental vindictiveness" of the withholding of American aid gave rise to "fears that the traditional friendship of the American people for Israel is being turned into an official policy of open hostility." The National Zionist Administrative Council, at an extraordinary session on October 25, condemned the withholding of aid as a "hasty and unfair action." However, the American Council for Judaism, in a letter to Secretary Dulles on October 20, approved the State Department's condemnation of the Kibya raid and the withholding of aid as a means of enforcing the UN recommendation.

The announcement of resumption of American aid to Israel on October 28 was praised by several Zionist organizations. The ZOA issued a statement October 29 welcoming this announcement and expressing the hope that the United States would exert every effort toward the establishment of peace between Israel and the Arab states. A similar message was sent to President Eisenhower on October 28 by the American Zionist Council.

While the three-power draft resolution condemning Israel for the Kibya raid was under discussion in the Security Council, it was criticized by the American Zionist Council, the ZOA, the Labor Zionist Organization, Hadassah—the Women's Zionist Organization of America, the Mizrachi Organization of America, and the Jewish War Veterans. The CIO, meeting in convention on November 19, 1953, adopted a resolution calling on the United States to pursue a policy leading toward peace in the Middle East "without impairing the legitimate rights of the countries concerned." "Such peace," the resolution added, "must be based upon the recognition by the Arab states of the existence of the State of Israel."

OTHER INCIDENTS

When, on March 17, 1954, eleven Israelis were killed in an ambush of a bus in Scorpion Pass in the Negev, the problems of border tension between Israel and its neighboring states reached new intensity. The failure of the UN Mixed Armistice Commission to censure Jordan for this attack, despite Israel's insistence, exacerbated the situation.

But on March 28, 1954, a group of "military-trained Israelis" attacked the Jordanian village of Nahhalin, killing nine persons and wounding nineteen. In Israel's absence, the Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Israel for this attack. On April 8, the United States, French, and British representatives to the Security Council requested a review of the entire frontier situation. General debate began on May 6, continued until May 12, and was not again resumed.

PROPOSALS FOR PEACE TALKS

The continuous border warfare and the constant threat of open warfare commanded the interest of many Americans and led to the formulation of many proposals for the establishment of permanent peace between Israel and the Arab states. The National Lutheran Council, at its meeting on February 3, 1954, unanimously adopted a resolution which urged the UN General Assembly to issue a "new appeal" for Arab-Israel talks that would lead to peace: "No peace can be found apart from such direct conversations." A similar position was taken at the national conference of the American Christian Palestine Committee in a resolution on February 16, 1954, which supported "our government in its efforts to persuade the Arab States to accept Israel as a free and sovereign nation within the Near East context," and which commended Secretary Dulles "for forthrightly supporting direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan."

The national administrative council of the Zionist Organization of America, meeting in New York on March 21, 1954, called upon the State Department to play a "more constructive role" by concentrating on the fundamental problems of peace. In a message to Secretary Dulles, the American Jewish Committee on April 5, 1954, urged the adoption of a four-point program for peace and stability in the Middle East: the continuation of economic aid to all nations in the Middle East; the recognition that "no military aid should now be given to any nation in this troubled area since armaments can only aggravate the present instability"; the strengthening of the United Nations truce machinery; and the strengthening and expanding, with the cooperation of Great Britain and France, of the guarantees of the Tripartite Declaration of 1950.

A more ambitious program for peace in the Middle East was submitted to President Eisenhower and UN Secretary Dag Hammarskjold on April 16, 1954, by a group of nineteen religious and civic leaders. Entitled Security and the Middle East: The Problem and its Solution, this document proposed that the United States help in the establishment of a huge Middle Eastern development fund, on condition that the Arab nations make peace with Israel and absorb into their own economies the 800,000 Arab refugees.

At its national administrative committee meeting on May 22-23, 1954, the American Jewish Congress adopted a statement "On American Policy in the Middle East," and proposed a three-point program: the initiation of direct peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab states; the ending of Arab economic boycotts and blockades against Israel; and the launching of international projects for the fullest utilization of the resources of the region for the benefit of all peoples in the Near and Middle East. A similar proposal was made at the meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis on June 26, 1954.

UNITED STATES POSITION

The deteriorating border situation between Israel and the Arab states during this period was of continuing concern to the State Department and the United States delegation to the UN. On April 8, 1954, Ambassador Lodge, speaking in the Security Council on the Israel-Jordan border situation, said: "Let me make clear at once that the United States is seriously concerned when any government-especially any member of the United Nations bound by agreement approved by the Security Council and by her obligations under the charter-presumes to take the law into her own hands in a policy of reprisal and retaliation. We made this perfectly clear at the time that we discussed the Kibya incident in this Council, and I wish to state now that we continue to hold this view. This repeated resort to this policy of reprisal and retaliation must stop." Since Jordan was not a member of the UN, it was obvious that Ambassador Lodge was addressing his warning primarily to Israel. A more impartial tone was taken by the State Department on April 13, when it released a statement of the "views of our Government" with respect to the Israel-Arab border situation and the impending discussion in the UN: "All of our efforts are directed to the ultimate goal of a peaceful adjustment of the relations between the Arab states and Israel. Before the goal is reached, both Israel and the Arab states will have to modify their present attitudes." The State Department spokesman went on to say: "The first step forward should be the renunciation of force as a means to attain political objectives, and the substitution of cooperation by the parties among themselves and with the United Nations truce-supervision organization."

On May 14, 1954, at the end of a four-day conference between American ambassadors to thirteen Middle East countries and State Department officials held in Istanbul, strong support emerged for a joint United States-British-French declaration that these countries would use force to prevent aggression by either Israel or her Arab neighbors. It was felt that such a pronouncement would reaffirm the frontier guarantees of the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 and carry them a step further. However, no formal recommendation to

this effect was made.

BYROADE SPEECHES

None of these pronouncements, however, aroused the same interest and reaction as did two speeches made by Henry Byroade, Assistant Secretary of

State for the Near East and Africa. Speaking before the Dayton World Affairs Council, in Dayton, Ohio, on April 9, 1954, on "The Middle East in New Perspective," Byroade discussed in some detail the conflicting claims of the Arabs and the Israelis. He enunciated the United States attitude in the following paragraphs:

To the Israelis I say that you should come to truly look upon yourselves as a Middle Eastern State and see your own future in that context rather than as a headquarters, or a nucleus so to speak, of world-wide groupings of peoples of a particular religious faith who must have special rights within and obligations to the Israeli state. You should drop the attitude of the conqueror and the conviction that force and a policy of retaliatory killings is the only policy that your neighbors will understand. You should make your deeds correspond to your frequent utterance of the desire for peace.

To the Arabs I say you should accept this State of Israel as an accomplished fact. I say further that you are deliberately attempting to maintain a state of affairs delicately suspended between peace and war, while at present desiring neither. This is a most dangerous policy and one which world opinion will increasingly condemn if you continue to resist any move to obtain at least a less dangerous modus vivendi with your neighbor.

In a second address, on May 1, 1954, at the annual meeting of the American Council for Judaism, Byroade referred to his Dayton address, at times reinforcing and at other times modifying his previous statements. With regard to the above-quoted paragraph dealing with Israel, Byroade said that this first sentence had been interpreted by some "as an intrusion into religious matters, improper for a governmental official." He explained that he had not referred to or cast aspersions upon "the natural feeling of affinity one feels for a brother of his own religious faith, wherever he may be," adding that "the principles of the United States on matters of religious freedom are so well-known that this assertion of mine should need no expansion." Nor had he referred to "proper philanthropic support-in its broadest sense-by American citizens of Jewish faith in the economic development necessary to achieve a reasonable standard of living of Israel's people-nor to support of religious, educational and cultural enterprises in Israel." He continued: "There is no divergence between our Government and American citizens of the Jewish faith who are interested in the development and welfare of the State of Israel." What he had referred to, said Byroade, and what was a matter of "grave concern" was the question of immigration into Israel and the continued emanation from Israel of statements calling for greatly expanded immigration. It was the Arab fear that these urgings "in terms of extra millions" would be heeded that Byroade felt Israel should find some way to lay at rest.

On May 5, 1954, following Israel Ambassador Abba Eban's visit to Byroade to protest his speech of May 1, the State Department released a statement summarizing Byroade's reply to Eban's objections. Byroade said he regretted that the Israel Government had interpreted his remarks on the subject of immigration as "intervention in Israel's internal affairs." It seemed to him

that the Israel government "had overlooked the basic point in that portion of the speech, which was that the Arab world does have a fear of Israeli expansion." Byroade further pointed out that he himself had not specified the course of action Israel might choose to lay at rest the Arab fear of an expansionist Israel. He hoped that the Israel government would give serious attention to finding a solution to the problem raised.

Byroade's speech of May I aroused considerable criticism from Zionist groups. The American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs issued a statement on May 9, 1954, charging that the State Department had adopted "a new and obviously partisan policy in the Middle East by exerting pressure on Israel to offer concessions to the Arab states on the assumption that peace may be purchased." On the same day, Rabbi James G. Heller, president of the Labor Zionist Organization of America, addressed a meeting in New York City and charged the State Department with "unclarity and misrepresentations."

At the fifty-seventh annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, June 28-26, 1954, Byroade's views were severely criticized by several speakers. Emanuel Neumann declared that "Byroadeism is the very antithesis of Zionism," and that "it strikes at the very core and heart of our Zionist conception." Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver spoke of the "one or two officials in the Near East Division of our State Department" who had been "echoing" the views of anti-Israel forces. Rabbi Silver declared: "I do not believe that these officials represent the true sentiment of the leaders of our Govrnment who have time and time again given expression of their deep and sympathetic interest for the security and prosperity of Israel."

Military Aid to the Middle East

After the several failures of the United States and Great Britain to interest the countries of the Middle East in a regional security program, a new approach to this problem was described by Secretary of State Dulles in his report to the nation on June 1, 1953. Secretary Dulles said that "while awaiting the formal creation of a security association, the United States can usefully help strengthen the interrelated defense of those countries which want strength, not as against each other or the West, but to resist the common threat." He particularly referred to the northern tier of nations in the Middle East as showing awareness of the Communist danger.

That the United States was moving in a new direction became evident when The New York Times printed on November 2, 1953, a dispatch from its Karachi correspondent about impending formal discussions between the United States and Pakistan on a military alliance. At the same time, Pakistan and Turkey were discussing closer collaboration with each other, presumably with the support of the United States. A period of about four months of speculation on American plans for military assistance to various Middle East countries ensued. On February 26, 1954, President Eisenhower released a statement announcing that the United States would comply with Pakistan's request for military assistance. The President also stated that on February 19,

Turkey and Pakistan had "announced their intention to study methods of closer collaboration." (A Turkish-Pakistani mutual defense treaty was signed on April 2, 1954, and ratified on June 12.) President Eisenhower's statement also contained a guarantee that if American military assistance to any country, including Pakistan, "is misused and directed against another in aggression," the United States would immediately take appropriate action "to thwart such aggression." On May 10, a United States-Pakistan military assistance pact was signed in Karachi.

On April 26, 1954, the State Department released a statement that the United States had reached an understanding with the government of Iraq, expressed in an exchange of notes in Baghdad on April 21, granting Iraq's request of March 1953 for military assistance. The exchange of notes included a provision that assistance will be "related in character, timing and amount to international developments in the area." The State Department release also referred to President Eisenhower's statement on the agreement with Pakistan as giving general background on American policy with respect to military assistance to Middle East countries, presumably underscoring the American guarantee that such military aid was not to be used for aggressive purposes.

Apprehensions among Americans that military assistance to the Arab countries for defensive purposes might be used aggressively against the State of Israel were heightened by the report in The New York Times of January 10, 1954, that King Saud of Saudi Arabia had urged the sacrifice of 10,000,000 Arabs to "uproot" the "cancer" of Israel. It was further argued that the instability of the several Arab governments, their neutralism in the cold war, and their single-minded hostility toward Israel militated against their receiving American military assistance. Thus, a study by the Brookings Institute, entitled Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy 1954, declared that "the Arab quarrel with Israel makes the arming of the Arab states a dangerous project, since it could lead, not to improved regional defense, but to an attack on Israel." The American Association for the United Nations, at a meeting on March 2, 1954, adopted a resolution which stated: "Pending a peace settlement [between Israel and the Arab states], we believe that the supply of arms in this region is ill-advised, and dangerous and inimical to a peace settlement."

On February 7, 1954, six Senators and twenty-nine Representatives 1 wrote to Secretary Dulles, requesting a meeting to discuss their "grave concern" over a program of providing military assistance to the Arab countries. They

¹The signatories were: Senators J. Glenn Beall (Rep., Md.); Paul H. Douglas (Dem., Ill.); Hubert H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.); Irving M. Ives (Rep., N. Y.); Herbert H. Lehman (Dem., N. Y.); and James E. Murray (Dem., Mont.); Representatives James C. Auchineloss (Rep., N. J.); George H. Bender (Rep., Ohio); Richard Bolling (Dem., Mo.); Emanuel Celler (Dem., N. Y.); Robert J. Corbett (Rep., Pa.); Albert W. Cretella (Rep., Conn.); John D. Dingell (Dem., Mich.); Isidore Dollinger (Dem., N. Y.); Sidney A. Fine (Dem., N. Y.); Samuel N. Friedel (Dem., Md.); James G. Fulton (Rep., Penn.); Louis B. Heller (Dem., N. Y.); Ester Holtzman (Dem., N. Y.); Charles R. Howell (Dem., N. J.); Jacob K. Javits (Rep., N. Y.); Robert W. Kean (Rep., N. J.); Kenneth B. Keating (Rep., N. Y.); Eugene J. Keogh (Dem., N. Y.); Arthur G. Klein (Dem., N. Y.); Bart (Dem., Il.); Harold C. Ostertag (Rep., N. Y.); George M. Rhodes (Dem., Penn.); Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (Dem., N. J.); Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (Dem., N. Y.); Hugh D Scott, Jr. (Rep., Penn.); and Thor C. Tollefson (Rep., Wash.).

expressed the fear that "stability and unity in this critical and strategic Near East area may be jeopardized rather than advanced by inaugurating major programs of military assistance to any of the Near East Arab states."

The following day, a State Department spokesman replied that the United States was playing no favorites in the issuance of arms export licenses to Israel and the Arab states, and that United States policy on supplying arms to the Middle East had been laid down in the Tripartite Declaration of May 25, 1950. This declaration recognized the need of Israel and the Arab states to maintain armed forces for internal security and national defense; it also specified that countries purchasing arms would be required to give assurances that such arms would not be used to undertake any act of aggression against any other state.

In answer to the request of the Congressmen, Walter Bedell Smith, then Acting Secretary of State, together with Assistant Secretary of State Henry A. Byroade, met with them on March 3. A letter written by Smith on March 8 and sent to those who had signed the letter of February 7 summarized the main points of this meeting. This letter quoted extensively from the Tripartite Declaration and reaffirmed that "any military aid which the United States may consider extending to states in this area will not shift the balance of strength so as to imperil the existence of any one nation." The letter also reaffirmed United States friendship for Israel and its equal friendship for every other state in this area.

Notwithstanding these repeated assurances, protests against arming the Arab states continued to be made. On February 23, 1954, Matthew Woll, chairman of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) International Labor Relations and Free Trade Unions Committee, wrote Secretary Dulles that United States arms to Iraq would "incite violent disorder and increase the likelihood of the resumption of military hostilities in the Near East—specifically against the Republic of Israel." GIO president Walter Reuther wrote that arms to the Arabs would probably be used "for internal aggression within the Near East."

At its annual meeting in New York January 29-31, 1954, the American Jewish Committee adopted a resolution (by a divided vote, 73-24) which declared that "to grant arms to any nation" in the Near East "which has not shown a genuine desire to live at peace with its neighbors" would defeat the American interest for peace and stability in the Near East. The American Jewish Congress and the B'nai B'rith issued statements on January 24 opposing the proposed arms shipments to the Arab states. Some of these protests provided the basis for a letter to Assistant Secretary of State Henry A. Byroade written on January 26, 1954, by Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism. Rosenwald expressed confidence that the American government would abide by the Tripartite Declaration and questioned whether "certain leaders of Jewish organizations who have presumed to advise on this question of United States military assistance for Middle Eastern States have the competence to formulate a decision in terms of the full complexity of American responsibilities in the area."

Additional protests followed publication of the United States agreement to

ship arms to Iraq in April. On April 29, 1954, representatives of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs called on Assistant Secretary Byroade to urge the State Department to reconsider its attitude. On June 22, 1954, in a statement forwarded to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, the National Council of Jewish Women expressed "considerable concern" at the decision to furnish arms to Iraq, pointing out that "the Arab states as a whole have not displayed any sincere desire to join in the collective defense of the free world."

On June 28, 1954, the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, the Senate concurring, adopted a resolution which asked that, pending the outcome of peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, the United States "refrain from furnishing armaments of any nature either to the State of Israel or to the Arab States."

Arab Refugees

In October 1953 a group of thirty-five educators, church leaders, and public figures submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations a twenty-five page memorandum, entitled The Arab Refugee Problem: How It Can Be Solved. The group urged the adoption of a three-point program: (1) the initiation of a six-year program at a cost of \$800,000,000 to resettle the Arab refugees on a permanent basis in Arab lands capable of receiving them; (2) the establishment of a resettlement fund, to which Israel should be requested to make a "fair contribution"; and (3) the establishment of a Resources Development Commission under UN auspices to carry out a six-year program for the development of the natural resources of the Middle East. As a sine qua non of this program, the memorandum proposed that the UN call upon the Arab states and Israel to negotiate their differences and to conclude a peace settlement.

The Special Refugee Survey Commission to the Near East was appointed in October 1953 by Harold E. Stassen, director of the Foreign Operations Administration, in consultation with the Secretary of State. Its members were Edwin L. Mechem, Governor of New Mexico (chairman); P. Kenneth Peterson, member of the Council of State Governments; and James L. Fieser, former vice chairman and general manager of the American Red Cross. It was originally conceived that the commission would visit the Middle East, but this field survey was indefinitely postponed by Stassen. In lieu of a field survey, the commission consulted with Israel, Arab, and UN representatives in the United States, with members of Congress who had recently visited the Middle East, and with officials of nongovernmental agencies operating in the Middle East area. On December 11, 1953, the commission issued an interim report. The commission urged support of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) until June 30, 1955. (The United States representative to the UN voted in favor of this resolution, which was passed by the General Assembly on November 27, 1953.) It regarded a "permanent and practical plan of development" as the answer to the economic side of the refugee problem. While economic development would make peace more possible, the commission felt the economic solution was not a complete answer to the problem: "The Commission sees no permanent solution to the refugee problem until there is a more favorable political atmosphere leading to a workable peace established between the Arab States and Israel." The commission urged the United States to do all within its power to accomplish this end, and "to show our intention to be impartial and consistent."

A Special Study Mission to the Near East, consisting of Reps. Lawrence H. Smith (Rep., Wisc.), chairman, and Winston L. Prouty (Rep., Vt.), on February 8, 1954, submitted to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs a report of their visit to the Middle East from September 27 to November 2, 1953. With regard to the Arab refugees, the study mission recommended: (1) that proposals for action concerning the refugees should be accompanied by proposals for action regarding other phases of Arab-Israel relations, as an inducement to the Arabs to work out a solution; (2) that the status of the refugees as wards of the UN should be ended, thereby facilitating the process of resettlement, and that the United States should give help to the host countries toward this end; (3) that the administration of the refugee camps and of refugee aid should be turned over to the Arab states; and (4) that Israel should pay compensation to the Arab refugees for immovable property, possibly through some funding arrangement because of Israel's limited resources.

On the problem of improving Arab-Israel relations, the study mission recommended: (1) that "the United States should seriously question the advisability of granting aid to nations which do not comply with United Nations decisions or directives"; (2) that "the United States should serve notice that it will not support the return of the Arab refugees to their former homes within the boundaries of Israel under existing conditions"; (3) that the United States should reemphasize the Tripartite Declaration of May 25, 1950; (4) that the United States should press for compensation by Israel to refugees for real and personal property lost; and (5) that the United States should press for the lifting of the Arab blockade of Israel and the Arab boycott of Israel and of United States firms doing business with Israel.

The study mission believed that a regional defense pact should be encouraged by the United States, "only, however, after complete assurance has been given other nations that such forces will be used solely for the purpose of resisting attack." Underscoring the importance of the Middle East for the United States, the report stressed America's humanitarian concern for both the Arab refugees and the State of Israel, declaring "the welfare of the people of Israel is of continuing concern to the United States."

ECONOMIC AID TO REFUGEES

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, the United States contributed \$15.000,000 to the UNRWA, thus making a total of \$128,500,000 which the United States had paid out to this agency. The Mutual Security Act of 1954, passed by Congress August 19, 1954, and signed by President Eisenhower on August 26, provided that the unexpended balance (\$29,100,000) of the fiscal 1954 grant was to be continued available, and that a new appropriation not to exceed \$30,000,000 could be contributed to the UNRWA.

Eric Johnston's Mission

On October 14, 1953, it was announced in Washington that Eric A. Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America and a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, would go to the Middle East as President Eisenhower's personal envoy to undertake discussions regarding mutual development of the Jordan water resources on a regional basis, with the ultimate purpose of providing new homes and economic opportunities for approximately 900,000 Arab refugees. As the basis for discussion, Johnston took with him a project for the control of the Jordan water system which had been prepared by an American engineering firm, under the direction of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), at the request of the UNRWA. In commissioning the report, the UNRWA had asked the TVA "to disregard political boundaries, and to prepare a report indicating the most efficient method of utilizing the whole of the watershed in the best interest of the area."

According to this plan, which was formally submitted to UNRWA on October 19, 1953, some 234,000 acres of land not now irrigated in the watershed (in Israel, Jordan, and Syria) would be made capable of producing crops all year round. Tentative yearly allocations of water were suggested as follows: 426,000,000 cubic meters to irrigate 104,000 acres in Israel; 829,000,000 cubic meters to irrigate 122,500 acres in Jordan; and 50,000,000 cubic meters to water 7,500 acres in Syria.

Johnston visited the governments of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel to discuss the proposed Jordan Valley project, explaining that none of its details were fixed in a rigid pattern or an ironclad plan. He reported on November 17, 1953, to President Eisenhower that the countries he had visited had promised to give the project the "most careful study."

During the ensuing months, both the Arab states, acting as a group, and Israel submitted to the State Department detailed engineering proposals of their own. These proposals, together with those originally put forward by Johnston, formed the basis for a new series of discussions in June 1954 between Johnston and the representatives of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Israel.

On July 6, 1954, the State Department announced that Johnston had informed President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles that Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel had accepted the principle of international sharing of the contested waters of the Jordan River, and that they were prepared to cooperate with the United States government in working out details of a mutually acceptable program for developing the irrigation and power potentials of the river system. Nevertheless, there still remained a number of specific points on which differences had to be reconciled before the project could be realized. The states concerned had, however, requested that the United States continue to exercise its good offices in attempting to reconcile these outstanding differences.

Economic Aid

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1954, the United States had made \$52,500,000 available to Israel under the Mutual Security Program. Over \$32,000,000 was used to finance imports of food, fuel, fertilizer, essential raw materials, and agricultural and industrial machinery. The remainder was used primarily for development projects in agriculture, industry, and mining. In his report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program, submitted August 20, 1954, President Eisenhower pointed to considerable progress toward stabilization of the Israel economy. He reported that as conditions had improved, the mutual security program in Israel had shifted from emergency supply to basic development projects.

Technical cooperation funds programmed for Israel for the fiscal year 1954 amounted to \$1,500,000, the bulk of which was used for projects in agricul-

ture and natural resources.

The Mutual Security Act of 1954 provided for an appropriation of \$115,000,000 "to promote the economic development of the Near East and Africa, and for other types of assistance designed to help maintain economic and political stability in the area." It was believed that Israel's share of these funds would be about \$40,000,000, and that for the first time since Israel began receiving United States grants, Israel would probably receive somewhat less than the combined total for Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt. On May 13, 1954, the United States concluded an economic aid agreement with Jordan, the first negotiated with an Arab government. Though no specific sum was mentioned, informed officials reported that \$8,000,000 had been tentatively allocated for operations, mainly to develop water and irrigation systems.

Organization for Israel

On January 21, 1954, the America-Israel Society was formally established at a Founders' Dinner given by Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland. It was incorporated under the laws of Delaware on March 8, 1954. A nonsectarian, nonpolitical association, the society stated that it "seeks to advance fuller understanding through cultural interchange" between the United States and Israel.

On December 5-7, 1953, the first Zionist Assembly, called by the American Zionist Council, met in New York, representing eight Zionist groups: Hadassah, Hapoel Hamizrachi, the Labor Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi, the Progressive Zionist League-Hashomer Hatzair, the United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion), the Zionist Organization of America, and the Zionist-Revisionists of America. There had been some expectation that this assembly would consider the possibility of reorganizing the American Zionist Council "into a body of American friends of Israel," to include also non-party Zionists and non-Zionist supporters of Israel. This expectation had been based on the statements and resolutions issued over a period of several years by the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organization

directing the Zionist movement to broaden its base by the inclusion of non-Zionists. While the assembly did not propose any such reorganization, it adopted a resolution calling upon Zionist groups "to foster and expand the cooperation already existing between them and non-Zionists on the com-

munity and national levels."

In April 1954 the Jewish Agency for Palestine undertook the task of establishing in the United States a permanent organizational framework for cooperation among Jewish organizations on Israel issues that would embrace both Zionists and non-Zionists. Meetings were held on May 10 and May 19 to discuss the advisability of establishing procedure for regular meetings, for the purpose of consultation and exchange of views on issues related to American Jewry's assistance to Israel. Representatives were present from the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel, the American Jewish Congress, the American Trade Union Council for Labor Israel, the American Zionist Council, B'nai B'rith, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, the United Synagogue of America, and the United Jewish Appeal. The American Jewish Committee resolved not to join this group, but expressed its willingness to meet on an ad hoc basis, and to engage in joint action in areas of agreement, as the occasion warranted.

LUCY DAWIDOWICZ

World Jewish Population

There was no way of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy the number of Jews residing in various countries during 1953-54. This was true not only with respect to Jewish communities behind the Iron Curtain and in faraway countries in Asia and Africa, but also with respect to Jewish communities in the West.

In certain countries, the census, particularly with regard to Jewish population, was not reliable; in others, the official census contained no indication of religious affiliation. To determine the Jewish population in various countries, the author used data obtained by official censuses, local registrations for communal purposes, and figures supplied by responsible local bodies. On the basis of this information he then established conservative estimates, taking into consideration changes resulting from migration.

These estimates have taken natural increase into consideration only to the

degree that such increase was reflected in the source material.

It is estimated that the world Jewish population in 1954 was about 11,866,000, with over 6,000,000, or approximately 51 per cent of the total, residing in North and South America. Europe had some 3,439,000 Jews, or 29 per cent, and the Jewish population in Israel, 1,488,000, represented approximately 12.5 per cent of the total.

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION BY CONTINENTS

Continent	Number	Per Cent
Europe (incl. Asiatic USSR and Turkey) America (North and South)Asia Africa Australia and New Zealand	3,439,650 6,061,730 1,629,240 677,750 58,250	29.0 51.1 13.7 5.7 0.5
Total	11,866,620	100.0

Europe

There were about 3,439,000 Jews in Europe in 1953-54, including an estimated 2,000,000 in the Soviet Union and 433,800 in other countries in the Soviet orbit. There was considerable discussion as to the number of Jews in the Soviet Union, as well as in some of the Soviet satellite countries. The estimates for the Soviet Union varied from 1,700,000 to 2,000,000. Although

there was no way of arriving at a precise figure, the figure of 2,000,000 seemed justified, first because the number of Soviet Jews exterminated under the Nazi regime was uncertain, and second because recent information indicated an increase in Jewish communities in the Asiatic portions of the Soviet Union. Although the estimates of Jewish population in Poland varied from \$5,000 to 72,000, the figure of 45,000 seemed to be borne out by the data on the postwar Jewish community in Poland and figures on migrations which had taken place in recent years (see American Jewish Year Book, 1950 [Vol. 51] and succeeding volumes).

About 950,000 Jews resided in Western Europe and Scandinavia, with England continuing to be the largest Jewish center in Western Europe (450,000),

and France occupying the second place (300,000).

North and South America

There were about 6,000,000 Jews in North and South America. Recent inquiries with regard to the number of Jews in the United States tended to indicate that earlier figures represented somewhat of an underestimate, and that the Jewish population in the United States was over the 5,000,000 mark (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 3 and f; see also p. 171). The figure of 5,200,000 given in this summary is an approximate figure which will have to be checked in the light of further research.

Estimates for the Jewish population in Argentina varied from 340,000 to 400,000. As the available material seemed to be incomplete and fragmentary, until such time as new data indicates the necessity of change, the figure used in this summary will continue to be 360,000. Recent reliable information from Bolivia indicated a considerable decrease in the Jewish population of

that country-from an estimated 4,000 in 1953 to 2,700 in 1954.

Asia and Australia

Of the approximately 1,629,000 Jews in Asia, the largest part, some 1,488,000, resided in Israel. The Jewish population in Iran was 80,000. There were 53,750 Jews in Australia (1953).

There was no mass migration to Israel in the period under review. According to official figures, the total population of Israel as of February 1954 stood at 1,675,644. This number included 1,488,472 Jews and 187,172 others.¹

Africa

No changes were recorded in Africa, where the total Jewish population remained about 677,000. At the time of writing (November 1954), however, a migration of some size was under way from French North Africa, though it was too early to assess its importance.

The largest Jewish population in Africa was in Morocco (255,000), the

second largest in Algeria (140,000).

Outside of the Moslem countries, the only sizable Jewish community was that of the Union of South Africa (110,000).

¹ Statistical Bulletin of Israel, vol. 5, no. 5, May 1954. For a fuller treatment of the Jewish population of Israel, see p. 467.

Countries With Largest Jewish Population

The three largest Jewish communities in 1954 were located, respectively, in the United States, the Soviet Union, and Israel. These three countries together represented over 73 per cent of the total Jewish population of the world. Only six other countries had Jewish populations of 225,000 or more, the range being from 225,000 to 450,000.

With the obvious exception of Israel, the Jewish ratio in every other country was below 5 per cent, in most countries much below that figure. (In some countries the Jewish population was so small as to represent less than 1 per 1,000.) This was a striking phenomenon created in Eastern Europe by the wholesale extermination of Jewish centers by the Nazis (1940–44). Before World War II the Jewish population in Poland had represented about 10 per cent of the total population, in Lithuania about 8 per cent, in Hungary over 5 per cent.

TABLE 2
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN EUROPE, BY COUNTRIES^a

9		DI COUNTRIES	
Country	General Population	Jewish Population	Per Cent
Albania	1,175,000 6,949,000	300	0.0
Belgium.	8,706,000	10,600	0.2
Bulgaria	7,160,000		0.5
Czechoslovakia.	12,340,000	6,500	0.1
Denmark	4,372,000	17,000	0.1
England	50,857,000	6,500	0.1
Finland	4,144,000	450,000	0.9
France	42,800,000	1,800	0.0
Germany	67,032,000	300,000	0.7
Gibraltar	22,500	23,000	0.0
Greece	7,865,000	400	2.8
Hungary	9,600,000	7,000	0.1
Irish Free State	2,942,000	140,000	1.4
Italy	47,021,000	5,400	0.2
Luxembourg.	303,000	34,400	0.1
Netherlands	10,488,000	800	0.3
Norway	3,359,000	25,000	0.2
Poland	24,977,000	1,200	0.0
Portugal	8,621,000	45,000	0.2
Rumania	15,873,000	4,000	0.0
Soviet Union	193,000,000	225,000 2,000,000b	1.4
Spain	28,528,000		1.0
Sweden	7,172,000	3,000	0.0
Switzerland	4,884,000	15,000	0.2
Turkey	22,461,000	21,000	0.4
Yugoslavia	17,004,000	50,000b	0.2
	17,004,000	6,500	0.0
Total	609,655,500	3,439,650	0.6

a Data on general population were taken from the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, published by the Statistical Office of the United Nations, July 1954, Vol. 8, No. 7, United Nations, New York. They represent census figures or available estimates, mostly for 1952 and 1953. Where necessary, use was also made of other sources, including local publications.

b Including Asiatic regions of the USSR and Turkey.

TABLE 3

Estimated Jewish Population in North and South America, by Countries*

Country	General Population	Jewish Population	Per Cent
CanadaUnited States	14,781,000 159,629,000	230,000 5,200,000	1.6 3.3
Total North America	174,410,000	5,430,000	3.1
Argentina Bolivia Brazil Chile Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Curacao Dominican Republic Dutch Guiana British Guiana Ecuador El Salvador Guatemala Haiti Honduras Jamaica Mexico Nicaragua Panama Paraguay Peru Trinidad Uruguay	2,054,000 3,048,000 3,112,000 1,557,000 1,457,000 28,053,000 1,166,000 864,000 1,464,000 9,035,000 678,000 2,525,000	360,000 2,700 120,000 40,000 9,000 1,500 11,000 600 1,000 130 2,000 200 1,500 2,200 25,000 150 2,500 3,000 3,000 40,000 5,000	2.0 0.1 0.2 0.7 0.1 0.2 0.7 0.0 0.4 0.0 0.1 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0
Venezuela		631,730	0.4
GRAND TOTAL		6,061,730	1.8

^{*} See footnote (a) Table 2.

TABLE 4
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN ASIA, BY COUNTRIES^a

Country	General Population	Jewish Population	Per Cent
Aden	730,000	800	0.1
Afghanistan	12,000,000	4,000	0.0
Burma	16,823,000	1,500	0.0
Cyprus	506,000	170	0.0
China	463,493,000	4,000	0.0
Indonesia	78,163,000	1,200	0.0
French Indo-China	27,030,000	1,500	0.0
India	367,000,000	25,000	0.0
Iran	19,519,000	80,000	0.4
Iraq	5,100,000	6,000	0.1
Israel	1,675,640	1,488,470	89.0
apan	86,700,000	2,200	0.0
Lebanon	1,320,000	6,000	0.5
Pakistan	75,842,000	400	0.0
Philippines	21,023,000	700	0.0
Singapore	1,080,000	800	0.1
Syria	3,535,000	3,000	0.1
Yemen	3,500,000	3,500	0.1
TOTAL	1,185,039,640	1,629,240	0.1

^{*} See footnote (a) Table 2.

TABLE 5
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN AFRICA, BY COUNTRIES^a

Country	General Population	Jewish Population	Per Cent
Abyssinia	15,000,000	12,000	0.1
Algeria	9,367,000	140,000	1.5
Belgian Congo	11,700,000	2,000	0.0
Egypt	21,741,000	40,000	0.2
Kenya	5,851,000	1,000	0.0
Libya	1,072,000	3,750	0.3
Morocco (including Tangiers)	9,591,000	255,000	2.7
Northern Rhodesia	1,700,000	1,000	0.1
Southern Rhodesia	2,158,000	8,000	0.4
Tunisia	3,231,000	105,000	3.2
Union of South Africa	13,153,000	110,000	1.0
Total	94,564,000	677,750	0.7

^{*} See footnote (a) Table 2.

TABLE 6

ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND^a

Country	General Population	Jewish Population	Per Cent
Australia		53,750 4,500	0.6 0.2
Total	10,876,000	58,250	0.5

See footnote (a) Table 2.

TABLE 7

Countries With Largest Jewish Population

Country	Jewish Population
United States	5,200,000
Soviet Union	2,000,000
Israel	1,488,470
England	450,000
Argentina	360,000
France	300,000
Morocco	255,000
Canada	230,000
Rumania	225,000

TABLE 8
ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN SELECTED CITIES®

ODELGEED CITIES	
City	Jewish Population
Amsterdam	14,000
Antwerp	12,000
Athens	4,000
Belgrade	3,000
Berlin	6,000
Bordeaux	5,000
Bombay	15,000
Brussels	20,000
Cairo	20,000
Casablanca	65,000
Florence	1,500
Haifa	154,000
Istanbul	38,000
Jerusalem	143,000
Johannesburg	50,000
La Paz	3,500
London (Greater)	280,000
Marrakech	18,500
Melbourne	25,000
Milan	6,000
Montreal	92,000
Paris	175,000
Rio de Janeiro	45,000
Rome	12,000
São Paulo	40,000
Sydney	22,000
Teheran	30,000
Tel Aviv	350,000
Loronto	74,500
I rieste	1,500
Turin	2,700
Vienna	10,600
Warsaw	5,000

a Mostly for 1952-1953.

LEON SHAPIRO

Canada

The Period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) was marked by steady growth and consolidation. Canada's total population for the first time passed 15,000,000. The one-millionth immigrant since the end of World War II set foot on its soil. There were no political changes, federal or provincial, during the year. Large-scale development continued in mining, hydro-electric power, transcontinental oil, and natural gas pipe lines. All obstacles to the St. Lawrence Seaway project were at last removed. But there were difficulties in marketing Canada's enormous accumulated surplus of grain and its expanded industrial production in a world short of dollar exchange.

Jewish Population

In 1954 the Jewish population of Canada was estimated at 230,000, of whom 92,000 lived in Montreal and 74,500 in Toronto.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

Table 1 shows the percentage age distribution of the Jewish and total population of Canada by quinquennial age groups in 1931, 1941, and 1951. From the actual census statistics it is evident that in Canada the percentage of the population which was within the school-age group between five and fourteen years of age was lower among Jews than among the total population of all origins. Hence, an estimate of the Jewish population in Canada calculated on the Yom Kippur method—based on the assumption that children of school age form the same percentage of the population among Jews as among non-Jews—would have resulted in an underestimate of the Jewish population in Canada by 8.0 per cent in 1931, 30.2 per cent in 1941, and 26.5 per cent in 1951.

MARITAL STATUS

The proportion of the Jewish population of Canada that was married had increased from 41.26 per cent in 1931 to 48.32 per cent in 1941 and 53.23 per cent in 1951. For the Canadian population as a whole, the figures were 38.27 per cent in 1931, 40.45 per cent in 1941, and 44.69 per cent in 1951.

TABLE 1

Comparative Percentage Age Distribution of Total and Jewish Population of Canada by Quinquennial Age Groups, 1931, 1941 and 1951

	19	937	19	041	19	251
Age Group	Per Cent All Origins	Per Cent Jews	Per Cent All Origins	Per Cent Jews	Per Cent All Origins	Per Cent Jews
0- 4 yrs. 5- 9 10-14 15-19 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49 55-59 60-64 65-69 70-74 75-79 80-84 85-89 90 plus	10.36 10.93 10.36 10.02 8.78 7.58 6.83 6.64 6.23 5.64 4.71 3.54 2.84 2.23 1.65 0.95 0.47 0.18	7.56 9.36 10.35 12.69 12.48 8.89 7.26 7.23 6.53 5.79 4.33 2.89 2.02 1.32 0.85 0.28 0.11 0.04 0.02	9.14 9.08 9.66 9.73 8.97 8.44 7.33 6.60 5.88 5.52 5.14 4.40 3.54 2.67 1.80 1.18 0.62 0.24 0.06	6.53 6.71 7.69 8.97 9.41 10.88 10.04 8.19 7.06 6.39 5.68 4.51 3.27 2.19 1.43 0.67 0.27 0.09	12.29 9.98 8.07 7.55 7.77 8.07 7.48 7.13 6.19 5.32 4.73 4.07 3.61 3.09 2.25 1.34 0.69 0.28 0.09	10.63 8.45 5.82 5.67 6.62 8.15 8.53 9.80 9.09 6.72 5.98 4.17 3.76 3.03 2.14 0.94 0.40 0.14
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 2

Percentage Distribution of Jewish Population
of Canada by Country of Birth in 1931, 1941 and 1951

Place of Birth	Percentage		
	1931	1941	1951
Canada. Other British Countries. United States. Europe.	43.85 2.64 2.77 50.74	51.04 2.44 2.57 43.95	57.26 2.51 2.48 37.75
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Of the total Jewish population of 204,836 in 1951, 117,289 were born in Canada. Of the immigrants, 42.7 per cent came to Canada prior to 1921.

Although the Jewish population had increased by 12.8 per cent by immigration since 1946, the percentage of Canadian-born among the Jewish population had risen from 51.04 per cent in 1941 to 57.26 per cent in 1951.

CITIZENSHIP

Three-fourths of all foreign-born Jews in Canada in 1951 had become naturalized Canadian citizens. Of those Jewish immigrants who had been resident in Canada for the minimum five-year period required for naturalization, 96.67 per cent had become citizens by 1951, as compared with only 66.55 per cent of non-British and non-Jewish immigrants with five years of residence.

FAMILY SIZE

The average size of the Jewish family in Canada in 1951 was 3.2 persons as compared with 3.6 persons in 1941. For the Canadian population as a whole, the average family size was 3.7 in 1951 and 3.9 in 1941. Average Jewish family size was the smallest of any among the eight largest ethnic groups in Canada.

LANGUAGE SPOKEN

The proportion of Canadian Jews able to speak English in 1951 was 96.6 per cent. Among the total population of non-British and non-French ancestry, 93.7 per cent could speak English in 1951. Canada was officially a bilingual country, but few Canadians not of French origin—unless they lived in the Province of Quebec—were able to carry on a conversation in French. Since, in 1951, 40 per cent of the Jewish population of Canada in 1951 lived in Quebec, which was predominantly French in language and culture, many of them were able to speak both English and French. In 1951, 15.9 per cent of Canadian Jews could speak French; 15.5 per cent spoke both English and French.

LABOR FORCE

The 82,316 Jews gainfully occupied in 1951 constituted 53.5 per cent of the total Jewish population fourteen years of age and over, as compared with 54.2 per cent of the general population in the same age group.

Of 51,712 Jewish heads of families in 1951 in Canada, 42.1 per cent were employers of labor or were self-employed. Only 46.3 per cent were wage or salary earners, as compared with 70.8 per cent of the general population. The remaining 11.6 per cent were persons attending school; persons unable to work because of old age or chronic illness; and persons retired, or voluntarily idle.

TABLE 3

Occupational Distribution of Jewish Population in Canada in 1951, by Main Occupational Groups

Occupational Group	Number	Percentage	
Occupational Group Trade. Manufacturing. Clerical. Professions. Service. Communication. Construction. Unskilled Labour. Agriculture. Mining, Logging, Fishing. Others.	29,446 23,491 10,746 7,066 4,885 2,128 1,918 1,210 406 66 954	All Origins 10.05 18.80 10.45 6.65 13.01 9.52 6.16 6.25 15.96 3.80 1.25	Jews 35.78 28.53 13.05 8.57 5.94 2.59 2.33 1.47 0.49 0.07 1.18
- CONTROLL OCCUPIED	82,316	100.00	100.00

The numerical and percentage distribution of the Jewish labor force in Canada in 1951, classified by main occupational groups, will be found in Table 3. From this table and the comparative information for the census years 1921, 1931 and 1941 (see American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 48, p. 50), it will be seen that trade, manufacturing industries, and clerical occupations were the largest occupational groups among Jews in Canada in 1951, as they had been in the census years 1921, 1931, and 1941. Next in number came those engaged in the professions, service occupations, communication, construction trades, and unskilled labor.

IMMIGRATION

During the nine postwar years, from April 1, 1945, to March 31, 1954, the total number of immigrants of all origins admitted to Canada numbered 1,004,830; of this number 40,672 immigrants were Jewish.

Although the Jewish population of Canada had increased 23.3 per cent by immigration since 1945, Jewish immigrants formed only 4 per cent of all immigrants admitted to Canada during the period (see Table 4). Despite the general impression that the majority of the immigrants admitted to Canada during this period were refugees, the largest number of immigrants were of British, German, Dutch, and Italian origin. For the period 1948 to 1953 inclusive, for which information is available, only 22.6 per cent were refugees or "displaced persons." Only 9.9 per cent of all refugees admitted to Canada during the postwar period were Jews.

TABLE 4

Total and Jewish Immigrants Admitted to Canada
in the Postwar Period—1945–54

Fiscal Year	Total	Jews	Per Cent
1945–46	31,081	1,713	5.5
1946–47	66,990	1,205	1.8
1947–48	79,194	4,454	5.6
1948–49	125,603	8,957	7.1
1949–50	86,422	4,500	5.2
1950–51	85,356	3,561	4.2
1951–52	211,220	7,478	3.5
1952–53	144,692	5,092	3.5
1953–54	174,272	3,712	2.1
TOTAL	1,004,830	40,672	4.0

Discrimination and Anti-Semitism

The Freedom of Worship Act, which was part of the laws of the Province of Quebec even before the Act of Confederation united the provinces into the Dominion of Canada, states that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, provided the same shall not be made an excuse for acts of licentiousness, or a justification of practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the Province, are by the constitution and laws of this Province allowed to all Her Majesty's subjects living within the same."

On January 22, 1954, the Quebec legislature unanimously passed an amendment to the Freedom of Worship Act which the provincial government claimed "did not encroach on freedom of worship and . . . did not prevent anyone or any group from practising their religion. It placed all religious groups on the same footing. Injurious words cannot be the ex-

pression of worship."

The amendment prohibited and declared to be acts endangering the public peace and good order: (a) the distribution in public places or from door to door, of books, magazines, tracts, pamphlets or other publications containing abusive or insulting attacks against the practice of a religious profession or the religious beliefs of any portion of the population of the province, or remarks of an abusive or insulting nature respecting the members or adherents of a religious profession; (b) making, in speeches or lectures delivered in public places, of abusive or insulting attacks on the practice of a religious profession or the religious beliefs of any portion of the population of the province, or remarks of an abusive or insulting nature respecting the members or adherents of a religious profession, or (c) broadcasting or reproduction of such attacks or remarks by means of radio, television or the press.

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Persons found guilty of offenses against this law were liable upon conviction to a fine ranging from \$100 to \$1,000 and costs in each case, and in case of failure to pay the fine, imprisonment for not less than 15 nor more than 180 days. The law also provided that an injunction might be issued by the Superior Courts of the province to prevent the commission, continuance, or repetition of the offense.

The purpose of this amendment to the Freedom of Worship Act was to attempt to do what the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled in October 1953 was beyond the powers of a municipal by-law. During recent years the Protestant sect known as Witnesses of Jehovah had intensified its missionary and evangelistic activities in Quebec, a province which was predominantly Roman Catholic. The Witnesses spread their doctrines by house-tohouse solicitation, and by the distribution of books and pamphlets which often attacked the Roman Catholic Church. In an attempt to prevent and punish such activities, the city of Quebec and other towns and cities in the province took action under municipal by-laws prohibiting distribution of pamphlets without a police permit. The Witnesses refused to apply for police permits and appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada against the decisions of the Quebec courts which had sentenced their members, on the ground that the by-laws interfered with religious freedom.

On October 6, 1953, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled by a majority of 5 to 4 that the municipal by-law prohibiting the distribution of pamphlets without a permit was valid, but could not be extended to prohibit the distribution of any book, pamphlet, booklet, circular or tract by Jehovah's Witnesses. The Court held that the Jehovah's Witnesses were entitled to religious freedom and that their attacks on other religions did not bring them within the exception in the Freedom of Worship Act of "an excuse for licentiousness or a justification of practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the Province." This was true "even where," in the words of the judgment, "[the attacks] are directed particularly against the religion of most of the Province's residents," since "the peace and safety of the Province will not be endangered if that majority do not use the attacks as

a foundation for breaches of the peace."

It was as a consequence of this Supreme Court ruling that the Quebec provincial legislature passed the amendment to the Freedom of Worship Act described above. The validity of the new amendment had still to be tested in the courts. There was considerable speculation as to whether it might permit prosecution of persons charged with "group libel" against Jews and other religious denominations.

FAIR ACCOMMODATION PRACTICES ACT

As a result of representations made by forty-four organizations, including the Joint Public Relations Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith, the Association of Civil Liberties, the Trades and Labor Congress, the Canadian Congress of Labor, Negro Citizenship Association, and the National Council of Young Women's Christian Associations (YWCA's), the Ontario provincial government introduced an Act to Promote Fair Accommodation Practices to replace the Racial Discrimination Act passed in

The new act, passed on June 5, 1954, stated in its preamble that "it is public policy in Ontario that places to which the public is customarily admitted, be open to all without regard to race, creed, color, nationality, ancestry or place of origin; it is desirable to enact a measure to promote observance of this principle; and . . . to do so is in accord with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as proclaimed by the United Nations." The act prohibited the display or publication of discriminatory advertising against any person or class of persons because of race or creed, and stated that "no person shall deny to any person or class of persons the accommodation, services or facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted because of race, creed, color, nationality, ancestry or place of origin."

The procedures of the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1951 as to complaints, investigation, and prosecution were adopted. Individuals violating the act might be fined up to \$50 and corporations up to \$100 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1952, [Vol. 53], p. 261-62).

RADIO BROADCASTS

The Federal Fair Employment Practices Branch of the Department of Labor, in cooperation with the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, sponsored a series of seven weekly broadcasts, carried by fifty-four radio stations across Canada, commencing on June 27, 1954, on the various aspects of discrimination in employment practices.

Community Organization and Communal Affairs

The tenth plenary biennial session of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), held in Toronto from October 10 to 12, 1953, was attended by 330 delegates elected by Jewish communities from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All phases of CJC activities, including community relations, overseas relief, immigration and refugee settlement, community organization, Jewish education, youth work, and research were discussed, and the main outlines of policies for the coming two years were laid down. For the first time in the history of the Jewish community in Canada, the delegates were addressed by the Governor General, Vincent Massey.

FUND RAISING

As a result of the efforts of the National Conference for Israel and Jewish Rehabilitation, all fund-raising campaigns in Canada for Israel, the United Jewish Refugee Agencies (JDC), and other overseas needs were combined into one United Jewish Appeal. This, however, did not include the Histadruth Campaign and the campaigns for local Jewish social services and education.

The decrease in funds raised for Israel and overseas relief which began in 1950 was halted, and during the fiscal year 1953-54 the United Jewish Appeal raised \$3,366,602, an increase of \$267,248 over the previous fiscal year.

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Jewish Education

Interest in Jewish education continued to increase. In Montreal the United Jewish Teachers' Seminary graduated fifteen teachers from its three-year course. In Toronto a Midrasha Lemorim, or Hebrew Teachers' Seminary, was opened in the fall of 1953 with twenty-three students. The Merkaz HaTorah Rabbinical Seminary in Montreal graduated its second class of rabbis on March 28, 1954. Its first group of three rabbinical students had been graduated in 1950.

In Montreal a Council of Jewish Educational Institutions was set up on June 10, 1954. It represented all types of Jewish schools in Montreal, including Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregational schools, afternoon schools, Sunday schools and day schools; yeshivot, modern Talmud

Torahs, and secular Yiddish schools.

The functions of the council were: to coordinate administration policies, school fees, and salary scales; to initiate and conduct research projects of interest to Jewish schools; and to keep participating schools informed of developments in their field. The affiliated schools retained complete auton-

omy as to curriculum, program, and ideology.

In Canada, as in the United States, all legislation concerning education came within the functions of the provincial (state) governments, and not of the Federal government. In the provinces of Quebec and Newfoundland, the tax-supported public schools were either Catholic or Protestant, and there was legislative provision for secular public schools in those provinces. In the other eight provinces of Canada the tax-supported public schools were "neutral," nondenominational. However, the development of Jewish day schools in Canada did not arise primarily because of the absence of a secular public school system in Quebec. The first Jewish day schools in Canada had been established and continued in operation in Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba, and in Edmonton, in the province of Alberta, where there had always been secular public school systems in which Jews had equal rights with all other residents.

The number of Jewish children attending all types of Jewish schools in Montreal in 1954 was 6,700, approximately 47 per cent of all Jewish children of school age. Of these, 49 per cent attended Jewish day schools, 46 per cent attended five-day afternoon schools, and only 5 per cent attended Sunday schools.

In Toronto 4,500 children attended Jewish schools of all types, forming 60 per cent of all Jewish children of school age, but the proportion of children attending Jewish day schools was quite small and the percentage

attending Sunday schools comparatively large.

In the smaller Jewish communities of Ontario, a survey conducted in 1954 showed that approximately 80 per cent of all Jewish children of school age attended Jewish schools, of whom 58 per cent attended Talmud Torahs, 10 per cent attended Yiddishist Peretz schools, and 32 per cent attended congregational Sunday schools.

Religious Life

The increase in the number of new synagogues erected since the end of World War II continued. During the period under review work commenced on the erection of five new synagogues—four Orthodox and one Conservative—in Canada. For the first time since 1882 a new Reform congregation, Beth Sholom, was established in Montreal and conducted services in temporary premises for the High Holy Days in 1953. The older Reform congregation, Temple Emanu-El in the Montreal suburb of Westmount, also launched an expansion campaign for \$450,000. In the suburb of Ville St. Laurent, adjoining Montreal, the site for the erection of a synagogue was donated to the Jewish community by a Roman Catholic.

KASHRUT

Because of increasing dissatisfaction with the high prices charged for meat by kosher butchers, a study of kosher meat prices in Montreal was conducted at the request of the religious welfare committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress. The survey found that the per capita consumption of beef, veal, and lamb in Montreal among the Jewish population was 117 pounds per annum, as compared with 60 pounds among the total population of all origins. The percentage of the Jewish population in Montreal purchasing kosher meat fell to its lowest point of 67.3 per cent in 1952, when kosher meat prices were highest. Retail prices of kosher meat in Montreal were found to range from 6 cents a pound higher than non-kosher meat for the cheaper cuts, to 31 cents a pound higher for fancy cuts. Of this spread in cost less than 3 cents could be attributed to the cost of shechita. These findings were released in November 1953.

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

The Lord's Day Act, which governed the observance of Sunday as a day of rest in Canada, was Federal government legislation, but was administered by the provincial governments. In the Province of Ontario, its regulations governing the opening of places of business, manufacture, and amusement were interpreted strictly, and in June 1954 an Orthodox Jewish baker was fined for selling bread on Sundays. After representations were made to the provincial attorney general, who had to authorize all prosecutions for breach of the Lord's Day Act, an arrangement was approved whereby Orthodox Jewish bakers who did not keep open on Saturdays would be permitted to remain open in areas with a considerable Jewish population for three hours on Sunday mornings and three hours on Sunday afternoons.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

The first Israel Bond Campaign, in which approximately \$7,000,000 worth of bonds were sold within one year, came to a close in the spring of 1954. The second Israel Development Bond Campaign was opened on June 22, 1954, with an objective of \$3,000,000.

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Celebration of the sixth anniversary of the proclamation of the State of Israel elicited warm congratulations not only from the English-language press but also from the French-language press in Canada.

Social Services

On May 19, 1954, fourteen girls, the first class of student nurses graduated from a Jewish hospital, received their diplomas from the School of Nursing of the Montreal Jewish General Hospital. The School of Nursing, which accepted its students on a nonsectarian basis, with no discrimination against applicants on grounds of ethnic origin, color, or creed, had twenty-seven student nurses-in-training.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

Work commenced in 1954 on a Jewish community center in Windsor to cost \$300,000. In Regina, work commenced on an addition to the new House of Jacob Synagogue, which was to serve as a Jewish community center, and would contain classrooms for the Hebrew school, an auditorium, and a gymnasium; while in Sherbrooke work was commenced on an addition to the synagogue, which would serve as a community center. A new Jewish community administration building was erected in 1954 in Toronto to house the United Jewish Welfare Fund, the central region offices of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Family and Child Welfare Service; while the old building which was adjacent would house the Jewish Vocational Service, Toronto office of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, the Bureau of Jewish Education, and the Hebrew Free Loan Society.

Jewish community camps improved and expanded their service during the year in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. New and larger camps were purchased, complete with modern buildings, at Camp Wooden Acres in the Laurentian Mountains in Quebec, to serve the Jewish children of Montreal. In Ontario, Camp B'nai B'rith at Northland, originally conducted for Jewish boys from Toronto, had been expanded to include a camp for Jewish girls. To serve the Jewish children of Winnipeg, the old Camp B'nai B'rith near Lake Winnipeg, which had become too small and unsuitable, was sold, and a new and improved camp was purchased on an island in Lake of the

Woods, near Keewatin in Ontario.

In Winnipeg the building and extensive grounds of the Jewish Children's Home had been converted into a Jewish youth center, to serve the recreational needs of Jewish youth in the large Jewish residential area in the northern section of the city.

Cultural Activities

The Jewish Public Library in Montreal established a Bronfman Collection of Jewish Canadiana on December 15, 1953. This collection, which was housed in the new library building, included a wide variety of material

covering religious, political, economic, and social aspects of Jewish life, cultural topics, and biographical studies, and would endeavor to include all books published by Canadian Jewish authors, all books by Jews on Canadian topics, and all books on Jews or on Jewish life in Canada. The Canadian Jewish Congress had also taken steps to enlarge and improve its national Jewish archives.

Among the books published in Canada by Jewish authors during the period under review were a book of Yiddish poetry entitled Der Kronung fun a Yidisher Poet in America by Melach Ravitch, and an anthology of Melach Ravitch's poetry entitled Der Lid Fun Mayne Lider. A book of Yiddish poetry for children by Ida Maze, entitled Vaksen Mayne Kinderlach,

was also published.

Personalia

Jacob Isaac Segal, dean of Yiddish poets in Canada, author of more than a score of books of poetry and winner of the Louis LaMed Prize for Jewish literature in 1949, died on March 7, 1954, at the age of fifty-three.

Abraham Albert Heaps, Member of Parliament for Winnipeg North from 1925 to 1940, and subsequently a member of the Federal Government Unemployment Commission, died on April 4, 1954, at the age of sixty-eight.

Eva Abramovitch, for many years active in Jewish community work in Winnipeg, and the first Jewish student to graduate from the University of Manitoba, died on December 18, 1953, in Sarnia, Ontario, at the age of seventy-six.

David Vickar, one of the founders of the Jewish farm settlement of Edenbridge in Saskatchewan, and reeve of the rural municipality of Willow Creek for twenty-six years, died on October 31, 1953, at the age of seventy-five.

Louis Rosenberg

Western Europe

GREAT BRITAIN

BY THE END of the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) Sir Winston Churchill's Conservative government had been in office for almost three years. The three main domestic promises of the government had all been fulfilled by the end of June 1954—a sharp rise in housing construction, the abolition of the last remnants of food rationing, and the stabilization of the pound sterling. The British economy (except for the coal industry) was prosperous, and Britain's international position was significantly reinforced, despite disagreement with the United States on Far Eastern policy.

Foreign Policy Issues

Two foreign policy questions were of special interest to Jews: the problem of Suez, and German rearmament. British evacuation of the Suez Canal area had been the subject of intermittent negotiation between successive British and Egyptian governments since 1946. This negotiation was successfully concluded in Cairo, on July 27, 1954, and a memorandum of agreement was signed under which the 80,000 British troops constituting the garrison were to depart within twenty months. This force was to be replaced by approximately 4,000 civilian technicians from Britain, who would maintain the base in association with Egyptians under the terms of a new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of seven years duration. Approximately forty right-wing Conservative members of Parliament condemned the agreement as a policy of "scuttle" that would leave this vital artery an undefended vacuum. They also contended that the negotiating Egyptian leaders were not a representative government and, in the event of their downfall, the agreement would not be honored by their successors. Finally, they expressed the fear (and in this opinion they were supported by the Labor Party) that the agreement contained no provision for the security of Israel, a state that must now suffer a grave military disadvantage by the transfer of the base to Egyptian hands. However, the agreement was approved with the support of the Labor Party and most of the Conservatives.

The rearmament of the German Federal Republic (Western Germany), and its integration within the European Defense Community, was officially endorsed by both the Conservative and Labor Parties during the year under review. Opinion throughout Great Britain, however, viewed the prospect with reluctance. The powerful right-wing Beaverbrook press conducted a

campaign against this policy, while Aneurin Bevan succeeded in getting the support of almost half the Labor Party for his campaign to reverse the party's position in favor of German rearmament. Within the Trades Union Congress seven unions, with a block strength of 2,170,000 votes, made known their support of official Labor policy, and fourteen unions, with a block strength of 1,922,000 votes, opposed it. Fifty-eight constituency Labor groups entered resolutions against German rearmament, with only one in support, for the Labor Party annual conference due to be held in September 1954. This indicated the bewilderment and indecision within the Labor Party on this issue.

ATTITUDE OF JEWISH GROUPS

A combined subcommittee of the foreign affairs and defense committees of the Board of Deputies of British Jews discussed the Jewish attitude to German rearmament, and reported on the subject to the Board of Deputies on November 15, 1953. "While feeling deep apprehension of the effects of German rearmament as a menace to democratic progress and world peace, it was a material fact in the situation that such rearmament was the accepted policy of the British and United States governments. It had also to be borne in mind that the Soviet Union have in effect rearmed Eastern Germany. In these circumstances it was felt that the community would not be served by launching a campaign [against rearmament] at present." This recommendation was accepted by a majority of deputies.

Jewish Population

There were no appreciable changes in the Jewish population of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, through either inter-city or overseas migration. It was believed to number approximately 450,000, or 1.13 per cent of the total population. The economic situation continued good.

Discrimination and Anti-Semitism

As the result of a change in its ownership in February 1953, the weekly magazine Truth, previously the most influential vehicle of anti-Semitism in Great Britain, had by July 1953 completely changed its orientation. Although Truth had never enjoyed a wide circulation, its reputation as a financial organ was high, and it was generally obtainable in public libraries, clubs, and regimental messes. Until its purchase by the Staples Publishing Company, its assistant editor had been A. K. Chesterton, who had been Sir Oswald Mosley's right-hand man until they quarreled in 1939. Chesterton continued to ventilate his anti-Jewish opinions in the columns of Truth, although the magazine gave generous space to correspondents challenging its views, among them official Jewish spokesmen. The new proprietors announced at the time of the change of management that the magazine would no longer encourage an anti-racial attitude; and, in fact, ever since that

time Truth had maintained a high standard of fairness. A. K. Chesterton was now organizing a League of Empire Loyalists, with anti-Russian, anti-American, anti-Semitic coloration. The league accused the government of betraying the white members of the Commonwealth by its policy towards the colored races. Chesterton also purveyed these views in a privately-circulated sheet called Candour.

Some other notorious anti-Semites still survived, but their activities, while calling for vigilance, did not justify alarm. Mosley himself divided his time between Ireland and Paris. In addressing a public meeting in London's East End, he attacked the British Military Government in Germany for imprisoning his "very distinguished friend, Dr. [Werner] Naumann" (see p. 357). Mosley made no specific reference to Jews, but spoke of "alien

powers" dominating Parliament and the City of London.

A statement on Israel-Jordan border incidents made on June 18, 1953, by General John Bagot Glubb, commandant of the Arab Legion, was the subject of a question in the House of Commons on July 13, 1953. Woodrow Wyatt (Labor) protested that the statement had not been confined to details of border incidents, but that Glubb had delivered himself of "an anti-Semitic tirade of an exceptionally offensive and unpleasant nature." Replying for the government, Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd disclosed that the Israel Ambassador had made representations to the British government on the subject; Lloyd insisted that General Glubb was responsible to the Jordan government whose servant he was. Glubb, Lloyd said, was not obliged to consult the British government, and the latter was not called upon to comment on his views.

Natinform (National Information Bureau), a body of Nazi sympathizers in Suffolk and Lancashire that had distributed anti-Semitic literature during

1952-53, was quiescent during 1953-54.

Community Organization

Steps towards improving the machinery for the presentation of a coordinated Anglo-Jewish viewpoint in the field of foreign affairs were taken during the year. The three major bodies concerned—the Board of Deputies, the Anglo-Jewish Association (AJA), and the World Jewish Congress (British Section)—all held this to be highly desirable. A proposal for such coordination was prepared by the Board of Deputies and debated at the board's meeting of March 14, 1954. In July 1954 it was still under discussion. Although little of the negotiations involved had come into the open, spokesmen of the Anglo-Jewish Association and the World Jewish Congress expressly welcomed the Board's moves during June 1954 and five communal institutions—the Board itself, the AJA, the British sections of the World Jewish Congress, the Agudas Israel, and the World Union of Progressive Judaism—had consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Among the board's proposals was that each of the other organizations should have its representatives attend meetings of the Board of Deputies foreign affairs committee.

The second Conference of Commonwealth Communities, convened by the Board of Deputies, took place in London, June 20-25, 1954. Both participants and observers felt that, while the exchange of views on subjects of religious and communal organization, ritual slaughter, defense, and international affairs had been of value, a great opportunity to isolate and cure imperfections in communal structure had not been sufficiently exploited.

The triennial conference of the International Council of Jewish Women took place from May 24-27, 1954. The conference passed resolutions urging its affiliate organizations "to give their support to the continuing social, economic, and cultural upbuilding of Israel"; "to foster and promote the study of Judaism . . . and to cooperate with other groups, governmental and voluntary, to maintain and strengthen Jewish life"; "to encourage members to participate fully in all phases of communal, national, and international activities that will improve human relationships"; "to urge governments to support and to implement the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights"; and "to work for the ratification and support of the Genocide Convention."

Religious Activities

Female members of all the constituent synagogues of the United Synagogue were finally granted the franchise (limited to the right to vote, but not to stand for office) at a combined meeting of the council of the United Synagogue and delegates from its provincial synagogues held in London on April 30, 1954. The proposal had been the subject of controversy for many years (see American Jewish Year Book, 1951 [Vol. 52], p. 272), but the principle had been accepted by the United Synagogue only in 1951. Only a minute number of women chose to exercise their hard-won privilege at the elections of synagogue officers which took place in 1954.

The United Synagogue, incorporated by act of Parliament in 1870, was responsible for the religious needs of at least 30,000 families within the London area. It decided on February 21, 1954, to re-examine the method of ministerial appointments, as differences had recently arisen between its ministerial appointments committee, which made recommendations to constituent synagogues, and certain synagogues which did not invariably find

its recommendations acceptable.

With the relaxation by the government of building restrictions, the construction of several new synagogues had been planned by July 1954. Two of these were to serve families in west and northwest London, an area where the Jewish population had been rapidly increasing at the expense of east and northeast London. The Federation of Synagogues, which was largely based upon the East End, and was smaller in scope and more strictly Orthodox than the United Synagogue, announced plans on November 30, 1953, for the amalgamation of small and half-empty synagogues in that locality.

RITUAL SLAUGHTER

The slaughter of animals according to the Jewish ritual had been authorized in Britain since the Resettlement of 1656. No law forbidding *shechita* had ever been passed, despite attempts over the years to secure its abolition. There were no serious attacks upon *shechita* during the period under review. On the contrary, during the debate in Parliament on the Slaughter of Animals (Amendment) Bill, introduced on January 29, 1954, specific assurances on *shechita* were given; R. R. Stokes (Labor) stated that he had himself witnessed the kosher killing of animals, and paid tribute to "the Jews for the very thorough way they carry out their ritual slaughter."

After almost fifteen years of rationing, the free sale of meat was finally allowed in Britain on July 4, 1954. This meant that the organization of kosher food supplies was now once more in the hands of the community itself, through the regional Shechita boards and the ecclesiastical authorities. The changeover proved no simple task for these institutions, especially as the Jewish public, having long suffered from a dearth of kosher meat without possibility of redress, were now more critical of steps taken to insure ade-

quate supplies of meat.

Jewish Education

A new chapter for Jewish education opened as a result of the agreement concluded on May 11, 1954, between the London Board of Jewish Religious Education on the one hand, and the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement and the Jews Day Schools Trust, on the other. The agreement ended a three-year controversy (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 236-37), which arose when the latter two bodies lodged objections which prevented a scheme for urgently required school construction from receiving the approval of the ministry of education. Considerable funds held by the London Board of Jewish Religious Education had lain idle because they represented the assets of schools which had become defunct as a result of World War II, and could only be used if the ministry were satisfied there was no objection. Under the terms of the new agreement, all viewpoints were to be represented in a governing body to utilize these funds for the building of new schools, both primary and secondary, and the improvement of existing schools. It was largely the mediation of Edmund and Anthony de Rothschild, whose family had been associated with free Jewish education in past generations, that brought about the agreement.

According to statistics published by Jacob Braude in the [London] Jewish Chronicle of February 26, 1954, 4,400 children were at that time enrolled in Jewish day schools in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham. (This figure did not include the small number attending private boarding schools.) Braude estimated that the 2,700 students attending the London schools represented a 20 per cent increase over the 1952 figure. Of the twenty-three schools he named, ten were state-aided, and education in them

was free.

Jews College, the principal institution in the British Commonwealth for training rabbis, had an enrollment of forty-eight students during 1953–54, beside eight research students preparing for higher degrees.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

The British government on the whole continued its policy of conciliating its Arab allies without taking definite sides in the Arab-Israel conflict. On October 16, 1953, the Foreign Office condemned the Israel action at Kibya (see p. 277) in exceptionally strong terms: "This attack constituted the gravest violation so far of the terms of the Armistice Agreement and will only endanger peace in the area. Her Majesty's Ambassador in Tel Aviv has been instructed to express to the Israel government the horror of Her Majesty's Government at this apparently calculated attack." On October 26, 1953, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden indicated in the House of Commons that the government thought of the Kibya affair in the context of Arab-Israel tension as a whole, and not as an isolated incident. This was the British policy in subsequent United Nations discussions.

The Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland consisted during 1954 of 292 Zionist societies, of which 142 were affiliated groups of women, 29 were Labor Poale Zion branches, 33 belonged to Hechalutz, and 19 to Zionist youth. Also affiliated were 119 synagogues and 17 fraternal orders. All these groups represented a total membership of approximately 30,000. A decreasing number of British Jews were emigrating to Israel. At a conference of British settlers in Haifa on June 25, 1954, Giora Josephtal, Jewish Agency treasurer, reported that 508 British Jews had emigrated to Israel in 1950; 300 in 1951; 230 in 1952; 140 in 1953; and only 35 during the first

half of 1954.

A brief controversy arose within the Zionist Federation when a group led by Fredman Ashe Lincoln and affiliated with the General Zionist Party in Israel attempted unsuccessfully to gain power within the Zionist Federation. Ashe Lincoln's bid for power, which was supported by the four General Zionist members of Israel's cabinet, was on the grounds that the old Zionist Federation leaders were committed to the left wing in Israel. At the Zionist Federation annual conference on April 4, 1954, Ashe Lincoln was defeated in his attempt to secure election as chairman.

FUND RAISING

The annual Joint Palestine Appeal was inaugurated in February 1954 by Golda Myerson, Israel's Minister of Labor. As in previous years, Sir Simon Marks was president and J. Edward Sieff chairman. It was generally anticipated that the Appeal would produce a sum equal to that of 1953, when £1,206,000 (\$3,376,800) was raised from 29,507 contributors. Except for £35,000 (\$98,000) retained in Britain for educational grants, all funds raised were remitted to Israel. Campaign expenses were 5 per cent. Other Israel institutions (Children and Youth Aliyah, the Hebrew University in Jeru-

salem, the Magen David Adom, Anti-Tuberculosis League, Jerusalem Baby Home, and United Jewish Relief Appeal) conducted separate campaigns, with the Haifa Technion as a newcomer to the fund-raising scene. In September 1954, the British government refused permission for an Israel Bond Drive in Britain, on the grounds that Great Britain's current policy was to restrict recourse to the London capital markets to Commonwealth countries.

Cultural Activities

Jewish culture, when expressed, played a significant and appreciated role within the wider cultural development of Great Britain during the period under review. On the British Broadcasting Corporation's Third Program there was a constant recurrence of Jewish themes treated to suit the requirements of an exacting audience. These included Cecil Roth's The King and the Cabbalist, described as a piece of historical detective work, a series of talks on Jewish mysticism by Rabbi Alexander Altmann, and for the first time in Britain a broadcast of Rocca's opera Il Dibbuc, based on S. Anski's Yiddish play. Various aspects of Israel, as well as Biblical subjects, were discussed.

Jewish Book Week (January 9-16, 1954), a television examination of Judaism (May 10, 1954) as part of the *Men Seeking God* programs, an important collection of essays on *The Bible Described by Christian Scholars*, issued in June 1954 under the aegis of the London *Times*, and a Bible exhibition at the British Museum during August 1953, were all among the cultural events worthy of record.

Books with Jewish associations published during the year included: The Man Who Never Was, by Ewen Montagu; A Kid for Two Farthings, by Wolf Mankowitz (whose one-act play The Bespoke Overcoat, also attracted favorable notice); More for Timothy, by Victor Gollancz; To the Quayside, by Louis Golding; To Next Year in Jerusalem, by David Marcus; The Final Solution, by Gerald Reitlinger; The Music of the Jews, by Aron Marko Rothmuller; End of an Exile, by James Parkes; Einstein, by Antonina Vallentin; A Passage in the Night, by Sholem Asch; The Life and Times of General Two-Gun Cohen, by Charles Drage; and The Nazarene Gospel Restored, by Joshua Podro and Robert Graves.

Personalia

Sholem Asch settled in London during the year. Jacob Epstein, sculptor, and Prof. Francis Simon, scientist, received knighthoods, Dr. Hans Krebs was awarded the Nobel prize for medicine, and Leslie Hore-Belisha was made a baron. Lord Reading became minister of state in the Foreign Office, and Victor Mishcon chairman of the London County Council.

The death of Prof. Selig Brodetsky (May 18, 1954) deprived the community of its foremost Zionist personality, long a member of the Jewish Agency

executive and a former president of the Board of Deputies. Other losses were Frank Samuel (February 25, 1954), president of the United Synagogue (succeeded in this office by Ewen Montagu); Paul Emden (August 17, 1953), noted historian; Rabbi Israel Mattuck (April 4, 1954), a leader of the Liberal Jewish movement in England; Saemy Japhet (February 2, 1954), prominent London banker and philanthropist; and Col. Thomas Sebag-Montefiore (June 11, 1954), aviation pioneer, distinguished soldier, and leader of the British Sephardic community.

BARNET LITVINOFF

FRANCE

IN JUNE 1954, military defeat in Indo-China, sharply brought home by the fall of Dienbienphu, toppled from office the year-old government of Joseph Laniel. He was succeeded by the Radical Socialist deputy Pierre Mendès-France. Laniel's government had been a "do-nothing" government. Mendès-France made a "contract" with parliament that he would bring France an honorable peace in Indo-China within four weeks, or resign; he promised to tackle the other major problems facing the country in quick succession.

When the new premier took office, France's prestige was at its lowest since the end of the war. Irritated allies were insisting on a clear answer as to whether or not France would join the European Defense Community. The French position in Morocco and Tunisia had deteriorated seriously; there was open skirmishing between French troops and the fellaghas of Tunisia. At home, France's economy had achieved a precarious stability during the year, but was making little progress. Protectionist policies and cartels kept the prices of French products too high for world markets; the wages of French workingmen were too low to permit a flourishing internal market.

A peace treaty for Indo-China was signed at Geneva on July 20, 1954, within hours of the deadline Mendès-France had set. There was no rejoicing in France; the defeat was bitter. But to the man in the street it represented a political victory for Mendès-France, and it meant the end of a war into which France had been pouring men and money uselessly for eight years. Within a fortnight Mendès-France made a dramatic flight to Tunisia and promised that country full internal autonomy, bettering relations significantly. At home, the Chamber of Deputies granted him broader economic powers than any other premier had received since World War II, on his promise to use them sparingly.

This vigorous approach, contrasted with the dilatory tactics of his predecessors, evoked a wave of enthusiasm in the country, particularly among younger Frenchmen. Observers compared the impact of the Mendès-France government with that of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first hundred days in 1933.

Considerable acrimony arose, however, over Mendès-France's handling of France's bitterest political problem, the European Defense Community

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(EDC). On the one hand was the great French fear of the West German rearmament that EDC entailed. On the other, EDC's supporters argued that it was the only way to control German rearmament. Although he insisted that the French parliament must make a decision, Mendès-France himself and his cabinet abstained from doing so, causing strong criticism and charges that the premier was opposed to a real Western alliance. On August 30, by a vote of 319 to 264, the French Assembly killed EDC by adopting a motion to table discussion on it indefinitely.

At the London Conference early in October 1954, however, Mendès-France committed his government to a new pact drawn up by France and eight other Western powers as a substitute for EDC. This pact called for less surrender of French national sovereignty than EDC, was based on greater British participation in the maintenance of a Western army, and permitted the rearmament of twelve West German divisions under certain controls.

France chose a new president during the year under review, the unknown René Coty, a senator from Le Havre, replacing Socialist veteran Vincent Auriol, for a seven-year term. Many Jews besides Mendès-France played an important role in French politics. Jules Moch represented France at the United Nations' Disarmament Commission; Daniel Mayer was chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the French parliament. Both fought the European Defense Community so vigorously, essentially because of the issue of German rearmament, that they were expelled by the Socialist Party for violation of party discipline. For the same reason, the Mouvement Républicaine Populaire took action against Senator Leo Hamon. One of the most effective supporters of EDC in parliament was the Radical Socialist deputy and former French premier, René Mayer. Henri Ulver was minister of industry and commerce in the Mendès-France cabinet. Professor René Cassin, president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, was one of the nation's leading judicial figures.

Mendès-France and Anti-Semitism

Mendès-France had never been active in Jewish community life in France; neither had he made any secret of his Jewishness. He was the third Jew to occupy the French premiership since the war, the others being Léon Blum and René Mayer. The general feeling among Jews was one of pride when Mendès-France took office, but some did not relish the idea of a co-religionist becoming premier at a time when the government had to make crucial decisions. The epithet "dirty Jew" was muttered in the halls of the French parliament on the day of Mendès-France's investiture—by Jacques Duclos, a French Communist leader, infuriated by Mendès-France's declaration that he would not accept office if he did not attain a majority without the ninety-six votes of the Communists.

When Mendès-France failed by thirteen votes to achieve the premiership in 1953, leading French papers reported that anti-Semitism had played a role—but a very minor one—in his defeat. Again, when he sought the office in 1954, "a certain anti-Semitism was not absent" in the lobbying against

him, according to the leading French afternoon paper, *Le Monde*. After his investiture, several papers commented on a nuanced anti-Semitism directed not so much against Mendès-France himself, in the face of his overwhelming early popularity, as against Jews known to be close advisers of his, like Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a youthful editor of the weekly paper *L'Express*, and Georges Boris, a journalist-economist who had also served under Léon Blum.

There was nothing nuanced, however, about the attacks on Mendès-France by the two major anti-Semitic weeklies in France, Aspects de la France and Rivarol. Aspects de la France regarded Mendès-France's accession to power as a tragedy for France equal to that of Waterloo. Rivarol accused him of deliberately dismembering what remained of French power in the world, on behalf of Moscow.

Aside from these two papers, only the publications of a scattering of little splinter groups showed anti-Semitic tendencies. The French sections of the neo-Nazi international (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 193-94) had no impact worth mentioning. The Jewish community was increasingly disturbed, however, because it felt that Jewish candidates for advanced medical degrees were being discriminated against; and two doctors on the examining jury resigned in protest in May 1954 against what they felt to be systematic rejection of Jews.

War Crimes and German Rearmament

Ten years after the end of World War II there were still frequent and current reminders for Jews in France of the horrors imposed by Nazi Germany. Prominently featured in French papers for long periods of the year under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) was the trial of SS General Karl Oberg, known as the Butcher of Paris, and his adjutant, SS Colonel Helmuth Knochen. In the spring of 1954 the case against these two German war criminals ended in a mistrial on a technicality. After a second trial they were sentenced to death by a military tribunal in October 1954, and appealed. An entire chapter of the 241-page indictment against Oberg and his adjutant dealt with their persecution of Jews and their role in the deportation of 120,000 French Jews to the death camps.

Jewish organizations were aroused, too, by the release on April 17, 1954, of Otto Abetz, who as German governor of Paris had expedited Jewish deportations. On June 30, 1954, the notorious anti-Semite Maurice Bardèche went to prison, after the failure of his appeals against a one-year sentence passed on him by a French court of appeals in February 1952 for "apology for murder" in his book *Nuremberg*, ou La terre promise, in which he had sought to justify German annihilation of Jews. But a fortnight after he went to prison Bardèche was free again, thanks to a presidential amnesty on Bastille Day, July 14, 1954; Bardèche continued his monthly neo-Nazi publication, Défense de L'Occident.

The Jewish community in France was overwhelmingly against any rearmament of Germany. Packed commemorative services for Jewish victims of

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Nazism—at the Great Synagogue La Victoire, at the Père Lachaise cemetery, and at the Velodrome d'Hiver, on the anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising (April 12, 1943)—were but a few of the occasions on which Jewry in France voiced its opposition during the year under review. At the same time, the Jewish community was chary of Communist attempts to capitalize on this sentiment for political purposes. In January 1954 an effort to establish a Jewish Action Committee Against German Rearmament was rejected because, according to the daily French-language Jewish press service Informations, "the only organizations which are represented on it—it must be noted—are Communist or fellow-traveler groups." In April 1954, the Jewish Communist organization, L'Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entra'aide, urged the Fédération Sioniste de France to join in a "common Jewish front" against German rearmament, and was rebuffed.

Jewish Population

The Jewish population in France—usually estimated at 300,000 to 350,000—was almost completely stable during the year under review. Emigration hit a low point; in 1953–54 the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) had moved 1,408 persons from France to other lands, primarily the United States. Much of this movement had been under now-expired United States displaced persons (DP) legislation; the rate of future movement would be dependent, to a considerable extent, on the application of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, but it was still too early to tell what the new rate of migration to the United States might be under this law. The JDC Migration Service and HIAS, merged together under the name United HIAS during the year under review, established their European headquarters in Paris in July 1954.

Only about eighty persons migrated to Israel during the year. In 1952–53 there had been several hundred "returnees" from Israel to France; this movement came to an end during 1953–54, thirty-four of the "returnees" choosing to return to Israel once again when the Jewish Agency offered them transportation back. There was no immigration into France to speak of; Eastern Europe, the traditional source of "freshening" of the French

Jewish population, was completely closed off.

There was one exception to this lack of movement: the continued entry into France of Jews from North Africa, numbering perhaps 2,000 during the year. Nobody had any firm idea how large this immigration was. A report of French Jewry's central fund-raising agency for welfare purposes, the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, commented that North African Jews were lost sight of because they were indistinguishable on the surface from the mass of Arabs coming into France. Furthermore, continued the report, "there exists no real center of attraction in the Jewish community in France around which these immigrants can regroup and integrate themselves, to lead what should be a Jewish life." Altogether, various guesses had it, some 10,000–15,000 North African Jews had entered France during the last decade, many of

them gravitating to the squalid slums of the Marais section of Paris' 4th Arrondissement, once noted for its aristocratic palaces, and to Montmartre.

There was something of a greater awakening, during the year under review, on the part of French Judaism to the plight of these Orthodox, usually pitifully poor, and unskilled immigrants. An expanded program of the Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris, attached to the Consistoire, assisted more than 2,500 North African Jews. In January 1954 the first community of Jews from North Africa in the Montmartre section was formed. This was a direct result of the growing influence of the Merkaz of Montmartre, a kindergarten Talmud Torah established in 1953 by the Conseil Réprésentatif du Judaisme Traditionaliste de France to counteract Catholic proselytizing among North African Jewry through the distribution of food and clothing. In the fall of 1954, a primitive but functioning social and sport center was being established in St. Fons, an industrial surburb of Lyon, where a colony of some 2,000 North African Jews did the heavy work in the town's chemical plants.

Otherwise, there was no sign of change in the magnitude or location of France's Jewish population. About 180,000 Jews lived in Paris and its suburbs; some 50,000 to 60,000 could be found in the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and an equal number were spread through another thirty cities and towns where there were more or less organized Jewish communities; finally, some 20,000 to 30,000 lived in small towns and villages where

there was no organized Jewish life of any kind.

No figures were available, but the impression gained that assimilation was making its greatest inroads among the Eastern European element of the community, though one might have expected this group's more orthodox, Yiddish-speaking background to have been more resistant to assimilative tendencies than the defenses of native French Jews. Apparently driving for what they considered greater security, however, many immigrants—and particularly their children—felt they had to be more French than the French, and assimilated rapidly and completely. The loss of native French Jews, while continuing, was more by attrition: they gradually drifted away because they found no modern, positive pole of attraction in Jewish life. Roughly speaking, the Eastern European group (who had come into France on a large scale since 1910 and particularly after World War II) and the native French Jews were about equal in number.

Communal Organization and Activity

The year under review was a quiet but important one for Jewish life in France. There were no great issues to evoke Jewish consciousness and intense community activity, as the Finaly case had the year before (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 183-87). But for a variety of reasons the Jewish community was ready to tend its own garden with a greater intensity than at any time since the end of the war. To an increasing extent Jewish institutions were seeking to forge—or were already testing—new means of strengthening Jewish community life, albeit on a small scale. They were

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trying, with some success, new techniques of attracting members, and particularly young members. There was growing hope that, with the proper use of funds from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CJMCAG), the gradual decline of Jewish life in France because of assimilation and intermarriage could be checked. Except for the Communists, virtually every element in the heterogeneous Jewish community in France was represented in a sixteen-man Cultural Commission, which drew up and unanimously adopted a long-range blueprint for community improvement for submission to the CJMCAG.

FUND RAISING

Central community planning around the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) was now an accepted and operating feature of the French Jewish scene. Judged by the funds it collected, it is true, the impact of the FSJU was hardly greater than the year before. In September 1954 collections were only about 7,000,000 francs (\$20,000) ahead of September 1953, when a total of 157,000,000 francs (\$445,000) had been gathered for the year. The experience of the FSJU from 1952 onward, indeed, seemed to indicate that this figure would be a ceiling, give or take a few million francs, for Jewish fund raising for local needs in France. This meant that the community would have to look to outside sources-primarily the JDC-for about half the money it needed to maintain its welfare, education, and cultural services. During the year the FSJU gained 1,500 new donors-and lost an equal number of old ones. Yet, in many less tangible ways FSJU was having an ever greater impact on Jewish life in France. During the five years of its existence it had provided the first common meeting ground for all elements of the community, French-born Jews and Yiddish-speaking immigrants, Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Continuous contact had shown the thirty-five member organizations of the FSJU that it was possible to work together despite all differences of ideology. There had grown up around the FSJU a small but experienced staff of social workers. Prominent personalities, who previously had had little contact with Jewish life, were being drawn into the FSJU orbit. Visits to the provinces of France by well-known laymen like Guy de Rothschild, president of the FSJU, and by professional fund raisers and social workers, were creating a greater consciousness there both of Jewish needs and what could be done about them.

PROVINCIAL GROWTH

The gradual reawakening of the virtually moribund Jewish life in the provinces was one of the more encouraging developments of the year under review. The work of two rabbis was very important in this regard. Although the Consistoire Central de France, the officially recognized organ of French Jewry, and its Union des Associations Cultuelles Israélite de France, theoretically united some fifty Jewish communities in metropolitan France and Algeria, their presence in the provinces in the past had often been more nominal than real. A series of pastoral visits by one of the co-Grand Rabbis

of France, Henri Schilli, to cities such as Toulouse, Troyes, Caen, and Nice, and to areas where there were no organized Jewish communities, gave more meaning to the existence of the Consistoire Central. As a result, there was improvement in Jewish religious education, three communities were furnished with spiritual heads, and the Consistoire was able to draw up a detailed plan for reactivating Jewish religious life in the most neglected regions.

Also active in the provinces was the youth chaplain appointed by the Consistoire the year before, Rabbi Jean Kling. A Jewish Youth Week was organized in Lyon May 9–16, 1954, in which all the separate Jewish youth movements in the city cooperated. A few weeks later it was the turn of Marseille. In September, the first two-day regional Jewish youth meeting in France was held in Lyon. Young men and women came from the smaller communities of Grenoble, Saint-Étienne, Roanne, and Clermont-Ferrand. One of the objectives of this meeting was to give the youth a wider circle of Jewish acquaintances of their own age than could be met in their own home towns, in the hope of preventing mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews.

COMMUNAL SERVICE

There was also some lift in morale as community projects undertaken in previous years began to show concrete results. The first Jewish students' home in France, to house some ninety-six Jewish youth attending the University of Paris, was completed during the year under review, and a large-scale inauguration ceremony was planned for November 1954. This home, the achievement of the Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris, cost the French Jewish community about \$180,000. On a much smaller scale, but quite significant, was the fact that from the Centre-Educatif in Paris, headed by Isaac Pougatch, a first class consisting of six young women and one man being trained as educators and community workers went out to do a year's inservice training in childrens' homes. Twelve new students enrolled for the Centre's second class, strengthening the impression that it would be possible to form a cadre of Jewish professional workers to meet the needs of the community, if training were provided and the jobs were made attractive enough. The Kehillah and the Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France joined forces to found three new kindergartens in Paris. The Conseil Traditionaliste founded one in Versailles, and established a Jewish day camp for children who could not get away from Paris for a vacation.

Conference on Jewish Material Claims

This variety of community efforts gained impetus during 1954 from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CJMCAG). In 1953, the CJMCAG's first year, little was known about it or how it would function; the CJMCAG itself was still busy determining its modes of action. A few of the more alert organizations managed to get assistance from the CJMCAG, but no unified community plan of action was presented to it.

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Important grants given to French institutions for 1954 were: \$64,500 to the Cercle Amicale et Foyer Ouvrière Juif, for the maintenance of institutions sheltering several hundred war orphans; \$18,500 to OSE France, for the medical care of Jewish victims of Nazism not covered by government social insurance; \$14,000 to the Ecole Aquiba, the Jewish day school in Strasbourg, for a new building, on condition that this sum would be matched by the local community. The Aix-Les-Bains and Lubavitcher yeshivot participated in the \$50,000 given for eleven European yeshivot; the Centre de Documentation Juive in Paris got funds to publish five volumes dealing with Jewish life under the German occupation; and the Société des Études Juives was given money for two issues of a magazine. Thus, in 1954 the CJMCAG was giving the French Jewish community funds equivalent to one-fourth of what French Jewry raised in its campaign; the community benefited even more substantially through funds coming from the CJMCAG than through the JDC.

In community planning for 1955 and the following years the assumption that there would be substantial CJMCAG funds played a key role. The CJMCAG seemed to have acted as a catalytic agent drawing forth every possible project for community improvement: in the field of culture and education 86 organizations submitted more than 3,000 separate requests totaling well over 2,000,000,000 francs, or \$6,000,000. It was a sign of the maturity of the French Jewish community, and the strength of the trend to joint planning, that there was unanimous agreement on presentation of a single plan asking for 105,000,000 francs (\$300,000), plus a request for a special appropriation to build a Jewish lycée in Paris to incorporate the three existing day schools eventually to cost 80,000,000 francs (\$230,000). There was, however, no single community channel for welfare and rehabilitation requests. Projects totaling 700,000,000 francs (\$2,000,000) were presented, but it was doubtful that many of them would be approved.

A special CJMCAG grant of \$300,000 was made in 1954 for the construction of a Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, not far from the Paris Hotel de Ville. The driving force behind this project was Isaac Schneersohn, energetic head of the Centre de Documentation Juive. There was much local objection to the construction of such a monument, however, on the grounds that the funds could be better used for more vital community needs.

Despite the signs of progress described above, the fundamental position of the Jewish community was still quite bad. Even the small gains stood out, indeed, because of the background against which they occurred. Many leading figures in French Jewish life were pessimistic, or at least doubtful, as to whether there was any future for Judaism in the country. Some figures tell part of the story: there was only one rabbi for every 7,000 Jews in France; the total number of donors to the FSJU was only 7,000; the Consistoire Central had only about 3,000 members. Altogether, President Guy de Rothschild estimated at the FSJU's fifth annual conference in March 1954, perhaps 25,000 Jews gave any sign of being touched by some form of Jewish community life. And, as ever, the pressure of the surrounding environment,

tolerant, democratic, imbued with a strong and attractive culture, made for assimilation.

Another important communal phenomenon that became apparent during the year under review was that the Eastern European element was losing some of its cohesiveness. Since the end of the war, the Eastern European group had been split in two ideologically. On the one side were the Jewish Communists; on the other were Jews of a Zionist, Socialist, or simply landsmannschaft orientation, in such organizations as the Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France and the Jewish Socialist Bund. Despite the fact that in 1953 a kehillah had been formed, with the intention of uniting all the non-Communist Eastern European groups, this kehillah had never been able to achieve its aims and was hamstrung by lack of financial means with which to carry on any effective large-scale program. In addition, during the year under review, Eastern European Jewry in France lost its two most important leaders. Marc Jarblum, former head of the Fédération des Sociétés Juives and the acknowledged head of Zionism in France for decades, went to live in Israel Israel Jefroykin, a venerable and respected figure and founder and president of the Kehillah, died at the age of seventy on April 12, 1954. Thus the two organizations through which Eastern European Jewry found its greatest expression were in effect leaderless. Aggravating the situation was the continued squabbling between the Fédération and the Kehillah, even though they both drew their membership largely from the same sources.

Community Welfare Aid

According to FSJU statistics, the Jewish community gave assistance to some 6,000 families during 1953–54. More than 1,000 children were being cared for in 18 institutions, and 480 aged persons in 8 homes. Canteens served 100,000 meals during the year; various health organizations registered 70,000 visits. Thanks to community help, 4,500 children were able to go to camp during the summer months. There was little change in the welfare load over the year, but some increase in minimum standards of aids. The last available annual figures showed a slight increase in aid from 147,000,000 francs (\$42,000) in 1952 to 155,000,000 francs (\$45,000) in 1953.

Religious Affairs

The Jewish communities of Algeria, part of the Union des Associations Cultuelles Israélites de France, were visited for more than a month by co-Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan of France in the spring of 1954. The grand rabbi then visited the United States, where he was feted by Jewish organizations for his successful intervention in the case of the Finaly children. On the occasion of the Assizes of French Jewry, in June 1954, he was named an officer of the Legion of Honor.

The Montevideo synagogue of Paris, home of French traditional Judaism, celebrated its hundredth anniversary late in 1953. The year also saw considerable building of new synagogues, particularly in Alsace-Lorraine, which

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had its own autonomous Union des Associations Cultuelles. In September 1954 the cornerstone was laid for the new Strasbourg temple, a modern synagogue building replacing one which had been damaged beyond repair during the war. A few months earlier, a synagogue was completed for the city of Thionville in Lorraine.

There was a tendency during the year under review to move Jewish affairs into larger and more spacious quarters. Thus, one of Paris' leading cinemas was filled for a Purim party and services for more than 2,000 children. The giving of Jewish education prizes, usually a rather restricted affair, was moved into a major hall. The Union Libérale, the single Reform synagogue in France, found its building too small to accommodate its High Holy Day worshippers, and held services in the concert hall of the Salle Gaveau.

The Consistoire of Paris elected Baron Alain de Rothschild as president

in December 1953, in place of Georges Wormser.

Jewish Education

There was a rise of perhaps 20 per cent in the number of children receiving some form of Jewish education during 1953–54. The total in Paris, about 3,000, was still low compared with the potential of perhaps 50,000 children; but as an indication that community efforts were having effect, it was encouraging. During 1953–54 enrollment in the Lucien Hirsch day school went up from 126 to 180; in the Yabne school from 90 to 120.

Zionism and Israel

Concerned about the growing apathy to Zionism in France, Zionist chiefs substantially reorganized the Fédération Sioniste in January 1954. A major reproach leveled against the Zionist organization was that it had failed to attract any substantial number of French Jews. In an effort to remedy this situation, the Fédération-which had been organized as a collection of Zionist political parties-was re-formed as a so-called Territorial Union, although it retained its old name. In this union, 60 per cent of the voting strength was left to the political parties and 40 per cent was reserved for non-political Zionist groups, like the French branch of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), and for different regional Zionist units which were to be established. Into these regional units, it was hoped, could be drawn individuals who had been loath to get involved in Zionist political conflicts, but who would want to support general Zionist aims. Marc Jarblum was named head of this reorganized Fédération Sioniste, but this presidency was more honorary than real, since he left for Israel. The working head was the secretary general, André Blumel. His election aroused considerable opposition among many old-time Zionists, who felt that Blumel was too closely associated with various Communist groups with whom the Zionists had been battling vigorously. Zionist leadership-represented at the January 1954 conference in Paris by the Speaker of the Israel Knesset, Joseph Sprinzak, and by Jewish Agency chairman Nahum Goldmann-hoped, however, that Blumel

might succeed in attracting French Jewry where the old-line Zionists had failed. The reorganization did not appear to have had much effect, but it was still too early to draw any final conclusions. During 1953–54, one of the most successful of Zionist activities was the sending of some three hundred

children for vacations in Israel.

Israel's influence on the Jewish community was felt through the active and well-liked ambassador, Jacob Tsur. In August Israeli Consul-General Abraham Guilboa, who had served in Paris since the founding of the Jewish state, returned to Israel and was replaced by Yosef Lotan. In August the Israel Chief of Staff, Moshe Dayan, paid a six-day official visit to France as guest of the French military authorities. Culturally, a high light of the season was the visit to Paris of the Habimah Theatre in July 1954. It was favorably received by the French critics. In March 1954, in a solemn ceremony, the ashes of Baron and Baroness Edmond de Rothschild were transported to Zichron Yaacov in Israel, one of the settlements which the Baron had helped found.

Publications and Cultural Activity

There was little change in Jewish community publications during the year. To those previously described (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 198–99) should be added the monthly house organs of the traditionalist Jews, Trait d'Union, and of L'Union Libérale, Le Rayon. Two new publications appeared, Renaissance, a monthly put out by the Jewish community of Marseille, and a highly philosophical magazine, Targoum, the product of students of the Gilbert Bloch school at Orsay. An old friend also reappeared on the Yiddish-language scene, the monthly magazine Kiyoum,

which had ceased publication during 1952-53.

There were no outstanding Jewish books brought out during the year under review, but various aspects of Jewish life were the subject matter of three books brought out for general circulation which won wide acclaim. One was the Statue de Sel, by Albert Nemmi, describing the inner conflicts of a young Jewish lad in Tunisia who could find no place for himself in either the medieval Jewish civilization that surrounded him, in the French environment, or as a Tunisian nationalist. Second was Le Livre de Ma Mere, by Albert Cohen, the tragedy of an immigrant woman from Corfu who was unable to adjust to modern Western life. A third was La Baie Perdu, by Manès Sperber, a story whose background was life in the Eastern European Jewish shtetl (small town).

There were two important Jewish museum exhibits, one at the Musée d'Art Juif in Paris, tracing a Jewish man's life through the ritual objects with which he would come in contact from the day of birth to the day of his death; and an unusual exhibit of Jewish antiques from all parts of Europe

at the Alsatian Museum of Strasbourg.

The Youth Artistic Center and Kinor Chorale, founded in 1953 by young Jewish musicians at the Paris Conservatory, had a most successful season, appearing at several Jewish functions and organizing a number of independ-

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ent concerts. There were also a number of Jewish discussion and lecture clubs.

Necrology

The well-known French dramatist, Henri Bernstein, died in December 1953. An appreciation of his life by the famous Catholic writer, François Mauriac, was greatly resented by members of the dramatist's family; and there was public dispute about his personality for some weeks.

ABRAHAM KARLIKOW

BELGIUM

The chief event of the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) in Belgium was the general election held in April 1954. This led to the fall of the all-Catholic government and its replacement by a Socialist-Liberal coalition, with Achille van Acker as premier and Paul-Henri Spaak at the ministry of foreign affairs.

The technical reason for the election was the need to amend the constitution to legalize the European Defense Community (EDC) Treaty and similar treaties with supranational clauses. The Catholic, or Social Christian Party, however, was so anxious to avoid losing its small absolute majority that the election was deferred by various means till the parliament, elected in 1950 under the stress of the disturbances about King Leopold, had virtually run the full four years of its maximum legal life.

Though the Catholics remained the largest party in both chambers, they were outnumbered by the combined Socialists and Liberals. Their defeat in the election was made the more decisive by the fact that the Socialists raised the issue of reduction of military service to eighteen months. The appeal of this slogan was particularly strong because the pay of the Belgian conscript was only 20 cents a day and the prolonged keeping of sons off the labor market worked an economic hardship for many families. The new government kept its promise to reduce the length of military service.

The EDC Treaty was ratified in March 1954, an agreement among the political parties having provided for ratification, irrespective of its constitutionality, provided the resolution to amend the constitution was passed immediately afterwards. The new parliament, though nominally a constitu-

ent assembly, had not yet passed the required amendments.

Economically, Belgium was feeling the effect of its postwar concentration on consumer's goods rather than on investment and industrial modernization. Belgian industry was feeling the full weight of competition in the export markets on which it depended, and a great many of the orders it received had been obtained only by sharp cuts in the profit margin. Belgium had, however, been able to capitalize its past trading surpluses, and its currency thus retained its strength and could stand up as well as any in Europe to the strains of convertibility.

Meantime, a new realism pervaded the recurrent discussions about the completion of the Benelux Union, and solid progress had been made toward that end. During the year under review, the three countries concerned (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) were able to permit almost complete freedom of capital movement among the member countries. They were attempting to work out a procedure for the joint negotiation of trade agreements; and though there was still an area of industry in which the Belgians could not meet the lower-cost Dutch competition, the Benelux Union seemed very much closer to full reality than it had a year before.

Jewish Population

The total Jewish population, previously rather loosely estimated at about 30,000, had been re-estimated at about 40,000. More than half lived in Brussels; some 15,000 Jews lived in Antwerp, where the Jews were largely engaged in the diamond trade. The remaining 4,000 Jews were distributed through the other Belgian cities, notably Charleroi, Liège, Ostend, and Ghent; across the border, in the small Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the number of Jews was about 1,500.

Apparently, the Jewish population of Belgium conformed fairly closely to the national demographic pattern, except that the size of families, notably in Antwerp, was below the normal for this Catholic city, whereas, in all the Flemish region, it was usual for the Belgians to have large families.

CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION

All authorities agreed that there had been an increase in the number of Jews adopting Belgian citizenship by naturalization or otherwise. These were largely the children of Jews driven westward during the pre-war Hitler period of the 1930's. The religious or racial status of the candidates was not stated in the naturalization lists presented to the Chamber once a year for the annual Naturalization Act. It was clear, however, that this increase was still in its early stages, since the option right could be exercised at the age of eighteen and the year under review would have produced only persons born in 1935 or earlier. Many children born abroad had to wait for their eighteenth birthday before acquiring their own Belgian citizenship. Naturalization, for those not born on Belgian soil, was a question of residence. The number who had completed the statutory ten years was now large, since it reflected population movements in the latter part of World War II. The residential requirement for foreign-born Jews was the same as for all foreigners. It was estimated that about 15,000 Jews now had Belgian nationality. Comparatively few Jews were entering Belgium with citizenship in view.

Emigration and Immigration

In August 1954 it was decided that the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), which had offices in Brussels and Antwerp, would

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take over the emigration services of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and thus handle all Jewish migration work in Belgium, except for that which involved emigrants to Israel, who continued to pass through the Israel office. The merger would remove from the organization Aide aux Israélites Victimes de la Guerre (AIVG) the JDC services which the AIVG formerly operated. The new arrangement was generally welcomed, since the big population movements of the postwar period were showing signs of slackening off, and there were obvious advantages in having the whole of the problem in the hands of a single body.

During the period under review there was a decline in emigration. It was estimated, though without any firm statistical basis, that the number of emigrants did not exceed 500, including both those assisted and those unassisted. At the time of the HIAS-JDC merger, it was stated that HIAS still had a waiting list of about 2,000 cases, and JDC one of about 1,200 cases. During 1953 JDC serviced 121 families (333 persons), HIAS 122 families (263 persons); during the first six months of 1954, JDC serviced 49

families (107 persons) and HIAS 43 families (77 persons).

Civic and Political Status

There was no official discrimination against Jews, either on religious or on racial grounds. This policy of nondiscrimination was part and parcel of Belgium's constitution and political mentality. Moreover, the Jewish religious communities had the benefit of arrangements by which, though Belgium was predominantly Roman Catholic, all organized religious commu-

nities drew financial assistance from Belgium public funds.

There was no organized anti-Semitism, though isolated and individual cases of overt discrimination did occasionally occur. In Antwerp, in particular, the concentration of a large part of the Jewish community in a small and central residential area produced occasional instances of the display of anti-Semitic feelings. An instance of this occurred in 1953 when a girl working in an Antwerp shop was dismissed a few days after she was hired when it was discovered that she was Jewish, the proprietor of the shop making no secret of the reason for his action. This, however, was an isolated case, and in general the Belgians accepted members of all creeds and races who were willing to conform to their laws and their way of life.

To some extent the aftermath of the Nazi persecutions had brought Jewish interests into conflict, not with Belgian authority, but with the evangelizing spirit of many Christians. In particular, some children whose parents had been victims of the Nazis had been cared for in non-Jewish homes where they have received the elements of Christian education. Though a large body of opinion preferred to return such children to Jewish surroundings and beliefs, the more moderate element had nothing but praise for the way in which the cases coming before the Belgian courts were being settled. In every case the happiness of the child was the main consideration motivating the decision; attempts to prevent the implementation of the verdicts—as, for example, the removal of children from the jurisdiction of the

court, or hiding them—were severely dealt with. Christian evangelism appeared to have played a major part in these cases. Of some fifty cases already settled, a large number were traced to a single school teacher, who had conceived it her mission to save souls and had placed a large number of children in homes where a similar ultra-Catholic spirit predominated.

An interesting situation arose during the period under review when two Dutch Jewish girls—Betty Milhado and Anneke Beekman—were smuggled into Belgium by their Catholic guardians in order to thwart Dutch court orders restoring them to Jewish custody. In both cases, Belgian police action was ordered and taken with a view to locating the child and instituting legal proceedings to return her to Holland. In the Milhado case, the action was successful in March 1954; in the Beekman case the police had not yet at the time of writing (August 1954) succeeded in tracing the girl. The main press reaction in the Beekman case was focused on the fact that the Dutch court appeared to have assigned Anneke to institutional care, which was thought less desirable than personal care, particularly in view of the great effort and risk undertaken by her guardian in keeping her. Though the ultra-Catholic papers regretted the possibility of a potential member being removed from the Catholic Church, no comment had disparaged the Jewish element in the case.

Jewish Education

The scattered character of the Brussels Jewish community remained an organizational problem. During the year under review it had been possible to find a larger number of qualified teachers of Hebrew and of Jewish subjects to work not only in the one Jewish school but also as visiting teachers in the many nondenominational state schools where Jewish children were enrolled. In Brussels the ORT courses in technical and trade subjects had to be dropped for lack of enrollment, but similar courses were being successfully continued in Antwerp and there were plans to enlarge them. The Tachkemoni secondary school in Antwerp was expected to have a full sixyear course by September 1954. The work of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), the Maccabi, and the Union des Jeunes Gens Juifs continued on the same lines as in 1952–53. The secondary Talmud school at Kapellen, north of Antwerp, continued to train students to continue higher religious studies at a university level, mainly in Amsterdam and Paris.

Zionism

On various occasions the point had been raised that the Belgian Federation of Zionists was meagerly represented in the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique. The practical result was that when a Jewish view was asked for —as in cases of disputed custody of children—it was given by the religious (and predominantly Belgian) body rather than by the political. Various dif-

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ficulties inside the Federation led to the annual meeting on November 8, 1953, being adjourned to December 20. The Mapai group, in particular, which had about 650 members of the 7,500 shekel-paying Zionists, criticized the Federation and its biggest group, the General Zionists, on the basis that the financial aims of Zionism were being given undue priority over the cultural and political objectives, and that there was an apparent "unwillingness to accept newcomers."

The adjourned annual meeting, however, produced twenty-one resolutions, one of which called for a *kehilla*, or fund-raising body. Another resolution called for the formation of a political study group designed to improve the internal relations inside the Belgian Federation, as well as relations with Israel. The study group was formed, and closer relations with the Consistoire Central were already apparent. The other resolutions provided for increased activities in various fields, notably educational, religious, and social welfare.

Further courses in Hebrew were given in the winter of 1953-54, and a fresh series was due to start in the autumn of 1954. There was strong interest in these courses. Two holiday courses, one at Ostend and one at Kapellenbosch, were attended by 21 students and 18 students, respectively.

Social Services

The AIVG was attempting to tackle the problem created by the scattered character of the Jewish population in Brussels. A center was to be established during the winter of 1954–55; it was hoped this center would aid the work of the AIVG fund-raising department, which had so far managed to reach only about 500 of the 20,000 Jewish inhabitants of the Brussels district.

Financial difficulties had led to various adaptations in the AIVG social service organization. In place of the former medical service, the agency was sending patients to private doctors with whom it had service contracts. There was now one permanent home for children and another home which took four groups of thirty children each for a seaside holiday of three or four weeks during the summer season.

The number of people receiving permanent care in the Brussels region was about 1,200 and in Antwerp about 900. These numbers included those helped by organizations other than the AIVG.

Religious Life

The shortage of rabbis and officiants had been to some extent relieved

by the appointment of Jonas Zweig as rabbi in Antwerp.

Cooperation between the Consistoire Central and the Belgian civil and religious authorities continued and contributed to the successful settlement of the cases of the care of Jewish children. Grand Rabbi Solomon Ullmann, though well past the age limit, continued by special annual act of the

Belgian Parliament to serve as Jewish Almoner General for the Belgian armed forces.

Culture and Personalia

A cultural feature of the year was the unveiling by King Baudouin of the national memorial at the Nazi concentration camp at Breendonk. A Jew, the well-known sculptor Yudel Jankelevici, designed and executed the memorial. His work at Breendonk won him unstinted praise in all sections of the Belgian press.

An event of some importance in the cultural field was the establishment

in Antwerp of a Jewish Club.

In September 1953 Maurice Stern became president of the Jewish National

Fund succeeding Marc Bergier, who left for Israel.

In April 1954 the AIVG lost its president, Alfred Goldschmidt, at the age of sixty-two. In June its manager, Guy Mansbach, died at the age of forty-five. Mansbach was succeeded by his wife, who was to take over her duties in September 1954.

GAVIN GORDON

THE NETHERLANDS

The Period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) was one of political stability and continued satisfactory economic progress in The Netherlands.

General Background

In the quadrennial elections for the provincial states (councils) on April 21, Labor (Partij van de Arbeid) rose from 156 to 180 seats. The Catholic People's Party (KVP), with 186 seats and 31.5 per cent of the vote, remained the largest party. The Communists dropped to 5.3 per cent of the total.

A mandament issued jointly by the five Roman Catholic bishops in The Netherlands, on May 30, 1954, forbade Dutch Catholics to be members of the Netherlands Federation of Labor, listen regularly to the Dutch Labor Broadcasting Station (VARA), or be members of a number of other Socialist as well as of all Communist organizations. Membership in the Labor Party itself was not explicitly forbidden, but was called "undesirable" for Catholics.

This mandament—a reversal of the policy of the first postwar years—caused widespread repercussions. Its publication alienated certain sections of the Dutch population from the Catholics. The Labor Party pointed out that it might endanger the present political cooperation between it and the Catholic People's Party.

The damage caused by the 1952 floods was largely repaired. Productivity

was higher than ever before, as was the level of employment. Unemployment was limited to a few fields; one of these was the diamond industry, in which many Jews used to find a livelihood.

Because of its serious overpopulation, Holland allowed no immigration of any kind. The emigration of 50,000 persons a year remained an official government goal. Official bureaus assisted prospective emigrants, and their passage overseas was paid by the government.

War Criminals

On March 17, 1954, the minister of justice, L. A. Donker (Labor), informed the Senate that, of some 150,000 persons who after the liberation had been arrested for Nazi activities, and of whom about 100,000 had been sentenced, only some 600 were still in prison. Of these, all but the 159 who had been sentenced for life would be free in four years' time. Of these 159, 69 had originally been sentenced to death, but their sentences had since been commuted. The minister opposed additional clemency to the 159 who were serving life terms, as all of them had committed very serious crimes, which had resulted in the death of tens, hundreds, or even thousands of persons.

BREDA PRISON ESCAPEES

Of the seven Dutch war criminals who escaped over the German frontier from Breda prison in January 1952 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 211-12), six still remained in Western Germany, and one was still at large. The West German Government continued to place legal difficulties in the way of their extradition.

For aiding the seven to escape, four Dutch ex-Nazis were sentenced by the 's Hertogenbosch Higher District Court to the maximum sentence of six months in prison on April 21, 1954. In October 1953, the Breda Lower District Court had given them a lower sentence on the ground that the men had already been harmed in their livelihood, as the press had published their names. The prosecution had appealed.

NESB

The former Dutch SS officer Paul van Tienen and the lawyer J. A. Wolthuis, another Dutch ex-Nazi, who in June 1953 had announced the establishment of a new political party, the Nationaal Europese Socialistische Beweging (NESB), and in August 1953 had published a weekly Alarm, were prosecuted in October 1953 on a charge of "belonging to a group which is a continuation of the pre-war and wartime Nazi party NSB." The latter, as well as all successor organizations, had been outlawed by a decree of the Netherlands Government in London on September 17, 1944.

The Amsterdam Lower District Court sentenced van Tienen and Wolthuis

to two months in prison, minus the nearly two months they had spent in detention. They appealed, and on February 4, 1954, the Higher District Court decided that the NESB was not a continuation of the NSB. Though its program showed certain similarities with the outlawed party, it differed in important aspects. For instance, the NESB was not autonomous, but formed part of an organization with headquarters in Sweden and branches in several Western European countries. The public prosecutor appealed. Meanwhile, the NESB again started selling Alarm and organized a few poorly attended meetings. On May 18, 1954, the Supreme Court ordered that the acquittal by the Amsterdam Higher District Court be quashed and the two men retried by The Hague Higher District Court. This retrial was due to take place in October 1954.

The minister of justice stated in the second chamber of the Netherlands parliament that, should the prosecution of the two NESB leaders fail, he would submit a new draft bill to outlaw parties like the NESB.

In general however, there was very little neo-Nazi activity in The Netherlands during the period under review.

Jewish Population

The number of Jews in The Netherlands was about 25,000, over half of them living in Amsterdam, 2,000 at The Hague, 900 in Rotterdam, and less than 450 in all other places.

No Jews from abroad settled in The Netherlands, except one rabbi. Very few persons who had settled in Israel returned to The Netherlands.

Most of the refugees from Central and Eastern Europe who had settled in Holland before the war had by the time of writing (July 1954) received Dutch citizenship.

Emigration continued, but at a much lower rate than in the first years after World War II. The American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), which on January 1, 1953, had 1,119 persons (434 families) registered for emigration, saw this figure more than halved at the end of 1953. A total of 260 persons left for overseas with the help of the JDC during the year, over half of them to the United States and Canada. Full Jewish emigration figures were unavailable, as many Jews did not apply to Jewish organizations. Those emigrating did so mostly because of unemployment in their particular trades or other personal problems.

Anti-Semitic Activity

Few cases of active anti-Semitism were reported. However, a few Catholic papers, especially in the south, from time to time showed an attitude of hardly disguised anti-Semitism, both in connection with the war orphans case (see below) and on other occasions, e.g., De Gaset van Limburg (Maastricht); De Gelderlander (Nijmegen).

Jewish War Orphans

Of the 1,731 Jewish war orphans, 500 had reached their majority by the end of 1953, 335 had emigrated since the end of World War II (a large proportion to Israel), 431 were under Jewish guardianship, 400 were still under Christian guardianship, and the fate of 59 was still being disputed. A few of those under Christian guardianship were being educated in Jewish surroundings, and vice versa.

Beekman and Milhado Affair

The case of the two Jewish war orphans, Anneke (Anna Henriette) Beekman and Betty (Rebecca) Milhado, both born in 1940, who had been missing since 1948 and 1949, respectively, continued to occupy public attention in The Netherlands (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 206-08).

On July 13, 1953, the acting Archbishop of Utrecht, Mgr. B. J. Alfrink, told the executives of the Ashkenazic and Portuguese congregations that the Misses van Moorst, the Roman Catholic former foster mothers of Anneke Beekman, "had been informed by the church authorities that they need not derive from their Catholic conviction the duty to keep the girl back." Simultaneously, Mgr. Alfrink appealed to the chief rabbi to curb incorrect press reports alleging that Anneke Beekman was being kept in a convent against her will. "Apart from the ladies who brought her up and those looking after the girl now, nobody seems to know where she is, including ourselves."

The influential Nederlands Juristen Blad on January 9, 1954, urged editorially that the child be produced and the Episcopate lend its cooperation. On September 25, 1953, thirty clergymen and members of the Dutch

Mennonite Society had sent a similar appeal to the Episcopate.

On March 12, 1954, a few days before the matter was to be raised in the Dutch senate, the two girls were found in two Belgian convents, after ten weeks of active investigation by the Dutch police. Betty was immediately returned to Holland. Anneke had been removed a few minutes before the

police entered the room, and was missing ever since.

It was established later that the girls had been brought in June 1948 to the Belgian convent of Valmeer, accompanied by the van Moorst sisters. Betty, who had been kidnapped in May 1948, had first spent some weeks in a Dutch convent, near the residence of the van Moorst sisters. Anneke had returned to Hilversum after a few months, but had been taken back to Valmeer on February 24, 1949, the day before the Supreme Court finally awarded guardianship over her to the Le'ezrath Hayeled, The Netherlands Jewish Board of Guardians. When in September 1953 the Valmeer convent was closed down, the two girls were taken to two different convents, at St. Truiden and at Banneux.

CATHOLIC ATTITUDE

On March 14, 1954, the Centrale Commissie of the Ashkenazic congregation cabled Mgr. Alfrink and the Belgian Cardinal Van Roey to exercise

their authority for the earliest possible return of Anneke Beekman. Neither Mgr. Alfrink or Cardinal Van Roey gave a direct reply. On March 24 The Netherlands Episcopate stated that the appeal by the Ashkenazic congregation, which had also been released to the press, "was clearly mainly intended to foster anti-Catholic prejudice"; it also reiterated that it was not the task of the ecclesiastical authorities to exhort Roman Catholics to obey decisions of a civil court. The Catholic press stressed that the girls had been baptized in the Catholic faith and, though this baptism had been authorized by persons who were not the children's legal guardians, the girls could now only be brought up as Catholics. They also condemned Jewish "ingratitude," hinting that if a new disaster befell the Jews, Catholics might not save their children again. They emphasized the contrast between "Christian love" and "Jewish legal formalism," and alleged that in 1949 Anneke was to have been transferred to a Jewish "Communist" family.

However, the nondenominational press generally condemned the standpoint of the Episcopate. A very large number of letters to the editor, both

pro and contra, appeared in practically every paper.

On April 3, 1954, the Nederlands Juristen Blad suggested that the Jewish community should voluntarily abandon guardianship over Anneke, for the sake of her harmonious development and the peaceful coexistence of the various denominations. Le'ezrath Hayeled replied that it was not prepared to do so, but that it was ready, after the girl had been produced, to have her observed by a neutral psychiatrist. If the psychiatrist thought it preferable, Le'ezrath Hayeled was willing to have Anneke placed at first in a non-Jewish environment, as a transitory measure.

On March 22, Mrs. G. M. Langedijk-van Moorst, who in 1948 had had legal custody over Anneke for a few months, was arrested after her return from a sudden visit to the neighborhood of Banneux. The arrests of three more relatives followed. The latter were soon released, but remained under charges. The Catholic press charged that the women had been treated

brutally.

The chief district attorney of Amsterdam, F. Hollander, who had been largely responsible for tracing the children and who was of Jewish origin, became a target for attack. Hollander was eventually transferred to a provincial district court by the minister of justice, who added that he was one of the most capable members of the magistrature. The transfer was not to take effect until October 1, 1954, but an assistant district attorney immediately took over in the Beekman case.

WHITE PAPER

On May 7, 1954, a long-promised white paper was published jointly by the Ashkenazic and Portuguese congregations. The pamphlet, over a hundred pages long, reproduced many documents on the court proceedings and decisions, as well as press comments going up to the early part of April 1954. It was distributed to the Dutch press, members of parliament, child welfare organizations, etc. The Catholic press generally called the white

paper "nonobjective," "sensational," and "harmful," and claimed that it had again frustrated the main goal—a happy future for a war orphan.

GOVERNMENTAL DECISION

On June 11, 1954 The Netherlands (governmental) Guardianship Council decided that Betty Milhado—whose legal custody had not yet been finally settled when she was abducted in May 1948—should be educated with a Roman Catholic family. The Guardianship Council took this decision against the advice of a neutral psychiatrist for which it had itself asked. After observing the girl, the psychiatrist had advised that she be educated in neutral surroundings. As of July 1954, no decision had been made regarding Betty Milhado's ultimate guardianship. A joint deputation of the Ashkenazic and Portuguese congregations protested to the minister of justice against this decision.

On July 27, 1954, Mrs. Langedijk-van Moorst was sentenced to one year in prison for complicity in the abduction of Betty Milhado. Of this term, six months would be remitted on condition of good behavior for three years, and four months deducted for the period she had already spent in prison. Among the extenuating circumstances, the court mentioned that "it had not been proved that those to whom the accused had entrusted herself for spiritual guidance had ever pointed out to her the seriousness of her crime."

The sentence satisfied Jewish public opinion. Mrs. Langedijk, who did not appeal, faced another indictment for the abduction of Anneke Beekman.

Community Organization and Activity

The agreement originally concluded between the Ashkenazic and Portuguese congregations in The Netherlands in 1810 was renewed for another century on December 26, 1953. In this covenant, the two congregations recognized each other's existence and defined who should be a member of either congregation. Under the new covenant, not only Ashkenazic wives of Portuguese husbands, but also Ashkenazic husbands of Portuguese wives, and Ashkenazic orphans brought up by Portuguese families, were permitted to join the Portuguese congregation, which had dwindled to some 800 members.

On February 14, 1954, a liaison committee of six members was set up, three from each congregation, for the coordination of activities, particularly in regard to external affairs. As a result, the Beekman-Milhado White Paper

(see above) was issued by the two congregations jointly.

On October 25, 1953, the quadrennial elections for the thirty-member Amsterdam Ashkenazic Community Council took place; this was the only community council in The Netherlands whose members were still elected by general vote. The community council appointed more than half the members of the Centrale Commissie and of the Permanent Commission, the national policy-making bodies.

Of some 6,000 eligibles, 1,887 voted. Of the thirty seats, the (Orthodox) Mizrachi, combined with the Association of East European Jews, received

twelve, the Zionists nine, and Binyan (a conglomerate of Agudah and other non-Zionists) ten, a balance of power only slightly different from that of the

previous council.

There was little contact between Netherlands and world Jewry. Two representatives of the Ashkenazic congregation, I. de Vries, the chairman of The Netherlands Zionist Federation, and H. Beem, of The Netherlands Permanent Commission, attended the World Jewish Congress Third Plenary Assembly in Geneva in August 1953.

For the year 1954, Netherlands Jewry received \$15,000 from the Confer-

ence on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany.

Religious Activity

B. Benedikt of Tel Aviv was installed as rabbi of Amsterdam for a four-year period in September 1953, replacing J. Oppenheimer, who had left for overseas in July. In February, E. Berlinger, of Sweden and Finland and formerly of the Saar, was appointed as a rabbi for the whole of Holland by the Centrale Commissie—the first time in the history of Dutch Jewry that a rabbinical appointment was made, not by one of the eleven rabbinical ressorts (provincial districts) for its own territory only, but by the Centrale Commissie. Rabbi Berlinger, who took up his position in July 1954, was to give special attention to the small Jewish communities in the Netherlands countryside.

Rabbi F. Ruelf, who had come to The Netherlands from Israel to serve as the rabbi of the Liberal Congregation in January 1953, returned to Israel in April 1954. For the first time in its twenty-year history, the Liberal Congregation, which consisted of some 400 members, mainly of German origin, then chose a Dutch-born Jew, Jacob Soetendorp, to serve as a lay

preacher.

The "Great" and the "New" Synagogues of Amsterdam, inaugurated in 1671 and 1752 respectively, were sold, along with a number of adjoining former Jewish communal buildings, to the Amsterdam municipality in the spring of 1954. In January 1954 the Amsterdam Ashkenazic congregation also sold to the municipality the "Uilenburg" synagogue, dating from 1766 and on the list of government-protected historical monuments for its architectural value. The municipality was expected to turn the synagogues into historical museums.

The first large synagogue built in Holland since the end of World War II was dedicated in Rotterdam on June 20, 1954. The new modern premises contained, in addition to the synagogue, communal offices, a Jewish school, and a hall for meetings and festivities, and was the first Jewish communal center of its kind in The Netherlands. It was built with a subsidy from the ministry of reconstruction.

In other places, such as Bussum and Roermond, small synagogues which had been destroyed during World War II were rebuilt and reopened during

December 1953.

Jewish Education and Youth Activity

Nearly 1,000 children were receiving some form of Jewish education in The Netherlands, some 200 of them at the elementary day school Rosh Pinah at Amsterdam. The (Ashkenazic) Central Education Committee employed four full-time and eight part-time itinerant teachers for communities without Jewish teachers of their own. In Amsterdam, fewer than half of all Jewish children received any Jewish education.

The four Jewish youth movements—Habonim, Bne Akivah, Tsofim and Hashalsheleth (Orthodox Agudah)—had some 600 members altogether. Most

of them suffered from a shortage of leaders, especially for the boys.

Social Services

At the fifth anniversary of Joods Maatschappelijk Werk (JMW), the coordinating body for Jewish social welfare work, in the spring of 1954, it was reported that the number of affiliated organizations had risen from twenty-nine in 1948 to sixty-one in 1954. But several organizations—some with considerable funds but little activity—remained outside the JMW.

CEFINA, the central financing coordinating campaign for Jewish social

work, had an income of about \$100,000 in 1953-54.

In December 1953, a second home for the aged was opened in Amsterdam, in addition to the Joodse Invalide. Called Beth Menuchah, it occupied the building of the pre-war Beth Shalom, and with the aid of the JMW served ninety persons, mostly non-invalid paying guests. On June 15, 1954, a new Jewish old age home for fifty-three persons was opened at The Hague. The old one had accommodated only fifteen.

During the year under review, a sum of F500,000 (\$131,500) from four closed Dutch-Jewish orphanages was transferred to Israel. The bulk was used to rebuild Hayotsrim, a religious Youth Aliyah institution for seventy-five difficult children, near Haderah, under the supervision of a Jewish director from The Netherlands. The institution, renamed Kfar Juliana after

the Queen of The Netherlands, was dedicated on April 28, 1954.

New buildings at Kfar Eliyahu, a Poale Agudath Israel children's village near Rehovoth, which were constructed with part of the funds, were dedicated in December 1953.

Funds of a former Jewish hospital at Haarlem were transferred to Israel, where a Netherlands home for parents was to be built with them in Haifa.

Zionist Activity

The Netherlands Zionist Federation (NZB) continued to be a tightly organized structure, whose activities were practically confined to the executive. No new generation of Zionists was arising, as most young Zionists with a real interest in Israel had already settled there.

Among the resolutions carried at the fifty-first annual conference of the

NZB in December 1954 was one opposing the proposal by the executive of the World Zionist Organization to admit non-Zionists to the Zionist organization. In 1953 ninety-five persons from Holland settled in Israel (of whom thirty-three were members of the NZB), compared with 140 in 1952, 294 in 1951, 279 in 1950, and 569 in 1949. Fewer than twenty people were now receiving hachsharah training to prepare them to emigrate to Israel, and most were receiving a nonagricultural training. One of the three hachsharah centers that remained of the fourteen set up after World War II closed in November 1953.

FUND-RAISING FOR ISRAEL

In 1953-54 the United Israel Campaign (CIA) netted some 500,000 florins (\$131,500); the same amount was expected to result from the 1954-55 campaign. Keren Kayemeth-Jewish National Fund had a revenue of about 120,000 florins (\$31,000) in 1953-54, 20,000 florins more than in 1952-53. The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) also showed good results, raising 25,000 florins (\$6,578) and sending an equivalent amount in clothing to Israel. An Israel Bond Drive was launched in The Netherlands on April 15, 1954. An office of the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel was set up in Amsterdam; the target was to sell \$1,000,000 worth of Israel bonds in The Netherlands.

Cultural Developments

An exhibition of Jewish religious objects organized by the Jewish community of Deventer in the spring of 1954 drew visitors from all over The Netherlands, both Jews and non-Jews.

Abel Herzberg, a lawyer and author, and past chairman of The Netherlands Zionist Federation, received the Amsterdam drama prize for his

drama Herodes in January 1954.

Malcolm D. Rivkin, a young American Jewish graduate of Harvard University, visited The Netherlands during the period September 1953 through June 1954 on a Fullbright scholarship to do research on Jews and Judaism in postwar Amsterdam. In June 1954 Rivkin finished a ninety-page report, a summary of which was subsequently published in the Dutch Jewish weekly.

Personalia

On June 25, Prof. Eduard Meijers, the most renowned Dutch lawyer of the last two generations, died at the age of seventy-four. Professor Meijers had taught civil law at Leyden for over forty years. In 1947 he had been entrusted by the minister of justice with the task of drafting single-handed a new civil code, to replace that of 1837. At Professor Meijers's death, large sections of the new draft code had been completed. He had never been actively associated with Jewish affairs, but had after World War II given

valuable support in the struggle for Jewish restitution and in the contro-

versy regarding Jewish war orphans.

The author Sam Goudsmit died on January 23, 1954, some days before his seventieth birthday. A writer with pronounced pro-Communist views, some of his novels had had a Jewish theme.

HENRIETTE BOAS

SWITZERLAND

DURING THE PERIOD July 1, 1953 through June 30, 1954, Switzerland continued to pursue the even tenor of its ways. Neutral for centuries, and spared the ravages of war since the days of Napoleon, Switzerland continued to maintain a successful neutrality in the current struggle between the Eastern and Western blocs. Since the Swiss army existed only to guard the country's borders, there was never even any discussion of Swiss entrance into the European Defense Community (EDC). Switzerland continued to serve as host to numerous international conferences and congresses.

The internal political situation remained quiet. In various elections the three major parties, of which the Social Democratic Party was the strongest, held their ground. Jews belonged to all the non-confessional parties; there was no Jewish party as such. The Communists played only an insignificant role, and were unrepresented in most of the cantonal parliaments. The only Jew who had hitherto played a leading role in the Communist Party, Ernst

Rosenbusch, resigned his posts on July 13, 1953.

The favorable course of economic developments since the end of World War II continued. Comprehensive plans were in readiness for creating employment in case of a depression. It was impossible to predict just how great an effect the new tariff increases on watch imports into the United States, imposed on July 27, 1954, would have on the Swiss watch industry, in which a number of Jewish firms and workers were engaged, but Switzerland was expected certainly to suffer some damage as a result.

Jewish Population

Of a total Swiss population of 4,500,000, some 20,000 were Jews. Thus Jews formed less than one-half of one per cent of the population. But in some of the large cities, the proportion exceeded one per cent. Two-thirds of the Jews in the country were Swiss citizens; the others were foreign or stateless.

The older age groups predominated.

During the period 1941-50, an estimated 4,000 Jews married. Since there were only about 1,400 marriages in which both parties were Jewish, it is obvious that many of the marriages in which Jews were involved were with non-Jews. Marriages with Catholics and Protestants were about equally numerous. As in most European countries, the demographic prospects for the Jewish population were not favorable. During the ten years

before the last census (1951), 2,270 Jewish children were born, while 3,260 Jews died. Thus in contrast to the surplus of births which existed among the non-Jewish population, there was an annual deficit of about 100.

The table below, prepared by cantonal statistician Hans Guth, describes the occupational distribution of the Jewish population, which is not covered in the official report of the census.

TABLE 1

Occupational Distribution of the Jewish Population, 1941

Occupation	Men	Women	Total
Self-employed. Industry and handwork. Food, drink, and confectionery. Clothing. Textiles. Watches, clocks, and jewelry. Trade, banking, and insurance. Hotels. Liberal professions. Law. Medicine, Pharmacy, Dentistry, etc. Music, Theater, etc. Other self-employed.	2;457 506 34 269 30 71 1,602 13 325 71 138 32 11	572 116 3 93 4 2 223 75 98 1 41 24	2,969 622 37 362 34 73 1,825 88 423 72 179 56
Employed by Others Agriculture Industry. Clothing Metal and machine work Watchmaking and jewelry Building trades Mercantile and public employment Hotel trades Liberal Professions Medicine and health services Education Music, Theater, etc. Domestic Employment Others	3;700 84 943 209 85 38 454 1,994 54 562 153 60 159 9	7,603 2 249 189 5 15 — 862 34 254 154 21 62 184	5,303 86 1,192 398 90 53 454 2,856 88 816 307 81 221 193 72
Total	6,157	2,115	8,272

Community Organization

During 1953-54 the major communities continued to increase their membership, while those in smaller centers lost members. In all, there were somewhat more than 4,000 heads of families and single persons belonging to communities. Only a small number of the Jews in Switzerland did not belong to any community, a fact which was the more noteworthy in view of the fact that membership was purely voluntary and involved considerable

expense. The communities were organized as voluntary bodies under the civil code governing associations, and financed by the self-imposed taxation of their members. The largest communities were those of Zurich (1,305 members), Basel (811), and Geneva (303). Some of the smaller communities had as few as three or four members.

The central organization of the communities, the Schweizerischer Israelitische Gemeindebund (SIG), celebrated its fiftieth birthday in May 1954. The meeting of the delegates was preceded by an impressive gathering of Swiss Jewry. In connection with the jubilee a commemorative volume was published, presenting for the first time comprehensive information on Swiss Jewry. Since the SIG was recognized both by the authorities and by Jewish institutions as the official representative of Swiss Jewry, the contents of the commemorative volume furnished an authoritative documentation covering the fields of religious and political rights, social and philanthropic work, education and culture, and defense against anti-Semitism.

Religious Life

Since kosher slaughtering had been prohibited in Switzerland since 1893, it was necessary, when a new agricultural law was introduced on January 1, 1954, to take steps to assure that the importation of kosher meat would continue to be possible in the future. It was possible to effect a significant reduction in price, so that the consumption of kosher meat had increased in recent months.

There were Orthodox communities in Basel, Lucerne, and Zurich. Bespeaking the origin of Swiss Jewry, the rites in the synagogues were characterized by South German, Alsation, and East European usages. The number

of Sephardic Jews was negligible.

The two yeshivot continued their work on about the same scale. One of them, formerly in Lugano, was able to purchase its own building in Lucerne, and transferred to its new home on June 13, 1954. The other yeshiva, established in Montreux in 1927, maintained its program. The Juedische Schulverein (The Jewish School Society) of Zurich, whose members were drawn from Orthodox circles, established a supplementary primary school for the lower grades. It followed the state school program in the secular subjects, and in addition gave its twenty-six pupils an intensive Jewish education. This was the first Jewish school in Switzerland; its establishment on April 27, 1954, aroused opposition in the press of Liberal Jewry.

Since Jewish books were no longer being published in Germany, prayer books with German translations, school books, and other publications to meet Jewish needs had to be printed in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. At the end of August 1954 there appeared the first volume of a four-volume translation of the Bible by N. H. Tur-Sinai (Harry Torczyner), printed together with the original Hebrew text, and an edition of the Pentateuch with the weekly readings as used for divine services.

Cultural Activities

In connection with its jubilee, in the summer of 1953, the SIG established prizes in the arts. These prizes, of 2,000 francs (\$457) each, were awarded on May 26, 1954, to Margarete Susman in literature, Alice Guggenheim in painting and sculpture, and Alexander Schaichet in music. Schaichet had previously received an award from the city of Zurich. Twenty nominations in all were made for the SIG prizes in the arts; every member of a Jewish community was entitled to submit nominations.

A number of Jewish writers, artists, and musicians produced new works during 1953-54. Kurt Guggenheim's cycle of novels, Alles in Allem, was a great success. Ralph Lieberman's opera, Penthiselea, had its first performance in connection with the 1954 Salzburg Festival, Fritz Hochwaeldler, who had come to Switzerland as a refugee from Austria in 1938, published a play, Donadieu.

Social Services

The most important Jewish welfare activity in Switzerland was that of assisting refugees and war victims. At the end of World War II there were about 25,000 Jewish refugees in Switzerland needing assistance, while the settled Jewish population of the country was only 19,000. Since the end of World War II in 1945, 22,350 persons had been enabled to emigrate, 8,085 of them to new countries, 14,265 to their old European homes, mainly through the aid of the Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Flüchtlingshilfen (VSJF), a department of the SIG. Some 650 indigent refugees were being supported financially, while about 1,000 others required other forms of help. During the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1953, sixty-five former refugees, mostly younger ones, had been able to emigrate, chiefly to the United States, Israel, Canada, and South America. The new American law (August 8, 1953) permitting the immigration of 200,000 persons outside the quotas did not apply to Switzerland, which was not a member nation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Since 1933 the VSJF had spent a total of 67,725,000 Swiss francs (S15,-498,000) for assistance to refugees. Of this sum, 36,000,000 (\$8,238,000) had been supplied by the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), 11,000,-000 (\$2,517,000) by the Federal government and the cantons, and 12,000,000 (\$2,746,000) by the Jewish population of Switzerland. The VSJF's income for the year 1953, 1,830,000 Swiss francs (\$418,700), almost met its expenditures of 1,834,000 (\$418,800). Its largest expenditures were for the support of old, sick, and crippled persons. In the spring of 1954 the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany promised the SIG a contribution for the regular expenses of the VSJF, in addition to the funds allotted to subsistence loans and to the home for aged refugees, Les Berges du Léman-Maon, at Vevey. This home, which accommodated 130 persons, had been

established in 1949 with the help of the government.

Etania, the sanatorium for consumptives at Davos and the society Pro Leysin (bone tuberculosis) had for years met the need for providing tubercular Jews with the possibility of treatment in the classic country of tuberculosis therapy. As in most tuberculosis sanatoriums, the available beds in Davos were not fully used. This was the result of the obstacles preventing persons from coming from Eastern Europe, the existing clearing restrictions, and the fact that modern methods of tuberculosis therapy were not dependent on specific climatic conditions.

The Swiss Jewish Old People's Home in Lengnau, with sixty-two inmates, celebrated its fiftieth birthday in 1953. An attractive commemorative booklet was published on this occasion. The Jewish home La Charmille at Riehen-Basel, to which a nursing care division had been added, accommodated ninety-seven persons. In Zurich the society Jüdisches Schwesternheim celebrated its fortieth anniversary, while the Israelitische Frauenverein of the same city, which maintained the children's recreational and health home Wartheim at Heiden (Canton Appenzell) for some ten to twenty children, was seventy-five years old, and published a journal for the occasion.

Under the auspices of the Association of Jewish Students in Switzerland, a scholarship was set up on June 13, 1954, to continue and expand the work begun with the help of the JDC in the postwar years. About twenty refugee students were being supported by the association, and some two hundred had been able to complete their studies with the aid of scholarships. On December 4, 1953, the Saly Mayer Memorial Fund, established with the assistance of the JDC, had in accordance with its statutes given 6,150 Swiss francs (\$1,407) to the student association.

ORT and OSE had their own offices in Switzerland. OSE continued to operate its preventorium at Morgins in the canton of Valais. During the year 1953 ORT trained 23 teachers for its 245 trade schools throughout the world at its central educational institute at Anières in the canton of Geneva.

HEIRLESS PROPERTY

Negotiations with the Federal Council continued, with a view to ascertaining and obtaining possession of heirless Jewish property located in Switzerland. The principal difficulty lay in the strict obligation of secrecy observed by banks in Switzerland, and which the bankers' association cited as a reason for not divulging information about heirless Jewish property. The SIG, which represented Jewish interests in these negotiations, had submitted a memorandum in July 1954 to the Federal Council recommending a solution that would accord with the banks' obligation of secrecy.

Anti-Semitism and Discrimination

There was no sign of any increase in anti-Semitism in Switzerland during the period under review. The propaganda of the insignificant neo-Fascist groups, like the Volkspartei der Schweiz, met with no public response. The SIG dealt with individual anti-Semitic incidents in an appropriate manner. The SIG's press service Juna kept up its contact with the newspapers and the Christlich-Juedischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft in der Schweiz; the latter or-

ganization was linked with interfaith groups in other countries.

In the spring of 1954 the ex-Nazi German film director Veit Harlan planned to carry out a spectacular demonstration, whose high point was to be the public burning of the negative of his film *Jud Suess*. This plan failed of realization because of the adverse reaction of the public, which also rejected Harlan's new films and prevented their exhibition in Switzerland.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

The Zionist movement had always been popular in Switzerland, which was one of the first to recognize the new State of Israel (on January 29, 1949). In March 1954 Fritz Hegg was named Swiss minister to Israel, while S. Tolkowsky remained Israel minister at Berne. There was an Israel consulate-general in Zurich, while at Geneva Menahem Kahani served as Israel's permanent delegate to the European headquarters of the United Nations.

The Swiss Zionist Federation consisted of ten sections, with about 1,000 members. In the coordinating committee established on May 3, 1953, the Labor Zionist Mapai, General Zionists, and Orthodox Mizrachi were represented by three members each; there were in addition one representative from the Jewish National Fund and one from the Palestine Foundation

Fund. The Revisionists had no strength in Switzerland.

FUND RAISING

The Aktion Israel campaign of 1953 raised a total of just under 1,000,000 Swiss francs (\$228,000). The major part of this went to the Jewish Agency, the rest being allotted in agreed percentages to a religious children's home, the Mizrachi, the Agudat Israel, and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The Swiss section of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) carried on its own fund-raising drive and raised about 200,000 francs (\$45,700). The practice of conducting fund-raising campaigns for Israel and Zionist purposes in the first half of the year, and for local Swiss and other causes in the remaining six months, continued. Proposals for a United Jewish Appeal had so far failed of adoption because the individual organizations believed that they could get better results through their own campaigns. The Friends of the Swiss children's village Kiriath Yearim, which in conjunction with Youth Aliyah was caring for seventy children whose education involved special problems, was able, without a drive, to raise almost 100,000 Swiss francs (\$22,800) in cash and goods. Israel bonds were being sold through a private committee, which began its work in the summer of 1954.

Numerous artists, scholars, and leading personalities again came from Israel to Switzerland to lecture or attend congresses, so that the existing intellectual and religious contact between the two countries was preserved and intensified. In the summer of 1953 twenty young people were also able

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to spend their vacations in Israel; in the summer of 1954, thirty-one. Seven Swiss journalists, including editors of important dailies, visited Israel as guests of the state and the airline Swissair. The result of this visit was a noticeable increase in press coverage of news from Israel, and a generally favorable attitude to that country.

A memorial meeting on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl (July 4, 1954) took place in the Basel Casino, the historic site of the first Zionist congress. In almost all the major cities, the Zionist organizations held well-attended meetings in connection with Israel Independence

Day.

PERIODICALS

Hans Klee of Zurich, formerly of Geneva, became the new editor of the Israelitische Wochenblatt fuer die Schweiz. This was the oldest Jewish publication in Switzerland, having been in existence for fifty-four years. The Jüdische Rundschau Maccabi, founded in 1941, appeared weekly. The monthly Das Neue Israel, organ of the Swiss Zionist Federation, had increased its picture service.

Personalia

Judge Max Gurny of Zurich, chairman of the central committee of the SIG, was chosen as president of the First Civil Court and vice president of

the Superior Court of the Canton of Zurich.

Those who died during the year included Josef Bollag of Berne, who had been active in the Jewish community of that city and in numerous welfare organizations (September 10, 1953); Paul Bulka of Lausanne, who had been especially important in the Aktion Israel campaigns (July 12, 1953); Marcus Cohn, for many years a member of the administration of the SIG and the executive of the Jewish community of Basel, and in recent years active in work with the Israel ministry of justice (November 16, 1953); and Simon Erlanger, former vice president of the SIG, president of the Jewish community of Lucerne, and independent member of the Lucerne City Council (December 24, 1953).

LEO LITTMANN

ITALY

URING THE PERIOD under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) DItaly was governed by what in effect were caretaker governments. Until December 1953, Guiseppe Pella headed a government which tended more and more to the right. Finally, the center and left wings of his own party, the Christian Democrats, could no longer accept the swing to the right, and the government fell. After an unsuccessful attempt by Amintore Fanfani in January 1954 to form a new government, Mario Scelba, a close associate of Alcide De Gasperi, succeeded in forming a coalition with the three small moderate parties in February 1954. The most important of these, Guiseppe

Saragat's moderate Socialists, had failed to support Fanfani.

In the meantime, certain significant political changes occurred. The Communists and Nenni Socialists seemed to have lost some support in the industrial north, but to have gained in total strength by improving their position in the south. At the convention of the Christian Democratic party in June 1954, De Gasperi gave up the secretaryship and was succeeded by Fanfani, who was expected eventually to succeed Scelba as premier. The Monarchist party had split, with one faction, led by Mayor Achille Lauro of Naples, allying itself more closely with the Christian Democrats. There appeared to be a trend towards the dissolution of the smaller parties and a concentration of strength in the Christian Democrats on the one hand, and the bloc of Nenni Socialists and Communists on the other.

Labor unrest continued throughout the year. On September 24, 1953, over 5,000,000 Italian workers participated in a token twenty-four hour strike for higher wages. There were many other similar demonstrations involving smaller numbers of workers. This unrest seemed likely to continue and become more serious unless there was a significant increase in real wages. An important part of the lire counterpart of the \$325,000,000 grant from the United States Foreign Operations Administration was spent on development of the depressed southern areas. However, this represented little more than a beginning. A recent report 1 showed that 20 per cent of all Italian families earned \$30 per month. Sixty-five per cent earned between \$30 and \$90, and only 15 per cent had incomes of \$180 or more. Even worse off than the lowest income group of the employed were the unemployed, who were estimated at between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000. Only slightly better off were the underemployed, whose number was unknown or at least unpublished, but it was presumed to be considerably higher than that of the unemployed. How the unemployed managed to live was a great mystery since there was no unemployment insurance system and public relief was virtually limited to soup-kitchens in the major urban centers.

Housing was also a serious problem. An estimated 12 per cent of all families were living in shacks or caves while overcrowding in city dwellings was constantly growing more severe. At the same time, it was reported that over 2,000,000 rooms were vacant because the rent was too high for the potential tenants. Practically all new housing built since World War II (and there had been considerable building activity) had been in the luxury class, far out of reach of the average family. Adding to these considerations a health service which functioned very poorly, it became clear why labor unrest was expected to be a permanent feature of the Italian scene.

Jewish Population

The total Jewish population of Italy was between 30,000 and 33,000; of this number 12,000 lived in Rome, 6,000 in Milan, 3,000 in Turin, 1,500

¹ Economist, London, October 3, 1953.

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each in Florence and Trieste, while Genoa, Venice and Leghorn had Jewish populations of about 1,000 each. The balance was scattered throughout the remaining fourteen organized Jewish communities. As can be seen from these figures, the population was predominantly urban.

Not included in the above were Jewish refugees who had come to Italy during and after World War II. About 1,500 to 2,000 refugees from Central and Eastern European countries remained. There were also several hundred Jews, former residents of Egypt, Iraq, and other Moslem countries, most of

whom lived in Milan and engaged in the import-export trade.

With the exception of Rome, the death rate significantly exceeded the birth rate. For Milan during the five-year period 1949-53, there were 379 Jewish deaths, while in the same period only 212 Jewish children were born. The excess of deaths over births was even greater for communities like Trieste and Genoa, where the proportion of old people was higher. While the net increase for Rome was high enough to make the figures balance for all of Italy, the losses through intermarriage, which in some communities had become very common, were expected to result in a continuing decrease in the Jewish population. Even where the non-Jewish partners in the marriage were converted to Judaism, experience had shown that in most cases the family eventually seceded from the community. Losses through conversion were not great, although Catholic organizations, sometimes led by converted Jews, actively attempted to induce Jews to embrace Catholicism. This activity was largely concentrated in the ghetto area where, occasionally, needy Jews were given some material help. During the summer these missionary organizations operated a day-camp program for children, and during the school year they conducted an after-school care program.

TABLE 1
BIRTH RATE, JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ROME, 1945-53

Yea r	Births Per 1,000 Jewish Inhabitants
1945	11.66
1946	
1947	40 55
1948	21.18
1949	
1950	
1951	
1952	
1953	4 4 0 0

Community Organization

Under the Law of 1930, which was still in effect, membership in the Jewish community was compulsory, unless the individual formally renounced Judaism. As a member of the community, the individual was obliged to pay taxes to support it. Most communal leaders were agreed that this power was extremely important in keeping the communities strong and assuring them of their minimum financial requirements.

Jewish Education

All of the larger communities maintained full-time separate Jewish schools, and the majority of the Jewish children attended these schools. With the exception of Rome, where the municipality gave some help, Jewish schools were entirely supported by Jewish communal funds. Milan, Turin, and Rome provided eight years of schooling, while Genoa, Venice, Florence, Leghorn, and Trieste had only schools covering the first five grades. In 1952 Milan had established a school for higher Jewish studies, aimed mainly at providing an opportunity for adult education and enabling university students to take some courses in Jewish subjects.

Rome, with the largest number of children, had only recently established its sixth, seventh, and eighth grades,² and these were still small. In fact, facilities existed for only a small number of children to go beyond the fifth grade. The low educational level was indicated by a recent study of the Jews of the ghetto area, which showed that of persons fifteen years of age and over, only 20 per cent had gone beyond the fifth grade, while 40 per cent had not gone beyond the third grade, and 15 per cent were illiterate. Many parents did not regard it as necessary for a child to go beyond the fifth grade, feeling that as soon as he was physically able, which was deemed to be at the age of ten or eleven years, he should begin earning some money to add to the family income. Inadequate facilities in Jewish schools tended to encourage this attitude, for parents were reluctant to send their children to state schools, where Catholic influence was strong.

Plans were under way to provide more adequate facilities in a new school building. The proposed building would cost 100,000,000 lire (\$160,000), which represented a major fund-raising undertaking for the community. However, this would permit the community to offer adequate facilities for eight

years of education to Jewish children in the ghetto.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Because of the abnormal occupational distribution of the Jews of Rome (discussed more fully below) the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) had established a program for teaching skills to the Jewish youth. Up to the close of the 1953-54 academic year, the ORT school had graduated several hundred students. The program was soundly conceived and ably led, but it would be some time before any major effects were felt. The problem was a difficult one, inasmuch as wages for craftsmen were so low that many trainees preferred to seek their fortune at street-peddling. Hence, many parents were reluctant to see their children attend the ORT school after the age of twelve.

ORT began its work in Italy in 1945, but until 1950 concerned itself almost exclusively with refugees. The school in Rome which was ORT's current major activity was established in 1950.

² In 1951, 1952, and 1953, respectively.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The Italian Jewish community was faced with a serious shortage of rabbis. All the larger communities had competent rabbis, but several of the rabbis were well along in years, making it difficult for them to play an active role in Jewish communal life. The rabbinical seminary conducted by the Unione delle Communità Israelitiche (Union of Italian Jewish Communities) was training twelve students, but it was expected that most of them would leave the school before completing their studies. The cost of this training was relatively high for this small community. Even so, the level of training was not high. Some consideration had been given to the plan of sending rabbinical students to Israel for training, but this presented many serious obstacles.

During the period under review the Jewish community of Venice, with the aid of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), restored five ancient synagogues of the Venice ghetto. These five synagogues, all more than three hundred years old, had been built during the ghetto period in Venice, and contained a treasure of Jewish religious and cultural items.

Social Services

Outside of Rome, the problem of poverty among Italian Jews was not a serious one. The larger communities maintained homes for the aged and had welfare departments which gave help to the needy. In no case could the help given to needy persons be described as adequate, though some communities did better than others. Proportionately, the community of Trieste showed the greatest awareness of the need to help, with Milan second. Rome, however, had a serious problem of persons whose income was too low, whose health was poor, and whose housing was inadequate. Of the 12,000 members of the Roman Jewish community, approximately 5,000 lived in and around the area which until 1870 had been the ghetto. A recent study of this population 3 showed that about 60 per cent of this group had a monthly per capita income of less than 10,000 lire (\$16). Another 25 per cent had an income of between 10,000 and 15,000 lire per month (\$16-\$24), and only 15 per cent received more than 15,000 lire. Housing conditions were extremely poor. The 85 per cent who fell into the two lower income groups suffered from serious overcrowding, an average of 3.7 persons occupying each room in the lowest income group, and 2.9 in the middle group. Even the upper income group suffered from lack of adequate space, with 1.6 persons per room. All of the buildings in this ghetto area were old. They were built close together, with very narrow streets. Consequently, ventilation was poor and most of the rooms never got any sunshine. The outlook for amelioration of these conditions in the foreseeable future was dismal, since moving meant going from a rent-controlled dwelling to one that was not controlled, which meant pay-

Made by the JDC in March and April 1954.

ing a rent ten, twenty, or even more times the controlled rents. With the exception of public housing, all new building was rentable at whatever the traffic would bear, which was far too high for this group. The amount of public housing was insignificant.

Half of those in the sample studied were found to be in need of treatment. The doctors who conducted the examination reported a great number of long-neglected illnesses, a serious lack of long-term treatment facilities, and

an almost complete ignorance of basic hygiene.

The Roman Jewish housing condition appeared to be somewhat worse than in Italy as a whole, but the income and health condition of the Roman Jews probably were slightly better. Because of the abnormal occupation distribution resulting from the extreme restrictions imposed until their relatively recent emancipation from the ghetto, the Jews probably suffered less from unemployment. The Jewish community's figures 4 showed that of the gainfully employed members of the community, 47 per cent were merchants and 8 per cent were in the professions. Twenty-two per cent were peddlers, some with a fixed stand, others with only a briefcase, some with a license, but many without. Every day some of the unlicensed were caught; they might spend a few days in custody or might be released immediately, but almost invariably their stock was confiscated. Employees and pensioners comprised 17 per cent of the total, while only 1 per cent were engaged in skilled labor. The remaining 5 per cent were distributed in a great variety of occupations.

The welfare department of the community had very inadequate means. During 1953, the total distributed in relief grants amounted to about 2,000,000 lire (\$3,200), hardly enough to meet any but the most dire emergencies. Because of the high number of self-employed persons, many were not entitled to the inadequate benefits of the health insurance system. OSE had attempted to provide some relief for this problem. OSE operated clinics in the major cities, but its main activities were in Rome, where it operated two clinics, one for adults and another for children. Needy persons certified by the welfare department of the Jewish community were given medical services and medicaments free of charge. Persons with a small income were required to pay a nominal fee.

The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany gave the JDC a grant of 100,000,000 lire (\$160,000) to be spent on behalf of Italian Jews during 1954. These funds, approved in March 1954, were expected to

contribute immeasurably to the relief of great need.

REFUGEES

Despite the thousands of refugees from Central and Eastern Europe who had gone through Italy since World War II en route to Israel, the United States, and other overseas countries, fewer than 2,000 remained in the country. Because of its economic position, Italy had not proved attractive as a country of settlement for these people. Most of the remaining refugees were elderly persons who either found it impossible to get visas to other countries

⁴ As of March 1954.

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or feared the difficulties of establishing themselves in a new land. A very high proportion of them (600) were dependent on the JDC for their daily bread. Only about 50 were still living in a refugee camp, so that the chapter of Jews in refugee camps in Italy could be said to be closed. During the period under review, the JDC and HIAS aided the emigration of 150 refugees, most of them to the United States.

At the time of writing (August 1954), the prospects for any significant emigration of refugees during the coming months were not good. As yet, no visas had been given under the United States Refugee Relief Act (August 1953), although it was one year old. Canadian emigration was practically restricted to members of the immediate family of a Canadian resident or persons with certain special skills, and emigration to South American countries was barely a trickle.

Relations With Israel

The leaders of Italian Jewry felt a very close identification with Israel and

were very active in its support.

The same could not be said of Italian Jewish youth. There were, of course, Zionists among the membership of the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica Italiana (Federation of Italian Jewish Youth), but Zionism was by no means the dominant ideology. There was one small hachsharah agricultural training farm, but the number in training and the number likely to emigrate were negligible. Despite the poor conditions under which many Italian Jews lived, there was virtually no interest in emigrating to Israel.

Contributions to the Keren Kayemeth had gone down somewhat in 1953 and 1954 from their peak of 100,000,000 lire (\$160,000) in 1948 and 1949.

During the year under review, the first formal trade agreement was concluded between Italy and Israel in March 1954. Under this agreement, Israel was to buy from Italy \$10,000,000 worth of goods annually. The major items were textiles, rice, non-ferrous metals, chemicals, raw materials for plastics, machinery, and gasoline. Italy was to buy \$3,000,000 worth of Israel bananas, industrial diamonds, potash and phosphates. This would represent the first opportunity for Israeli exporters to come into the Italian market, and might establish a basis for expanded trade in the future.

Since May 1948 Italy and Israel had been involved in negotiations on claims by Israeli citizens against the Italian government for indemnification for trucks seized by the Italian government in Trieste in 1943. On the other hand, Italian nationals who had deposits in Palestinian banks at the time of the establishment of Israel had been claiming indemnification from Israel for the losses they sustained in being forced to accept Israel pounds for their higher valued Palestinian pound credits. An agreement was concluded under which the Israel government accepted the responsibility for settling these claims of Israeli nationals and the Italian government accepted responsibility for the claims of Italians with respect to Palestinian pounds.

HAROLD TROBE

June 1954.

Central Europe

WESTERN GERMANY

Throughout 1953 and the first half of 1954 developments on the German political stage were overshadowed by the struggle over the European Defense Community (EDC), and by the attempts to restore sovereignty

to West Germany.

Following Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's landslide victory in the national elections of September 1953, the two houses of parliament, in February-March 1954, amended the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany so as to remove all doubts of the constitutionality of German adherence to the EDC and concomitant remilitarization. The amendments were promptly approved by the Allied High Commission. The Federal Republic, through the signature of President Theodor Heuss (March 30, 1954), then completed ratification of the Paris Treaty setting up the EDC, which Chancellor Adenauer had signed almost two years before. Under Adenauer's single-minded leadership, the West German government predicated its plans and policies on the belief that the other five EDC signatories-France, Italy, and the Benelux countries-would ratify as well. When the French National Assembly refused its assent in August 1954, consternation reigned. Efforts were undertaken to find another solution which would first restore to Western Germany "full and undiminished" sovereignty and, with the active help of the United States and Great Britain, would allow the plans for the rearmament of West Germany to proceed. The German leaders no longer considered the Bonn conventions of 1952, which never entered into force due to the failure of EDC, to be adequate.

Friendship between the United States and West Germany, much in evidence during the year, was highlighted by gestures of good will on both sides. The two countries agreed that their 1923 Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, lapsed in consequence of the war, would be reinstated as soon

as formalities could be completed.

Relations with East and West

Western Germany's relations with most of the western nations continued to improve. Thus, the Benelux countries and Italy backed Germany rather than France at the Brussels EDC Conference of August 1954. German amity with Greece and Turkey was underlined by Chancellor Adenauer's state visit to both countries in March 1954, and by the return visit of Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, the Greek premier, in July. In France, how-

ever, misgivings about the calculated risk of drawing Germany into a Western military alliance would not be stilled. Not only did the aversion of many Frenchmen to German remilitarization and to the EDC prove to be a factor of great moment, but the Saar problem, and to some extent also the question of the Moselle river canalization, continued to bedevil Franco-German relations.

The Federal government, which had no diplomatic relations with the Soviet bloc, rejected the concepts of neutralization and of a "third force" advanced by some individual politicians and ineffectual political groups. Although the Big Four Conference in January and February of 1954 took place in Berlin, Germany was not a participant. The German public closely watched the proceedings in the vain hope that they might lead to the reunification of Germany. The barriers separating Western from Eastern Germany were, however, lowered slightly in the course of the year.

German-Arab Relations

The Arab League, maintaining its opposition to the reparations treaty which the Federal Republic had concluded with Israel and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, on September 10, 1952, per-

sisted in threatening a boycott of German goods.

In January 1954, the Arab League Economic Council again postponed action on a proposal to begin an Arab boycott of Western Germany because of the reparations pact. But in July 1954 it resolved that it could not tolerate future reparations deliveries of a nature likely to increase Israel's industrial and military potential. Also in July 1954, Syria delivered a note to Bonn drawing attention to a number of reparations shipments which, Syria contended, could be used for equipping an armament industry.

While Israel refrained from seeking to counteract Nazi propaganda directly, its quasi-diplomatic Purchasing Mission in Germany did issue a German condensation of the Israel government's White Book on Arab refugees and a brochure giving the background facts on Arab boycott threats. The deputy director of the mission, Chaim Yahil—then in Berlin as official Israeli observer at the Big Four Conference—held a press conference in February 1954 to refute the inflammatory anti-reparations propaganda of

Jamal el Farra, Syria's minister in Bonn.

Practical considerations of commercial advantage as well as traditional Arab respect and friendship for Germany combined to prevent the Arab nations from carrying out their boycott threats. The rumored blacklists of German firms supplying reparations goods did not materialize. On the contrary, trade between Western Germany and Arab countries continued to expand, while diplomatic ties were strengthened. Iraq appointed its first minister to the Federal Republic, Saifullah Khandan. Yemen for the first time accredited a permanent diplomatic representative in Germany, Sayed Hasan Ibrahim. Prince Abdullah Feisal, Saudi Arabia's minister of health, visited Germany and was cordially received, as was Sheikh Abdullah Sulei-

¹ The White Paper appeared in January 1954, the brochure early in 1953.

man, Saudi Arabia's finance minister, a month later. Western Germany and Yemen ratified a treaty of friendship and commerce, thus making it possible for a German firm to begin to explore and exploit the Arab kingdom's natural resources. In Hamburg, the world's largest oil tanker was launched by Duchess Ann-Marie von Bismarck and given the name King Saud I; the 47,000-ton vessel flew the Saudi Arabian flag. At a dinner party celebrating the launching, West German Vice Chancellor Franz Bluecher pointed out that, from 1949 to 1953, German imports from the Arab countries had more than quadrupled, with exports trebling in three years.

Many of the former Nazi military experts employed by Egypt did not have their contracts renewed, but other Arab states, like Saudi Arabia, were reported dickering for their services. At a farewell party in Cairo given by a group of these experts, both the German chargé d'affaires and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem attended. Kamel Mrowa, the Grand Mufti's propaganda chief during the latter's stay in Nazi Germany from 1941 to 1944 (now a newspaper publisher in Lebanon), visited Germany at the invitation and

under the sponsorship of the Federal government in March 1954.

Economic Situation

Western Germany was extraordinarily prosperous during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954), despite below-average crop yields

and strikes in Hamburg and Bavaria.

Some statistical data will illustrate the extent of German recovery. Thus, on June 30, 1954, the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the German central bank had reached \$2,300,000,000. A year earlier, the figure had been \$1,450,000,000, and in June 1952, \$800,000,000. Gold reserves alone, just about at zero in June 1951, climbed to \$100,000,000 during the second half of 1952, to \$200,000,000 in June 1953, and on June 30, 1954, stood at \$420,000,000. The Deutsche Mark was regarded as one of the world's hardest currencies.

Credit for this development was due to American aid, as well as to the German production and sales drive which had increased German exports

eightfold since 1948.

This was very different from the first postwar years when the index of industrial production, taking 1936 as 100, did not reach 63 until 1948. By 1950 it had risen to 113; by 1952 to 145; by June 1953, to 159, and twelve months later to 177. In spite of the unceasing influx of refugees from the East Zone, the number unemployed in Western Germany dropped from an average of 1,600,000 in 1950 to 1,250,000 in 1953. On August 31, 1954, a postwar low of 880,000 was reported. That figure did not, however, include the 164,000 who were out of work in West Berlin. There, owing to the city's island position behind the Iron Curtain, the economic picture was considerably less rosy.

While old-age pensioners, public-welfare recipients, and certain other groups were badly off, the workers as a whole also shared in the fruits of prosperity. In 1952 the weekly gross earnings of industrial workers were

DM 74; in 1953 they reached DM 78, and in 1954 the wage curve crossed the DM 80 line. Taking price changes into account, adjusted real weekly earnings of industrial workers (1938 = 100) moved steadily upward from 64 in mid-1948, to 115 at the end of 1952, and 119 in early 1954. Another indicator of the general living standard was personal expenditure on goods and services per capita of the population. Calculated on the basis of 1936 prices, this mounted from 91 in 1950 to 112 in 1953.

Domestic Affairs

After Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's notable triumph at the polls in September 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 237-38), he united in a coalition government his own Christian Democratic Union (CDU), its Bavarian sister party the Christian Social Union (CSU), the Free Democratic Party (FDP), the German Party (Deutsche Partei-DP), and the refugee party (Block der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten-BHE). This coalition represented a constitution-changing two-thirds majority in Parliament. During the year under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) the chancellor, as chief executive, foreign minister, and national chairman of the CDU, was able to exercise a free hand in setting the course of the state and of his party, which held half the seats in the Bundestag. In addition, state governments sympathetic to Adenauer's policies assumed the reins in another two of the Federal Republic's constituent states, as well as in West Berlin.

The new cabinet was made up of nineteen ministers, more than Germany had ever known before. Their political beliefs ran the gamut from old-line liberal republicanism to romantic Guelph particularist monarchism. Those Germans who had suffered grievously at the hands of Nazism, and who had been considered Germany's sole "international moral asset" some years be-

fore, were not represented to any great extent.

Four of the new cabinet ministers had been members of the Nazi Party. One minister had also volunteered for the General SS, Himmler's black-shirted élite guard, and reached a noncommissioned rank in it. Another minister, Waldemar Kraft of the BHE, attained the rank of captain in the General SS, and during World War II had been in charge of a Nazi organization that looted foodstuffs from German-occupied Poland. After the German collapse, the generally lenient British authorities had adjudged Kraft so dangerous a Nazi that they had interned him for more than two years. In 1952, Kraft conferred in secret with Werner Naumann, the deputy of Joseph Goebbels who was arrested by the British in 1953 for subversive pro-Hitlerite activities (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 238–43). In 1953 Kraft was appointed minister for special tasks, i.e., without portfolio, in the Bonn cabinet. In 1954, during the temporary absence on vacation of the regular incumbent, he was named acting minister of the interior, heading all West Germany's internal security forces.

The most dynamic of the new Bonn ministers was Theodor Oberlaender, also of the BHE, appointed minister for refugee and expellee affairs in 1953.

In 1954 his jurisdiction was extended to encompass evacuees and wounded war veterans. As soon as Hitler came to power, Oberlaender had joined the Nazi Party and the Storm Troops, in whose ranks he became a captain. In 1936, the Nazi minister of education in Prussia made him director of the Institute for East European Questions. In 1939, Oberlaender was chosen top national leader (Reichsfuehrer) of the Nazi "League for a German Eastern Europe."

On specifically Jewish questions, the record of all but a few of the government's new top executives was unknown. There was no doubt that some had formerly been on good terms with individual Jews. Yet it was considered disquieting that, when the Israel reparations agreement came up in the Bundestag on March 18, 1953 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 251), five of the present members of the cabinet deliberately and ostentatiously abstained from voting, disavowing Chancellor Adenauer in the

process.2

On July 20, 1954, West Germany's domestic self-assurance was disturbed by an episode widely described as the most sensational event since the inception of the Federal Republic. Otto John, who as head of the West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution had been in charge of political counter-intelligence, crossed the border to East Berlin and went over to the Communist regime of the Soviet Zone. In public statements, he gave as his reason the influx of unreconstructed Nazis and Hitler generals into West German key positions.

NAZIS IN GOVERNMENT

John's allegations were denied vigorously by Chancellor Adenauer, by prominent members of his coalition, and by a large section of the German press. A different view was expressed by newspapers noted for democratic militancy. No matter how reprehensible John's action, they argued, it was true that public life was being infiltrated by those who had once served the Nazi regime with dedicated zeal and now gave little evidence of having

undergone a genuine change of heart.

During the year under review, this process could be observed at all levels, in the national government as well as in the cabinets of the Federal Republic's constituent states, in municipal and county administrations, in parliamentary chambers and in the diplomatic service, in industry and on the stage. Karl Frank, Nazi Lord Mayor of Ludwigsburg to the very end of the Hitler regime, was installed as minister of finance in Baden-Wuerttemberg. Erich Mix, Nazi Lord Mayor of Wiesbaden at the time that city's beautiful synagogue went up in flames, who had been sentenced as a "Nazi activist" by a denazification court, was again elected Lord Mayor of that city, without a single negative vote being registered in the city council. Wilhelm Schepmann, former national chief of staff and general of the SA Storm Troops, was almost unanimously appointed a teacher at the local school by the town council of Gifhorn. Wilhelm Tegethoff, a Nazi Party member who had

² The five cabinet members were: Fritz Schaeffer (CSU), Victor-Emanuel Preusker (FDP), Franz-Josef Wuermeling (CDU), Heinrich Hellwege (DP), and Franz-Josef Strauss (CSU).

served as deputy police president of Hanover during the last three years of the war, was named police chief of the German capital of Bonn itself.

The Nazi Lord Mayor of the leather city of Offenbach, Helmut Schranz, was elected to the Bundestag on the ticket of the Deutsche Partei. In city council elections at the international spa of Baden-Baden, Kurt Buerckle—who had been not only the municipality's Nazi mayor, but also county leader of the Nazi Party—gained the second highest number of votes polled by any candidate; rather than associate with him, the top candidate of the Social Democrats, K. P. Schulz, resigned his newly won city council seat.

The March 1954 appointment of Peter Pfeiffer, a former Nazi Party member, as permanent West German observer at the United Nations was withdrawn after strong protests by Jewish organizations in the United States, but Wilhelm Melchers remained at his post as the Federal Republic's first minister to Iraq. A Nazi Party member who served as German consul at Haifa in 1938–39, at the time of the Arab disturbances which had Germany's sympathetic support, Melchers was in charge of the Near East desk in the political department of the Nazi Foreign Office throughout the war, from 1939 to 1945. It was during his incumbency that Rashid Ali el-Gailani had staged his pro-German coup d'état in Iraq, placing the Allied position in grave jeopardy. Melchers received and processed the protest of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, with whom he was in close touch, against a proposal to permit a few hundred Jewish youngsters from the Balkans to depart for Palestine.

In July 1954, Friedrich Middelhauve was sworn in at Duesseldorf as deputy minister president and minister of economics in North Rhine Westphalia, the wealthiest and most populous of West Germany's constituent states. Middelhauve had as state chairman of the Free Democratic Party staffed its organization with Nazi zealots and former professional Nazi Party functionaries. For years, his close aide in party organizational work had been Wolfgang Diewerge, a rabid and vicious Jew-baiter. Diewerge had played a particularly infamous part as an anti-Semitic propagandist and pamphleteer in connection with the Cairo Jewish community's 1934 test case against Nazi agitation, as well as in the trials following the shootings of Switzerland's Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff by David Frankfurter and of German Counsellor of Embassy Ernst vom Rath by Hershel Grynszpan in Paris in 1938. Diewerge, in recent years entrusted by Middelhauve with the political indoctrination of North Rhine Westphalia's Free Democrats, formerly held the rank of SS Colonel. Middlehauve's own paper on occasion carried anti-Semitic attacks, making him the first leader of a major postwar political party in Germany to exploit anti-Semitism for political ends. When challenged by the German Trade Union Federation in 1950, Middelhauve had not only refused to retract or apologize, but instead had posed some caustic counterquestions replete with further anti-Semitic innuendo.

The moral rehabilitation of outstanding Nazis, even of those identified in the public mind with Jew-baiting, found striking expression when Federal President Theodor Heuss bestowed the Federal Grand Cross of Merit upon actor Werner Krauss on the occasion of the latter's seventieth birthday.

Krauss, vice president of the Nazi theatrical organization six months after Hitler's advent to power and the first to receive an honorific title from the hands of Hermann Goering, had played no less than five different Jewish roles in the major anti-Semitic film produced under the sponsorship of Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, *Jud Suess*. When Krauss ventured back to Berlin for the first time after the war, at the end of 1950, freedomloving German students and workers joined with the Jewish community in a wave of bitter and at times bloody street protests, which in the end drove Krauss out of the city for more than three years. Leading German democrats registered emphatic opposition to public appearances by Krauss. Yet in June 1954 one of West Germany's highest decorations was ceremoniously conferred on him by West Berlin's cultural and education chief.

Neo-Nazism

Organized and avowedly neo-Nazi political groups continued at a low ebb during the year under review. Their meetings and conventions, newspapers and pamphlets, mergers, schisms, recriminations, and squabbles left little

impact upon the public mind.

A greater potential danger was seen by observers in veterans organizations like the Stahlhelm, and especially in the HIAG league of former members of the Military SS, which issued a slick-paper monthly and boasted of 325 local chapters. Other Nazi-minded organizations that sprang up throughout West Germany during the period under review included the associations of former internees (Bundesverband des ehemaligen Internierten) and the associations for the interests of denazification sufferers (Bundesverband der Entnazifizierungsgeschädigten und Nachkriegsentrechteten); they formed federations at state as well as national levels. The internees' group united those whom the Allied Military Government had held in internment camps because they were considered security threats, due to the high offices they occupied, or to the exceptionally fervent Nazi fanaticism they exhibited. The denazification sufferers had, in addition, gathered together many of those who were subjected to denazification penalties in the immediate postwar era. During 1954 both bodies began to demand moral and financial indemnification for the time spent in the internment camps and to urge that all denazification court convictions be expunged from the record. Rallies attended by many thousands of Nazi die-hards were held at the sites of former internment camps in the summer of 1954.

In January 1954 the European Liaison Service arranged a conclave of international Fascist leaders at Loerrach, a German town near the Swiss border. In June 1954 the same group hired Luebeck's largest convention hall for a major international neo-Fascist congress; however, the meeting was banned by the state government of Schleswig-Holstein, which yielded to protests by trade unions and other German democratic forces.

After angry union members threatened street demonstrations in the city of Kassel, the Lord Mayor reversed himself and prohibited the Germany-wide reunion, scheduled for June 19-20, 1954, of veterans of the Hitler

Youth élite-guard SS Division. The Hitler Youth SS veterans assembled on schedule at Hofgeismar, a few miles away.

In West Berlin, which, unlike Western Germany, still required that political parties be licensed, the city government turned down an application by Berlin's foremost Jew-baiter, Erwin Schönborn, to legalize his splinter German Freedom Party. Schönborn thereupon brought suit before the Administrative Court and announced he would organize local chapters and state federations in Western Germany. In September 1953, eleven Berliners were given sentences ranging from fines to a nine-month prison term for having carried on the activities of the anti-Semitic League of Young Germans, a "Nordic-Germanic" group, even after its prohibition.

In the only reported prosecution of an attempt to revive the outlawed neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 238-39), seven neo-Nazi agitators in the Herford and Detmold area of Lower Saxony were given jail terms ranging from seven to ten months in

September 1953.

INVESTIGATIONS AND INDICTMENTS

Two investigations and two indictments because of neo-Nazi activity were reported. One of the investigations, in Oldenburg, was directed against Wolfgang Sarg, head of the German section of the anti-Jewish Natinform Fascist international; the other investigation, in Augsburg, dealt with a group that arranged a commemorative meeting in honor of Adolf Hitler on the latter's birthday. Two chieftains of the Free Corps Germany (Freikorps Deutschland), a neo-Nazi movement disbanded by the Bonn government in February 1953, were indicted fifteen months later for conspiracy and for leading a clandestine subversive organization. In June 1954 Werner Naumann, the Joseph Goebbels deputy and successor who had been the brains of the Nazi plot to regain power in Western Germany smashed by the British Military Government in January 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 240-43), was indicted by the Federal Republic's attorney general on charges of conspiracy and of setting up a subversive organization. Indicted with him on the same charges was former Hitler Youth leader Friedrich Karl Bornemann. Both men had been at liberty since mid-1953. Due to "lack of evidence," the attorney general sought no indictment of six other top Nazis who had been arrested by British security officials and later released by German authorities.

Numerous books and pamphlets appealing to the vanity and the prejudices of a Nazi-minded audience were published, but, in contrast to earlier years, none became a best-seller. In July 1954 more than 700 Nazi authors and their disciples assembled at Lippoldsberg for the customary annual readings by literary admirers and eulogists of Hitler.

At the polls, the showing of the avowedly neo-Nazi groups was a meager one. The infiltration of "legitimate" parties by politicians still steeped in Nazi concepts continued to present a more disturbing phenomenon (see

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 239 and f.).

Civil Service Renazification

"The greatest scandal threatening postwar democracy in Germany is the renazification of the public administration," Berlin's Social Democratic Chairman Franz Neumann declared in May 1954. At the July 1954 national convention of the Social Democratic Party, a delegate earned the most vigorous applause of any speaker in the plenary debate by branding the legislation for restoring the rights of former civil servants "a law for the renazification of the administration" (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 243-44). Efforts were even made to put on the government payroll those few Gestapo torturers and leading Nazis still barred from civil service rights. In July 1954 the unconditional repeal of the provision banning them was called for by the BHE refugee party, which declared that Gestapo men and top Nazis were entitled either to positions commensurate with their experience or else to full pay. Concerted attacks from many quarters were directed against a February 1954 ruling of the Federal Constitutional Court that the tenure and pension rights of career soldiers had been interrupted by the German collapse and capitulation of 1945.

Many of the civil service reforms introduced after the war by the Allies, or at their behest, were abrogated by a government-sponsored civil service

law that passed the Bundestag in June 1953.

Denazification

Denazification, one of the primary objectives of the Allies in the early days of the postwar occupation, had been intended to eliminate Nazis and Nazi influence from public life. As an effective program, denazification had soon ground to a halt. In many states, however, token denazification machinery had been left in operation for the handling of exceptionally grave or complicated cases; for downgrading or quashing earlier convictions; for the routine, almost automatic, granting of denazification clearance to returning prisoners of war and war criminals, as well as to Nazis who had previously lived under false names; and for the posthumous "denazification" of deceased top Nazis in cases where it was necessary to settle their estates. However, although little use was made of it, the very existence of the machinery had had a deterrent effect upon the lunatic fringe of bitter-end Hitlerites and avowed Jew-baiters.

During the year under review, this residual denazification machinery was dismantled or in the process of final dismantling. In Baden-Wurttemberg, the last Denazification Court of Appeal was closed on November 1, 1953, following the earlier disbanding of lower-level denazification courts. Instead, a special Pardons Board was set up to recommend clemency for those whose Nazi record could not be downgraded earlier to a lesser denazification classification. In Hesse, where only eight cases were still pending, the government approved a bill completely terminating denazification. The Bavarian

legislature adopted a similar measure,³ after listening to testimony that a provision of the 1946 Denazification Law, mandatorily prescribing the establishment of a central registry of denazification verdicts, had been deliberately and systematically flouted ever since. In consequence, it was now difficult to ascertain how a given individual had been classified in his denazification trial.

The general tenor of the few denazification verdicts still handed down may be gathered from the September 1953 ruling of the Munich denazification court. For the second time, it gave a clean bill of political health to executed Nazi General Alfred Jodl, who had been sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg for crimes against humanity and crimes against peace. His family had appealed against the reversal of an earlier acquittal, after having instituted the original proceedings in order to distribute his estate.

In Berlin, an occasional attempt was made to pass sentences somewhat more in accord with the intent of the law. Berlin's former Nazi Lord Mayor, Julius Lippert, was sentenced to a small fine.⁴ Werner Schulze-Wechsungen, the SS colonel who had been a notorious commandant of the Oranienburg concentration camp, received a heavier fine,⁵ but escaped paying it by simply moving back to Western Germany, where it could not be collected and whence he could not be "extradited."

War Crimes and Nazi Trials

The Western Allies, after reprieving thousands of convicted war criminals, still held some 500 of them in Germany at the beginning of the period under review. Yielding to insistent German pressure, three mixed clemency boards had been constituted (see American Jewish Year Book, [Vol. 55], p. 245-46), to recommend the termination or further reduction of sentences, many of which had already been decreased repeatedly. Between October 1953 and May 1954 the number of war criminals in the United States war-crimes prison at Landsberg dropped from 292 to 179. In the British war-crimes jail at Werl the number of inmates dwindled from 82 to 67, and in the French prison of Wittlich from 75 to 52. It was the policy of these boards not to reveal the names of the prisoners set free, but it was believed that all Wehrmacht general officers, and all but one or two of the SS generals, had been released by the fall of 1954. Those still held were largely concentration camp personnel sentenced for acts of ruthless savagery, and some killers of Allied prisoners.

Nonetheless, German sympathy for the prisoners was so widespread and pervasive that, in the present political situation, Allied and German authorities alike found it hard to escape its impact. The prevailing atmosphere was reflected in the sentencing of a number of imposters, who had swindled other Germans out of money and valuables by falsely pretending to be released or escaped war criminals. Kurt Meyer, the former commanding gen-

⁸ August 1954.

⁴ August 1953.

⁶ August 1954.

eral of the Hitler Youth SS Division, was received as a popular hero when he

left a war-crimes jail in September 1954.

When a group of Dutch SS volunteers, convicted as war criminals by a Dutch court, escaped from jail and fled across the German border, the Federal Republic refused to extradite them. Among them was W. A. Polak, who had been serving a life term to atone for four murders. Polak had never before applied for Germany citizenship, but now, to ensure that he could never be returned to Holland, he wanted to be considered a German national. The West German Supreme Court ruled that Polak had indeed acquired German citizenship by virtue of an omnibus Fuehrer Decree of 1943. The court held that the decree may have run counter to a number of constitutional provisions, but that Hitler needed no sanction other than his own to make his decree effective, since he was simultaneously legislator, holder of the supreme executive power, and highest judicial authority. However, the court continued, the 1943 Fuehrer Decree made it possible to confer German citizenship upon foreign SS volunteers only when they measured up to the racial standards of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. Hence, the Supreme Court referred the case back to the Superior Court in Celle, instructing it to determine whether Polak was to be considered "of German stock" within the meaning of the Hitler decree.

German courts continued to try Nazi war criminals for the deportation of Iews from German cities and acts of brutality in concentration camps. The

number of such trials decreased noticeably in 1954, however.

One life term and two six-year sentences were imposed by a Bremen court 6 upon three Germans who had maintained a regime of blood and terror at Gollechau, a subcamp of the Auschwitz extermination camp, where they had tortured, beat to death, and killed uncounted Jews used for slave labor in the concentration camp quarry. In Wuerzburg, the SS subleader of another satellite camp of Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, was sent to the penitentiary for twelve years on a murder conviction;7 the psychological pressure under which German witnesses labored in such public court proceedings was highlighted when a former Gross-Rosen inmate took the witness stand and refused to be sworn for fear of Nazi reprisals. A Kassel jury court gave SS man Heinrich Emde eight years in jail 8 for shooting twenty-one Jews in the stables of Buchenwald concentration camp and slaughtering numerous others. Because SS Colonel Hans Himpe had ordered blackshirts under his command to kill four respected Jewish residents of Hirschberg in Silesia in 1934, a West Berlin court pronounced a sentence of ten years' imprisonment in February 1954.

In a large number of cases, there seemed to be little relationship between the crime and its punishment. Although Cologne's former Gestapo chief, SS Brigadier Emanuel Schaefer, was found guilty of responsibility for the deportation of 13,000 Jews to the death camps of Eastern Europe, he was, in effect, let off with three months' imprisonment.9 The head of the Jewish sec-

<sup>November 1953.
January 1954.
October 1953.
July 1954.</sup>

tion of the Frankfurt Gestapo, Albert Friedrich, convicted of extorting testimony and of carrying out deportations that were illegal even by Nazi criteria, had just eight months added to a previous jail sentence. At Bocholt in the Ruhr, a German judge imposed a nine-month prison term 10 on Hans Schmitt, convicted of having played a leading role in the pogroms of November 1938, then immediately remitted it. One year in jail was the verdict handed down by a court in Schweinfurt in the case of a former Nazi Party economic official,11 currently an employee of the West German central state bank, who had blackmailed scores of Jews into transferring their businesses or real estate to hand-picked Nazi "purchasers," and into making "donations," which ran into the millions, to local Nazi funds; one co-defendant 12 was let off with six months, the other 13 was acquitted altogether. After acknowledging that two former Gestapo officials had maltreated prisoners, the Cologne District Court ignored the prosecution's demand for penitentiary terms and set them free.

When arbitrary, brutal killings in concentration camps came to trial, the tendency was to hold the defendants accountable only for "complicity in murder" or as "accessories to manslaughter." Thus, five years at hard labor for "complicity in more than a hundred murders" committed at the Volanov forced labor camp, near Radom in Poland, was the penalty pronounced upon two German supervisors 14 by a Stuttgart court. For trampling to death numerous patients while he was in charge of a dispensary ward at the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, a German construction foreman was given a year in jail. Prison sentences of four and three years for having been "accessories to manslaughter" were imposed by the Darmstadt Court of Assizes on a captain and sergeant of a German infantry company found guilty of massacring the entire Jewish population of a village near Smolensk, most of them women and children. The trial was remarkable because another officer, from the same battalion as the company commander in the dock, testified that he had suffered nothing worse than a tongue-lashing when he refused to carry out an order to shoot all Jews in the village. For permitting this testimony, which demolished the usual defense argument in such cases, and presumably also for taking judicial cognizance of the intimidation of witnesses (a fact rarely brought into the open before, although prevalent in most similar trials), the presiding judge was threatened with assassination.

In March 1954 twenty policemen, who had committed numberless arbitrary killings while guarding the martyred Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942, were acquitted by a Dortmund jury court, in disregard of the full confessions made by several of the policemen in the course of the pre-trial investigation. The judge ruled that the defendants, "in view of their educational level," were not conscious of the illegality of their acts.

Gerhard Peters was not yet behind bars, even though he had been sentenced seven times for selling the Auschwitz concentration camp huge quan-

October 1953.
 Johannes Vogel, December 1953.
 Philipp Ulrich.
 Fritz Kuhn.

¹⁴ Wilhelm Rube and Wilhelm Bergmann.

tities of Cyclone B, a potassium cyanide compound of his own manufacture which he knew was to be used to asphyxiate upward of 450,000 people. In his latest trial (August 1953), the prosecution asked for a fifteen-year penitentiary term; the Wiesbaden Court of Assizes gave him six years. However, instead of serving his sentence, Peters continued to be employed by a successor corporation of IG Farben as an executive in the field of industrial chemistry. Prominent Germans had signed clemency petitions for him.

Anti-Semitism

Overt expressions of anti-Jewish prejudice were infrequent. Nonetheless, there was much evidence of latent anti-Semitism simmering below the surface in Western Germany, at times to boil over in scarcely disguised fashion. Thus, at the Berlin rally of the BHE refugee party in July 1954, Lower Saxony's minister of economics and transport, Hermann Ahrens, insinuated that Nazis were needed in key jobs so as to exclude "racially alien elements" from German political life. The speaker, who had joined the Nazi Party as early as 1931, had served as mayor of the first Nazi-created town, 15 as a Nazi State Commissioner, and as a professional Nazi propaganda orator, before becoming BHE floor leader in the postwar democratic legislature of Lower Saxony.

Two other incidents involving persons in public life occurred at Leonberg, in Northern Wuerttemberg, where the county director was fined for uttering calumnies about a Jewish engineer personally unknown to him, and at Gandersheim, where the election chairman of the German Party, Willi Reupke, distributed a poster imputing Jewish descent to Social Democratic Party national chairman Erich Ollenhauer. After Ollenhauer submitted an affidavit from his aged father attesting to the absence of any admixture of Jewish blood in the paternal and maternal branches of the family, Reupke was sentenced for persistent political libel. Reupke apologized, explaining he was now convinced that Ollenhauer was indeed not a Jew. The Social Democratic chairman withdrew his libel suit, and the court placed Reupke on probation.

In cases where anti-Semitic assaults or the use of scurrilous language came to trial, penalties were generally mild. In Frankfurt a former SS captain sought out a waiter who had admitted to police that anti-Semitic songs had been chanted at a Nazi get-together, and pummeled him with a heavy wooden cudgel. The court found the SS officer 16 guilty of malicious assault and battery, as well as of causing dangerous bodily injuries; it imposed a two-month jail sentence, then suspended it and put the SS officer on probation on condition that he pay a \$50 fine.

For disseminating viciously Jew-baiting literature, a Duesseldorf teacher was fined \$70.17 Two Russian emigré leaders 18 of the rabidly anti-Semitic RONDD (a successor organization to the notorious secret pogrom league of

¹⁶ Watenstedt-Salzgitter.
¹⁶ Arthur Harder, May 1954.
¹⁷ Johann Strunk, July 1954.
¹⁸ Eugene Arciuk and Vsevilod Mositchkin.

Tsarist Russia, the Black Hundreds), were given somewhat larger fines by a Munich court. In connection with this case, Zachariah Schuster, the European director of the American Jewish Committee, held a press conference in Bonn, 19 at which he exposed a dozen anti-Jewish and anti-democratic groups of refugees from Eastern Europe that were active in Western Germany, whence they were spreading their Nazi-like ideas not only among their fellow-emigrés, but also among Germans and in the United States. Composed of people who were pro-Nazi in their native lands and collaborated closely with Hitler during the war, these groups were not representative of the great mass of refugees but, thanks to their single-minded zeal and dis-

cipline, had gained influence far beyond their numerical strength.

Nearly twenty cemetery desecrations were reported during the year. The actual number was probably larger, because visitors were rare in the hundreds of small towns where no Jews remained. Even when profanations were discovered, they often did not become known beyond the confines of the locality concerned. Thus, the chairman of the Jewish community at Mainz found in the course of an inspection tour of burial grounds in his area that no word had reached him about tombstones having been overthrown and smashed at Appenheim, Bodenheim, Dromersheim, Ebersheim, Essenheim, Gau-Odernheim, Gensingen, Heidenheim, and Soergenloch. The press listed other desecrations in the cities of Duesseldorf, Frankfurt, and Heidelberg, as well as in Ansbach (for the third time since the war); at Aslar near Limburg; in Bad Cannstatt; at Breisach in Baden; at Drove near Aachen; at Hemmerde in Westphalia; at Heusenstamm outside Frankfurt; at Montabaur in the Westerwald mountains; at Schwartz-Rheindorf near Bonn; in Tauberbischofsheim; and at Niederhochstadt, in Rhineland-Palatinate, where the perpetrators overturned twenty-five gravestones on November 9, 1953, the fifteenth anniversary of the Nazi pogroms and synagogue burnings.

Patent anti-Semitic overtones also characterized a vigorous anti-shechitah campaign, launched in November 1953 by the German Animal Protection League. Interested elements availed themselves of this opportunity to insist that the anti-shechitah law of 1933 be enforced. Thus, a butchers' trade organ published 20 at great length a number of unbridled attacks on Jewish ritual slaughter, complete with inflammatory pictures. These articles, in turn, were quoted copiously by Germany's largest news magazine.21 Concerted and organized demands for the outlawing of kosher slaughtering poured in on the Bonn ministry of food and agriculture. Experts from the ministry asserted to the chairman of the German Conference of Rabbis that Hitler's anti-shechitah law was not discriminatory, but rather constituted a measure for the prevention of cruelty to animals. It had therefore not been rescinded by the postwar annulment of all Nazi legislation and still remained on the books. If it was not being applied at present, that was owing to the presence of the occupation powers and to an ordinance introduced by Military Government.

19 June 1954.

21 Der Spiegel.

²⁰ Deutsche Fleischer-Post, January and February 1954.

Efforts to obtain assurances that Germany would safeguard the right of religious Jews to practice ritual slaughter, after regaining sovereignty, met with no success. German government departments were unwilling to acknowledge that, in the words of the United States Military Government directive repealing Hitler's prohibition of *shechitah* and dated December 4, 1945, "the circumstances of its enactment indicate that the law of April 21, 1933, concerning the slaughter of animals, was enacted as a result of racial and religious prejudice rather than humanitarianism."

Jewish Population

Slightly more than 15,000 Jews were registered in the Jewish congregations (Gemeinden) in West Germany and West Berlin, according to a comprehensive census conducted under semiofficial auspices in early 1954. To that number must be added the 1,750 inhabitants of Föhrenwald, the last Jewish DP camp on German soil, and the approximately 2,400 people enrolled with the Gemeinden in Eastern Berlin and Eastern Germany. Finally, there were those residents of Jewish descent who avoided identification with the organized Jewish community, even though affiliation was in theory mandatory under German law for anyone considering himself a Jew by religion. Estimates of the size of this last group ranged from 5,000 to 25,000, in part depending upon varying definitions of who should be counted as a Jew and what constituted residence in Germany; under both headings the ratio of borderline cases was very high. Jews were thus about 0.5 per cent of the total population in Western and 0.01 per cent in Eastern Germany. A majority were of German birth. The number of former Displaced Persons (DP's) was somewhat less than 10,000.

It was estimated that more than half the total Jewish population was past fifty. Teen-agers were a rarity and no more than 2,500 could be found in the twenty to thirty age group, while those who had passed their sixtieth birthday exceeded 7,000. On the other hand, the incidence of births had been high in the postwar era, notably among concentration camp survivors from Eastern Europe. The number of children below school age was close to 1,000, while almost as many attended school in the first three grades.

EMIGRATION

Emigration in the year under review reached 1,250, but 500 of these were "illegal returnees" from Israel who used Germany as a transit country on their way to destinations in the Western hemisphere, chiefly South America. Of the "legal" residents, generally former DP's, 350 emigrated to the United States, 200 to South America, and 50 to Canada. Emigration to Israel was less than 100.

By agreement between the Swedish government and the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), twenty-six tubercular Jewish DP's, and thirty-six of their dependents, for the most part from Föhrenwald DP camp and from the Gauting tuberculosis sanatorium, were brought to Sweden in October 1953.

DISPLACED PERSONS CAMPS

On August 1, 1954, the figure of "old-timers" in Föhrenwald, the one remaining Jewish DP camp on German soil, dropped below 1,300 for the first time. To this must be added 400 "illegal returnees" from Israel. This total of 1,700 included nearly 500 children.

In February 1954, some 200 residents of Föhrenwald were repelled by German police when they attempted to occupy the Munich building housing the German head offices of the Joint Distribution Committee. Observers attributed the incident to the general malaise prevalent after many years spent in camps rather than to the announced grievances. Later, an agreement was

reached barring further demonstrations in German cities.

To make it easier for Föhrenwald inhabitants to leave the camp and start a new life elsewhere, the IDC in April 1954 set aside nearly \$500,000 of the funds allotted it by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CJMCAG). The cost of passage to countries of settlement was to be paid and a cash grant made for expenses incidental to leaving Europe. In South America and in Israel, needy newcomers from Föhrenwald would be tided over the initial period of adjustment. The German authorities had pledged \$700,000 to speed the emptying of the camp. About half of this was for lump sum cash grants to be paid in the country of immigration. The other half was to provide housing in German cities for those who elected to stay in Germany and to become integrated into the German economy. The IDC had undertaken to furnish the apartments.

Prospects of admission to favored countries of immigration were rather slim for most of the "legal residents" of Föhrenwald, the hard-core residue of the 250,000 Jewish DP's who had passed through German camps in the postwar period. In a census conducted by the Bavarian government in May 1954, 8.5 per cent said they expected to emigrate in 1954, while 31 per cent requested permanent integration into the German economy. Another 55 per cent agreed to temporary transfer to German cities, but hoped later to be able to emigrate

to countries of their choice, generally the United States or Canada.

The German authorities had signified their intention of closing Föhrenwald by early 1955, but emigration and preparations for resettlement within Germany were proceeding so slowly that this deadline might not be met,

RETURNEES

In mid-1953, the Bavarian government began to take action against former Jewish DP's who were trickling back to Germany from Israel without visas or residence permits (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 237-38). Following the August 1953 sitdown strike of returnees driven to desperation by the wholesale imposition of jail sentences for "illegal entry" and by the threat of deportation, an understanding was reached that the approximately 700 "registered illegal returnees" would neither be deported nor forcibly transferred for six months, a period of grace which was later extended. New infiltrees, it was announced, would be jailed and deported.

Additional "returnees" nonetheless arrived in late 1953 and early 1954. Finding access to Föhrenwald barred, they slept and lived on the floor of the Orthodox DP synagogue in Munich. In a raid there, German police arrested sixty-seven returnees, who were given brief jail terms by summary courts. Thanks to the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), most of these synagogue squatters were enabled to emigrate to South America. From the spring of 1954 on, the influx of returnees subsided. The problem was no longer acute at the end of the period under review (July 1954).

Religious Life

Some ten rabbis officiated in Germany. Emil Lichtigfeld succeeded Zvi H. Levy as chief rabbi of Hesse, while Fritz Bloch replaced S. J. Neufeld as chief rabbi of Wuerttemberg.

Germany's two largest synagogues, one in East and the other in West Berlin, were rededicated after repairs for the 1953 High Holy Days. The magnificent temple on Pestalozzistrasse, in West Berlin's Charlottenburg district, had been burned by the Nazis in 1938. Temporarily repaired in the postwar era, it was now completely renovated. In 1954 the only synagogue in the Palatinate, where scores of communities once flourished, was dedicated at Neustadt on the Weinstrasse.

Communal Organization and Activity

The Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, representative body of the Jews in Germany, increased the membership of its directorate from 5 to 6 at its 1953 plenary meeting in Bremen, by co-opting the president of the Bavarian Association of Jewish Communities, which had previously kept aloof.

A "Joint Committee of the State Associations of Jewish Communities in Southern Germany" was constituted, at a meeting in Munich in December 1953, by delegates from the state associations of Bavaria, Hesse, and Wuerttemberg. The new committee had its seat in Stuttgart.

In May 1954 the Hanover Jewish DP Committee merged with the Jewish community (Gemeinde) of Hanover. Wherever Jewish DP's from Eastern Europe had found themselves in German towns and cities rather than in camps after their liberation by Allied troops, they had formed Jewish DP committees distinct from the Jewish communities (Gemeinden), generally established by German Jews and by those Jews from Eastern Europe already willing to adjust themselves to the German economy at that time. After the mass emigration from Germany in 1948–49, the DP committees had gradually dissolved, and their remaining members joined the communities. It was only in Hanover that, due to special local circumstances, the "Jewish Committee" continued in existence. In July 1954, Jews of German and Eastern European origin formed a unified congregation in Augsburg, the last German city that had been split by an organizational schism between the two groups.

Zionist Activities

In July 1954, three and a half years after all Zionist activities in Germany were closed down by order of the central Zionist bodies, leaders of the settled Jewish communities in Germany assembled in Duesseldorf to re-establish a Zionist organization for Germany. Keynote speaker was Chaim Yahil, deputy chairman of the Israel Purchasing Mission in Germany, who had been director of the Jewish Agency and later Israel Consul in Munich until 1949. Now that the continued existence of a Jewish community in Germany was a fact that could not be blinked, it had been resolved at the highest level that it should have the same rights and duties as Jewish collectivities elsewhere. Shehalim would be sold and delegates from Germany would participate in the next Zionist congress as full-fledged delegates.

Social Services

Almost 4,000 indigent Jews, more than one in five of the registered population, depended upon regular monthly grants from Jewish organizations. Another 2,500, it was estimated, were in receipt of occasional grants-in-aid.

The Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWS), the central welfare agency of the Jews in Germany, with headquarters in Hamburg, assumed increasing importance, especially after it was allotted \$450,000 for 1954 by the CJMCAG. It formulated an integrated social welfare and relief program, prepared to take over direct relief work in German cities from the JDC, and opened branch offices in Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt.

The JDC transferred its German head office from Munich to Frankfurt, so as to assure closer liaison and cooperation with the ZWS (which intended moving there from Hamburg) and with German Jewish communal groups. Shortly after the war, Jewish organizations operating in Germany chose Munich for their headquarters because of its proximity to the major DP camps. The JDC move to Frankfurt, and a similar move by the Jewish Agency, recognized that the communities in West and North Germany, predominantly German Jewish in composition and leadership, now loomed much larger in the picture.

Three revolving loan funds were established for Jewish small businessmen, artisans, and professional people, in order to enable them to become or remain self-supporting in Germany. The bulk of the necessary capital was to be made available by the JDC and by the ZWS out of grants from the CJMCAG. Jewish communities in Germany would also contribute smaller amounts to the capital stock, as would individual businessmen.

The continued operation of Berlin's Jewish hospital, with its 400 beds and its staff of 250, was assured thanks to financial help from the Berlin city government. Only a minority of the patients were, however, Jewish.

Cultural Life

At the October 1953 meeting of the Zentralrat a committee was appointed to map out a cultural program for German Jewry. The first post-war conference in Germany to discuss ways and means of invigorating Jewish schooling and cultural pursuits took place at Bad Nauheim in May 1954.

There were cultural events of Jewish significance during the period under review, but the initiative generally emanated from non-Jewish quarters.

The world premiere of the late Arnold Schoenberg's opera Moses and Aron was presented in Hamburg in March 1954 by the Symphony Orchestra of the Northwest German Radio network and relayed by radio stations throughout Europe. Some months earlier, two works of Schoenberg derived from Jewish religious motives, his Thrice a Thousand Years and De Profundis, had their world premiere in a Hebrew-language choral concert performed in Cologne by the Symphony Orchestra of the Northwest German Radio.

The first major exhibition in more than a quarter century of oils, water-colors, and crayons by Max Liebermann, the Jewish past master of German impressionism, was shown in a number of cities. Darmstadt staged the first exhibition in Germany of the works of Ossip Zadkine, the Russian-born painter and Cubist sculptor who lived in Paris.

The Jews' Dance House at Rothenburg on the Tauber river, one of Germany's most picturesque examples of medieval architecture, was restored in August 1953. No Jews lived in the town, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a substantial community flourished there. In the future the build-

ing was to be protected as a national monument.

Martin Buber, professor emeritus of the Hebrew University and once holder of the chair for comparative religion at Frankfurt University, was awarded the 1953 Peace Prize of the German book trade in the Frankfurt edifice which served as meeting place for the short-lived revolutionary parliament of 1848 and was now a shrine of German democracy. His acceptance lecture was broadcast by all German radio stations. At the annual book fair, twenty-two German-language works of Buber's were exhibited in a place of honor (September 1953).

A high point in the year's cultural activities was the celebration held in the great Duesseldorf parliamentary chamber of the North Rhine-Westphalia state legislature to mark the 750th anniversary of the death of Maimonides. A distinguished assembly headed by President Heuss, the minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia, with three of his cabinet colleagues, and the national chairman of the opposition Social Democratic Party, Erich Ollenhauer, listened to a memorial address by Rabbi Leo Baeck (July 1954).

Publications

Four travel books on Israel were published in Western Germany during the year under review. Two of these were translations—Stephen Spender's Learning Laughter, the perceptive account of his survey of Youth Aliyah, and John Roy Carlson's Cairo To Damascus, describing his impressions on both sides of the Arab-Israel war. A report somewhat similar in scope to Carlson's was given in Wolfgang Cordan's Israel and the Arabs. Erich Lueth, initiator and head of the German "Peace With Israel" movement, told of his 1953 visit in Journey to the Promised Land, brought out by the Society for Chris-

tian-Jewish Cooperation in Hamburg.

A number of handbooks and legal commentaries on indemnification legislation sought to guide Nazi victims through the maze of regulations and procedures. For the layman, the standard work in the field was The Federal Indemnification Law by H. G. van Dam, secretary general of the ZWS, a 318-page volume which appeared under the imprint of the Allgemeine Wochenzeitung (Duesseldorf). H. Pagener compiled a legal reference work in another sphere with his Citizenship and Nationality Laws of Israel, issued by the Research Department for International Law at the University of Hamburg.

Two outstanding autobiographies of Jewish authors were Is This How One Makes History? Balance Sheet of a Life, by M. J. Bonn, former president of the Colleges of Commerce in Munich and Berlin, member of the 1919 German peace delegation in Versailles, economic advisor to the German government between the wars, a guest professor in the United States during 1939–45; and We Are Such Stuff As Dreams Are Made Of—Account Rendered of a Life, by the distinguished theatrical and film director Ludwig Berger, a member of the Bamberger family that was at one time prominent in German public life. Further autobiographical chronicles were Here I Stand—The Story of My Life, by controversial novelist and newspaperman Hans Habe, and a German translation of Victor Gollancz's My Dear Timothy.

The catalogue of publisher Lambert Schneider in Heidelberg listed two new philosophical works by Martin Buber (*The Problem of Man* and *Writings on the Dialogue Principle*). Max Brod's *Franz Kafka* was brought out by S. Fischer, Brod's novel *Der Meister*, by C. Bertelsmann. Other books by Jewish authors, but not concerned with subjects of special Jewish interest,

were put on the market by a considerable number of publishers.

Brochures meriting special attention were Five Addresses in Connection with the Award to Martin Buber of the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade; Georg Salzberger's Brotherhood as a Religious Postulate; Siegmund Weltlinger's Have You Forgotten Already?; and Walter A. Berendsohn's Reconstruction in Israel. Published as supplements to the government-sponsored weekly Das Parlament were two valuable pamphlets, one of them tracing the course of the pogroms that shook Germany in November 1938, while the other reported in an objective manner on the evidence available about the number of Nazism's Jewish victims.

Intergroup Activities and German-Israel Relations

German governmental leaders, most notably President Theodor Heuss and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, took pains to encourage better relations with

the Jewish community in Germany and elsewhere, and to foster more normal intercourse between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Jewish state.

The Chancellor and the president continued the practice of sending Rosh ha-Shanah messages of good will, the latter going out of his way to welcome a statement of Nahum Goldmann that the gates for an understanding between Germans and Jews had now been opened. Once again, in February 1954, President Heuss served as patron of Brotherhood Week and in other ways showed his continuing sympathetic and well-informed interest in Jewish affairs.

Invitations to the Maimonides anniversary commemoration in Duesseldorf were issued jointly by the Delitzsch Institute of Jewish Studies, a Protestant theological institution, the Zentralrat, and the Israel Purchasing Mission. Thus the quasi-diplomatic mission for the first time associated itself with a German body in sponsoring an official event. The mission also began to inform German public opinion on the facts of Israel life. A monthly German-language bulletin containing information about Israel was published. A showing of Israel photographs and stamps, the first exhibition on contemporary Israel to be seen in Germany, was held in Hamburg, Duesseldorf, and

Berlin under the co-sponsorship of the Israel Purchasing Mission.

Five non-Jewish German friends of Israel visited the Jewish state. Professor Franz Boehm, former head of the German delegation to the reparations negotiations with Israel at the Hague and now a Bundestag deputy of the Christian Democratic Union, came as a guest of the official Israel Reparations Corporation; he called on David Ben Gurion and was twice received by Prime Minister Moshe Sharett. Hamburg music critic Hans Joachim, who attended the Festival of Modern Music at Haifa as a delegate from the German Society for Contemporary Music, was the first German to take part in an international congress within Israel. The first German national sent on an official mission by the Bonn government was a woman doctor, Laura Schaefer; she examined Israelis claiming compensation from Germany because they had been injured or incapacitated in the pseudo-scientific experiments which Nazi doctors carried out in concentration camps. One of the warmest friends of the Jewish people, the Rev. Hermann Maas, supervising Protestant clergyman in the Heidelberg area and a dedicated Zionist for half a century, repeated his earlier postwar pilgrimage to Israel, thus being the first German to receive a second visa. And Rolf Vogel, a free-lance Catholic newspaperman, toured the country and was the first German to be received in the foreign ministry at Jerusalem. All five visitors to Israel delivered enthusiastic lectures about their impressions to German audiences.

Seventeen cases of textbooks and scientific works were donated to the Hebrew University by German publishers (July 1954). The German Trade Union Federation sponsored performances of Lessing's classic religious toler-

ance drama, Nathan the Wise, in Ruhr factory towns.

New German chapters of the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation were formed in Bonn, where President Heuss attended the charter meeting, and in Dortmund; an independent society, with similar aims, was constituted in the Saar territory (June and July 1954).

Reparations

In the year under review, the reparations pact of March 1953 went into full effect for the first time. Cooperation between the Israel Purchasing Mission and the German governmental apparatus proceeded in a businesslike atmosphere with regard to such matters as the working out of purchasing schedules, the placement and approval of orders, the payment of invoices, and shipment of goods. By and large, industry cooperated in submitting offers and filling orders; only a few firms, apprehensive about their heavy stake in the Arab market, declared that they would not furnish goods to Israel. Delivery schedules were generally met.

In accordance with the terms of the agreement, Germany made available \$95,000,000 for the period ending March 31, 1954. Disappointment was caused by the decision of Bonn Finance Minister Fritz Schaeffer to restrict payments during the following twelve-month period to \$60,000,000. In the reparations negotiations, \$74,000,000 had been envisaged as Germany's normal annual allocation. The figure of \$60,000,000 had been laid down as a last resort in case Germany found itself in economic straits. Germany's action in taking advantage of this escape clause contrasted markedly with its extraordinary economic boom.

The Purchasing Mission, which enjoyed quasi-diplomatic status, had an Israel staff of some forty, with Felix Shinnar at its head; Chaim Yahil served as his deputy until the spring of 1954. Headquarters were moved to downtown Cologne in October 1953. Branches of the mission were opened in West Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen.

In July 1954 Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany named Prof. Georges Sauser-Hall, of Switzerland, as chief arbitrator in case any serious disputes arose in connection with the carrying out of the reparations agreement. Prof. Sauser-Hall presided over a three-man arbitration commission, in which Lord Nathan of Churt represented Israel and Hans-Juergen Schlochauer represented Germany. So far, neither party had asked for the commission to meet.

Restitution

Reasonably satisfactory progress was made with regard to the return of identifiable property, such as houses, real estate, business enterprises, art objects, and furniture, to its rightful owners.

Under the Allied restitution laws, 473,000 claims had been filed by Jews and other Nazi victims. Of that number, 71 per cent had been disposed of by mid-1954. In the three zones of Western Germany, 81 per cent had been settled; in West Berlin, where restitution legislation became effective at a later date, only 45 per cent.

There were 138,000 cases still pending. Somewhat more than one-third (51,000) had been submitted by individuals, almost two-thirds (86,000) by the successor organizations for heirless property, the Jewish Restitution Successor

Organization (JRSO), the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC), and the French branch of the JTC. Half of the "successor organization" claims dealt with assets located in West Berlin. It was hoped that most of the claims would be resolved through a bulk settlement with the West Berlin government, which would pay a relatively small lump sum and itself seek to collect from the present holders of the property. Similar settlements had been concluded in the four states of the United States Zone (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 472-73).

The over-all value of restituted property was unknown. In the United States Zone and in West Berlin, where substantially more than two-thirds of the property subject to restitution was located, the claimants' own valuation was \$272,000,000. Real estate and mortgages accounted for almost half (48 per cent) of that amount, business enterprises for 9 per cent, stocks and bonds

for the same proportion.

Of the \$272,000,000 in restituted property, the largest share—39 per cent—went to United States nationals or residents; Germany followed with 16.5 per cent, the United Kingdom with 10.6 per cent and Israel with 5 per cent.

The processing, settling, adjudicating and revising of restitution cases was in German hands both at the lowest level, that of the Restitution Agencies, and at the two higher judicial echelons. Only at the very top, in the courts of final appeal, were Allied judges still to be found. The Court of Restitution Appeals in Nuremberg, which exercised jurisdiction over the United States Zone, was composed of United States justices, but German as well as French judges sat on the bench of the Cour Supérieure pour les Restitutions at Rastatt. In August 1954 the all-British Board of Review at Herford was supplanted by a Supreme Restitution Court for the British Zone, made up of German as well as British judges. When the Supreme Restitution Court for Berlin opened in November 1953, it was a mixed tribunal headed by a Swedish jurist, Anders-Torsten Salen, and consisting of three Allied and three German judges. The first United States member, Charles H. Owsley, was replaced by Frederic R. Sanborn in August 1954. Thus, only one of the four restitution tribunals of final resort was still made up of Allied judges exclusively. During the negotiations preceding the formulation of the draft contractual agreements between the Western Allies and the Federal Republic, the competent Jewish organizations had protested strongly against the inclusion of German judges.

The vexatious intra-Jewish dispute on the distribution of restituted Jewish communal and endowment property seemed to be approaching an amicable solution. In April 1954, representatives of the re-established small communities in Germany, on the one hand, and of the "successor organizations," on the other, jointly recommended to their parent bodies an understanding providing for an equal division both of existing communal property and of indemnification claims based on the Nazi destruction of such property. Settlements concluded earlier, especially between the JRSO and communities of the United States Zone, were to retain their validity. At its plenary meeting of July 1954, the ZWS approved the agreement in principle. A suit by the newly constituted Augsburg congregation against the JRSO, was decided in

favor of the latter by the United States Court of Restitution Appeals, after Augsburg had won its case in the lower German courts; at stake was \$200,000 worth of real estate of the pre-Hitler Augsburg community.

Indemnification

Far less satisfactory than the reparations situation and the status of restitution of identifiable Jewish property was the progress of indemnification for individual victims of Nazism. At issue was financial compensation for such things as damage to life and limb, false imprisonment, and confiscation and destruction of property which no longer existed. The high hopes which had been pinned upon the Federal Law for the Indemnification of Nazi Victims (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 52-53) were disappointed. More than a year after it had been adopted by parliament, it remained a dead letter, although prospects were that it would begin to be applied at the end of 1954. Of the several implementation regulations indispensable to its application, the first one—dealing with pensions for widows and immediate dependents of Nazi victims whose death had been indisputably and directly due to persecution—had not been placed before parliament as of July 1954.

Many groups adopted resolutions calling for speedy promulgation of implementation regulations, for specific improvements in the text of the law, and for its better administration. Notable among these groups were the societies for Christian-Jewish cooperation, the organizations of Nazi victims, and a two-day conference of Jewish jurists held at Bad Homburg in January 1954. Mounting indignation at governmental procrastination was voiced repeatedly on the floor of the Bundestag, especially by Social Democratic spokesmen. "The situation is turning to the worse in a manner which must be described as almost catastrophic," the Bavarian Council of Freedom and Justice noted at its annual conference in June 1954.

In the 1954–55 Federal budget, only \$16,000,000 was earmarked for individual victims of Nazism, a considerable proportion of whom were non-Jews. Additional amounts were made available by the various states, but no figures had been compiled that covered all of Germany for the period under review. There was no doubt, however, that in the four states of the United States Zone and in West Berlin, the Federal law had brought about a slow-down rather than a speed-up of indemnification payments during the first year of its existence.

In the United States zone and in Berlin, where the vast majority of Jewish claims were concentrated and where indemnification was in a considerably more advanced stage than in the British and French zones, the total of payments made in the course of nine postwar years was \$62,000,000 as of June 30, 1954. Qualified observers estimated that between one-third and one-half of this sum went to non-Jewish victims of Nazism, generally for deprivation of liberty. Compensation for this category of claims, i.e., for illegal detention in jails and concentration camps, accounted for almost

half of the payments made to date. Less than 29 per cent of all payments went to Nazi victims residing outside of Germany.

Prior to the enactment of the Federal law, 476,000 claims had been filed in the United States zone and in West Berlin under state indemnification legislation. Counting partial and unenforceable decisions as well as those resulting only in advance payments, the proportion of claims settled in such a manner that the Nazi victim was able to benefit was less than 19 per cent on June 30, 1954. A somewhat larger number had been withdrawn or turned down, but the great majority was pending without having been adjudicated. In West Berlin alone, the applications of 90,000 Nazi victims outside of Germany, and of 52,000 within the country, were still waiting for action.

OTHER ASPECTS OF INDEMNIFICATION

One development running counter to the general trend of bureaucratic obstructionism in the indemnification sphere was the handling of pensions for former German rabbis and communal officials, which proceeded smoothly. In the well-organized Jewish life that flourished in Germany prior to Hitler's advent, these servants of the Jewish community had been assured of a pension upon reaching retirement age. At the height of the Nazi cataclysm, the German state had abolished all Jewish congregations and taken over their assets. With this in mind, Western Germany undertook to advance pension payments for former German rabbis and other congregational or communal officials. To pre-screen applications, the CJMCAG set up an Advisory Committee in Bonn. During the period under review, more than half of the approximately 2,000 applications were examined and processed by this committee and by the German authorities.

At the invitation of the secretary general of the United Nations, the German government had agreed to compensate victims of the medical experiments staged by Nazi doctors. Due to the nature of these experiments, only some 750 victims had survived and were able to file claims. A lump-sum compensation averaging about \$1,000 had been paid in the cases where medical findings of German government physicians corroborated the existence of permanent injuries. The sum total of \$600,000 had been made available for the years 1951 to 1955, when the program was expected to be concluded.

The suit against the I. G. Farben chemical trust for back pay and damages, brought in an American court in Germany on behalf of former slave laborer Rudolf Wachsmann while he was serving with the American armed forces in Germany (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 253-54) was settled out of court for a small fraction of the sum demanded. After January 1, 1954, it was no longer possible to bring such suits before American courts in Germany. The test case of Norbert Wollheim, which would set a precedent for about 2,000 other former I. G. Farben slave laborers from the Buna-Monowitz subsidiary of Auschwitz concentration camp, was moving through German court channels. The I. G. Farben ap-

peal against the lower court award was expected to be heard in January 1955.

Much evidence to support indemnification claims was supplied by the International Tracing Service archives at Arolsen, where some 10,000,000 documents pertaining to concentration camps and to postwar DP's were stored. Fears were widely expressed about the consequences that might ensue if this irreplaceable collection bearing witness to Jewish martyrdom should pass into German hands. Normally, they would then come under the jurisdiction of the Federal Refugee Ministry headed by Theodor Oberlaender (see p. 357 above). At the end of the period under review, the three-power Allied High Commission still retained title to the archives, but plans were under way for the creation of an international body to assume nominal supervision, while Germans retained actual operating control. It was due mainly to French opposition that these plans had not yet been put into effect.

The United Restitution Office (URO), a non-profit agency devoted to the pressing of individual Jewish restitution and indemnification claims before German government bureaus and in German courts, moved its German head-quarters to Frankfurt in March 1954, and considerably expanded its network of branch offices inside and outside Germany. Its budget was now defrayed by the CJMCAG. The URO, which was incorporated in London, helped Jewish beneficiaries take advantage of indemnification legislation whenever they were unable to afford the fees of private attorneys. Benjamin B. Ferencz, the director general of JRSO, was also named director of operations for the enlarged URO organization, with Kurt May as his deputy.

OTTO KUESTER AFFAIR

Widespread uneasiness about the "cold sabotage" of indemnification by bureaucratic means received pointed corroboration when Otto Kuester, Commissioner for Indemnification Questions in the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg, and generally considered the last high-ranking German indemnification official ready to fight for an indemnification program based on moral principles, was first given dismissal notice (June 1954) and then summarily fired (August 1954).

Strong protests were voiced by the ZWS, by various persecutee organizations and by prominent personalities, but they availed nothing. "This is not an affair that concerns only Baden-Wuerttemberg," Prof. Franz Boehm, a member of the Bundestag and in 1952 chief of the German delegation to the reparations negotiations with the CJMCAG, exclaimed in a radio address, "but a matter of first-rank significance for all of Germany. It is intolerable that things should end this way. It is not lip service that counts but deeds, and in the case at hand the deed is Kuester's ouster. . . . His removal has dealt [a heavy blow] to indemnification in all its aspects." Marcel Schulte, editor-in-chief of Frankfurt's Neue Presse, commented in a lead editorial that "sometimes one is tempted to believe that every last vestige of human and political decency has vanished." And the Catholic monthly magazine Wort und Wahrheit put its finger on the underlying reason for the wave

of animosity that, in the end, had engulfed Otto Kuester: "The circumstances which surround the removal of this foremost expert on indemnification matters are ugly indeed. He was not a convenient man to have around.

... Not only the man himself and his position were inconvenient, but also the subject matter to which he devoted himself. Indemnification reminds us of the dark guilt of the past. Here something stares us in the face, something we would gladly be rid of."

The Baden-Wuerttemberg government, taken aback by the intensity of the indignation aroused in these high-minded sectors of public opinion, dropped its plan to put a subordinate official in charge of indemnification.

Instead, it appointed a retired elderly Jewish judge, Victor Perlen.

TRANSFER OF COMPENSATION PAYMENTS

During the course of the year under review, restrictions were relaxed progressively on the transfer of restitution and indemnification payments to countries others than Germany, a development of special benefit to Jews who had formerly been residents of Germany and to surviving Nazi victims who had emigrated after the war. In December 1953, the West German Central Bank authorized the total transfer to original owners residing abroad of "blocked mark" accounts below \$2,400. From January 1954 on, it became possible to transfer monthly restitution and indemnification payments not exceeding \$119 at the official rate of exchange to all non-German countries. Later, the transfer limit of pensions to the seventeen countries affiliated with the Organization for European Economic Cooperation was raised to \$190. At the end of the period under review, the abolition of the entire institution of "blocked marks" was in prospect.

Genocide Convention

Following an invitation extended by the United Nations some years before to all states that were not members of the organization, the Bonn government in December 1953 approved the draft of a bill incorporating into the German penal code the provisions of the United Nations Genocide Convention of 1948 which had been adopted by the international body so as to proscribe any possible repetition of Hitler Germany's anti-Jewish extermination policy.

In January 1954 the Bundestag granted unanimous consent to a first reading of this draft bill, then referred it back to committee. The BHE refugee party had objected to some statements made by Prof. Carlo Schmid, who was speaking for all other parties in the house. Professor Schmid's utterances might be interpreted, the BHE contended, as acknowledging the

guilt of the German people, something they did not believe in.

Several changes in the draft text of the bill were then suggested by Prof. Raphael Lemkin, of New York, the "father" of the genocide convention, as well as of the concept behind it. These modifications, which brought the German legislation more closely in line with the language of the conven-

tion, were accepted by the Bundestag legal committee. The new wording was more precise in its delimitation of the very crime of genocide, shutting off several loopholes that were contained in the loosely drawn original text.

On July 8, 1954, the Bundestag gave its unanimous assent to the second and third reading, thus outlawing the crime originated by Germany. The honor of making the sponsoring address devolved upon Jakob Altmaier, a Jewish deputy of the Social Democratic Party. The parties of Chancellor Adenauer's governmental coalition did not take the floor, because the BHE refugee party had threatened that, if they did so, it would feel constrained to voice its qualms about the bill.

The genocide law was promulgated in August 1954. The following month it was also approved by the parliament of the Berlin city state, which in the

constitutional sense was not part of Western Germany.

In September 1953, the Federal Republic further ratified the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees, which extended fairly comprehensive legal, employment, and social welfare protection to political refugees, irrespective of nationality. The convention also assured a degree of legal equality within Germany to those Germans now living abroad who had lost their nationality without acquiring the citizenship of another country. Most of the stateless persons in that category were Jews who had fled Germany during the Nazi regime.

Aftermath of the Auerbach Case

Philipp Auerbach, foremost leader of the Jewish community in postwar Germany until early 1951, had taken his own life the following year, the night after a German court had found him guilty on a number of counts dealing mainly with alleged maladministration in the discharge of his office as chief of the Bavarian Restitution and Indemnification Agency (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 316-17). Auerbach left a note charging deliberately false testimony by building contractor Karl Diekow, the only prosecution witness who had unequivocally accused him of cor-

rupt practices.

Diekow's testimony was employed as one of the principal props in the summation of the two prosecutors, both of whom had been members of the Nazi Party, as well as in the guilty verdict rendered by the court, all three of whose judges had been quite prominent in the Nazi Party and its affiliates. A few days after Auerbach's suicide, Diekow was, in a different case entirely, convicted of perjury and given a one-year jail term. When Diekow had appeared on the witness stand in the Auerbach trial, neither the court nor the press and public had been informed that a perjury indictment was pending against him. Diekow's perjury conviction alone would probably have furnished sufficient grounds for setting aside Auerbach's sentence, if only he had remained alive a fortnight longer.

In May 1954 the Munich Superior Court confirmed Diekow's perjury conviction, but put him on probation, a most unusual act of leniency in such a case. Diekow thereupon waived his right of appeal to the Supreme Court

and accepted the sentence. The verdict against him, and the curious circumstances surrounding it, were passed over in silence by the German press, which had lavished an unprecedented amount of space on the charges against Auerbach.

In September 1953 a tombstone was unveiled to mark the grave of honor in the Munich Jewish cemetery where Auerbach had been laid to rest the year before in the presence of thousands of mourners. The criminal charges and defamatory accusations against him were repudiated by implication in the final report of the Bavarian legislature's Auerbach Investigating Committee, which found no neglect or dereliction of duty on the part of those officials and cabinet members whose functions had included, for more than four years, supervision of the State Agency for Restitution and Indemnification headed by Auerbach.

Personalia

The last Jew among the 115 cabinet ministers in the Bonn Federal Republic, in Berlin, and in West Germany's nine constituent states, was eliminated when Paul Hertz, together with his Social Democratic colleagues, left the government of the West Berlin city state; he now held the subcabinet post of plenipotentiary for credits. On the other hand, Rudolf Katz, vice president of the Supreme Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, served as acting president from January to March 1954—one of the highest positions ever occupied by a Jew in Germany. The three Jewish deputies of the first Bundestag (Jakob Altmaier, Peter Blachstein, and Jeanette Wolff, all Social

Democrats) won reelection in September 1953.

In the academic community, Prof. Ernst E. Hirsch was installed as rector of Berlin's Free University in December 1953, and re-elected for a second one-year term in July 1954. Siegfried Aufhaeuser, a former Social Democratic member of the Reichstag, was reelected to the chairmanship of the Berlin Clerical Employees Union for a three-year term. West Germany's Federal Grand Cross of Merit was awarded to Moritz Goldschmidt, president of the Cologne Community and representative of the British Zone in the directorate of the ZWS; to Hermann Schuelein, in recognition of the aid he extended to German emigrants and soccer players in the postwar era; and to Dean Hermann Maas, superintendent of the Protestant church in the Heidelberg region, and one of the most warm-hearted friends of the Jewish people in Germany. The Cross of Merit was conferred upon Otto Nachmann, chairman of the centuries-old Supreme Council of Israelites in Baden, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, and upon Ernst Guggenheimer, the Jewish government architect who built the new synagogue at Stuttgart.

For outstanding achievements in the cultural sphere, the city of Frankfurt in November 1953 awarded the Goethe Plaque, highest honor it could present, to Prof. Max Horkheimer at the conclusion of his two-year term as rector of Frankfurt University. The noted social scientist was in 1954 also

named to the chair of sociology at the University of Chicago.

To mark the Paul Ehrlich centennial (see above), the West German Post

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Office issued a special 10-pfennig stamp, in an edition of ten million showing the profiles of Ehrlich and his non-Jewish friend Emil von Behring, born one day apart in 1854. Behring's Jewish widow was persecuted by the Nazis. High point of the ceremonies honoring Ehrlich and Behring was the presentation of the 1954 Paul Ehrlich Prize for Medical Research to Prof. Ernst Boris Chain, the co-discoverer of penicillin and Nobel laureate who had been born in Berlin of Russian-Jewish parents and was active in Jewish affairs. On the same occasion, the 1954 Behring Prize was awarded to Prof. Michael Heidelberger, New York-born biochemist and leading specialist in the field of immuno-chemistry.

The city of Nuremberg gave a cultural prize to Jewish novelist Hermann

Kesten, a native son who had become an American citizen.

OBITUARIES

Alfred Auerbach (80), for many years a well-known German actor and head of a dramatic arts school, died in his native Stuttgart, to which he had returned in 1951. Moritz Goldschmidt, president of the Cologne community, which he was instrumental in rebuilding after World War II, and representative of the British Zone in the directorate of the ZWS, passed away in his fifty-seventh year. Other deaths included Bruno Blau (74), noted scholar in the field of Jewish demography and population statistics; Laszlo Fodor (57), prominent pre-Hitler newspaper cartoonist; Lisa Salinge (82), head nurse of the Jewish Hospital in Berlin for half a century; Adolf Nussbaum (61), vice president of the Hanover community; Siegbert Vollmann, president of the Bochum community; and Theo Simon (61), president of the Duisburg community.

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DURING THE YEAR under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954), the question of a Staatsvertrag (state treaty) to establish Austria's independence and secure the withdrawal of all four armies of occupation, United States, British, French, and Soviet, continued to dominate the political scene. It was a live issue up to the breakdown of the Berlin Conference in February 1954; after that event, all parties were forced to recognize that the Soviet Union would never release her grip on Austria except as part of a far wider settlement with the West. Nevertheless, the Austrian government neglected no opportunity to press for a settlement of Austria's claims to the implementation of the Moscow Declaration of 1943 (for the re-establishment of Austria as a sovereign, independent state).

Hopes that the Russians would concur in the fulfillment of the Moscow Declaration of 1943 had been first aroused by the lifting of controls on the demarcation line between Soviet and Western occupation zones in June 1953, and by other minor alleviations, which were part of the Malenkov New Look in Soviet policy. On July 31 hopes were further raised by two

Russian notes, one renouncing further claims for occupation costs, the other stating that if the Austrian government would withdraw its support of the short treaty (put forward as a tactical gesture by the West), the Soviet government would be ready to resume negotiations on the full-length draft treaty. This the Austrians did shortly afterwards. On August 11, 1953, the Russians at last agreed to the abolition of postal, telegraph, and telephone censorship; in the Western zones these had been abolished several years before. The Austrian Socialists repeatedly attacked the Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, for what they considered his over-effusive expressions of gratitude to the Russians for these long-overdue modifications of their regime. On August 29, 1953, the Soviet Union justified such suspicions of its good faith by refusing the invitation of the Western powers to resume negotiations on the Austrian treaty in London on September 1, 1953. Early in September, Britain informed Austria of its intention to reduce its token occupation forces in Austria to one battalion. The reduction was promptly carried out.

Over a month before the Four Power Conference in Berlin in February 1954, to which Austria was invited and which optimists believed might bring a solution of the Austrian question, Communist charges of new Anschluss plans and warlike aspirations showed that the Soviets were bent on establishing an alibi. Insofar as there was any basis for the Communist campaign, this was furnished by the Verband der Unabhängigen (VDU—Union of Independents) and other neo-Nazi groups.

All Austrian hopes were dashed when, at Berlin, Vyacheslav M. Molotov proposed that a treaty should be signed but that the occupation should continue. The only effect of this would have been to abolish such protection from Soviet annexationist designs as the control agreement for Austria provided, and by getting the Western allies out of Vienna, to leave the

capital isolated in the heart of the Soviet zone.

Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Figl, head of the Austrian delegation to the Berlin Conference, decisively rejected these proposals on February 16, 1954. After the breakdown of the Berlin Conference, the Soviets reinforced their troops in Austria. Their policy within Austria stiffened noticeably. On May 17, 1954, the Soviet High Commissioner sharply warned Austria, in a session of the Allied High Commission, against tolerating "anti-Soviet activities." His statements included threats to the ministry of the interior that it would be held responsible for such toleration.

Restitution and Compensation *

Discussions between the Executive Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria and the Austrian government, which began in June 1953, failed to bring about a satisfactory solution of the indemnification question. At the opening of the general meeting of the World Jewish Congress at Geneva on August 4, 1953, President Nahum Goldmann spoke with an optimism which at that

^{*}This section has been prepared in collaboration with the staff of the American Jewish Committee.

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time still seemed warranted. He reported negotiations in progress with the Austrian government for the drafting of laws to ensure full compensation for individual victims of Nazi persecution. There was the further problem of heirless Jewish property to be handed over by the Austrian government for the relief and rehabilitation of Austrian-Jewish victims. Goldmann spoke of "the readiness of the Austrian government to assure equality of treatment to persons living outside Austria who had lost Austrian citizenship." Goldmann paid tribute to the good will of Chancellor Julius Raab, Vice Chancellor Adolf Schaerf, and other members of the Austrian government, and added that other questions would be dealt with when negotiations were resumed in September 1954. While deploring Austrian suggestions that because it had been declared a liberated country, Austria was not obligated to satisfy indemnity claims, Goldmann expressed the hope that Austrian political leaders would see that the satisfaction of these claims would be no less in Austria's own interests than in those of the Jewish victims of the Nazi regime. Emil Maurer, president of the Austrian Jewish community, defended the Socialist members of the Austrian cabinet against "tendentious accounts of the restitution negotiations in various newspapers, including some Israel newspapers." He also expressed his conviction that the negotiations would have a positive result.

OPENING NEGOTIATIONS

The negotiations opened on June 17, 1953. Chancellor Raab, in the presence of Vice Chancellor Adolf Schaerf, Foreign Minister Karl Gruber, and Finance Minister Reinhard Kamitz, received a delegation of the Executive Committee for Jewish Claims. The members of this delegation were Nahum Goldmann (chairman of the Executive Committee), Jacob Blaustein, Israel Goldstein, Adolph Held, and Barnett Janner. The delegation made it clear that any agreement must provide both individual indemnification for losses other than expropriated identifiable properties, and a sum in payment for heirless and unclaimed property of 60,000 exterminated Austrian Jews.

While stressing "the difficult financial and political situation of Austria," the chancellor nevertheless pledged "an effort... to find a solution to the total problem," and expressly declared that "both problems which Goldmann had outlined will be the object of the negotiations." He suggested that actual negotiations start without delay and asked that the Jewish claims be outlined in writing. One of the papers submitted to the Austrians, indicating the huge total of material losses suffered by Austrian Jewry, was immediately rejected by the finance minister as not germane to the negotiations.

JEWISH CLAIMS

The Jewish delegation asked indemnity payments to individual victims for loss of life of breadwinners, damage to health, deprivation of liberty, loss of income for professionals and businessmen, and loss of furnishings, savings, and other valuables not restitutable under existing law. On a more modest scale this followed the lines of the Luxembourg agreement with Western

Germany. The delegation also asked the extension to Nazi victims living abroad of benefits under the existing indemnity laws of Austria, from which this great majority of the victims remained excluded. In addition, it asked for housing facilities for Jewish refugees returning to Austria and compensation to the local Jewish communities for destroyed synagogues. The delegation also sought a global sum for Jewish heirless and unclaimed property.

Austrian Position

Throughout the discussions the Austrian representatives maintained that Austria, as a victim of German aggression, was in no way obligated to make amends; that Jewish claims should be made against Germany, not Austria; that, in the Austrian view, the purpose of the discussions was merely to hear the Jewish demands but not to engage in formal negotiations and binding agreements with spokesmen for private interests; and that the Austrian cabinet could not make commitments involving legislation, which was the prerogative of parliament. Austrian officials also asserted that much of the securities and bank accounts of victims without heirs remained in the hands of the Third Reich. This argument disregarded the huge quantities of looted property that remained with the Austrian population itself, and the rapid Aryanization of Jewish properties and enterprises through arbitrary individual acts by Austrians, long before the Third Reich officially decided to liquidate the economic position of Jewry.

By coincidence, during the June 1953 stay of the Jewish delegation in Vienna, the most sensational news in the local press was a series of front-page reports on the recent activities of a former Austrian Nazi just arrested for smuggling and selling abroad millions of dollars worth of classic paintings looted under Nazism from Jewish art collectors who had been exterminated

together with their families.

During the discussions an article in the official organ of the Austrian Chamber of Industry, an organization headed by Chancellor Julius Raab himself, demanded that even the existing elementary restitution laws of Austria be drastically amended to eliminate the "gross injustices" they inflicted on the Aryanizers of Jewish property. Thus while the Austrians negotiated on the expansion of the system of amends, a publication close to the chancellor called for the weakening of existing statutes.

Suspension of Negotiations

After nearly four weeks it became clear that Austria was not ready to make any binding offer. Instead, the Austrian government suggested that the negotiations be temporarily suspended, for the purpose of continuing technical and statistical explorations in Austria, in preparation for future negotiations between experts of the two sides. The explorations were to deal with the statistics of heirless property as well as a survey of existing indemnification laws; for at the close of the discussions the Austrian government finally made the single concession of indicating a readiness in principle for the elimination of discrimination against Nazi victims living outside of Austria in regard

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to indemnification. While it was agreed that this position would be made public in a joint statement to the press, there were Austrian attempts to prevent even this indication of a continuing relationship. Under pressure from the Jewish delegation, the Austrian government finally, on July 27, 1953, issued a unilateral statement which recognized the principle of nondiscrimination, indicated that technical contacts would continue, and announced that the negotiations would be resumed around the middle of September 1953 to discuss all demands raised by the Jewish delegation, including both major categories of claims. Just before the Jewish delegation's arrival in Vienna, the Austrian parliament amended the Austrian indemnification law to extend indemnities for loss of liberty and for dismissal from public office to victims living outside of Austria.

Before the issuance of this communiqué, Nahum Goldmann obtained an oral statement from Chancellor Raab that in future negotiations not only the narrow category of traceable assets but also the broader aspects of heirless property would be taken into account, and that on this basis the possibility would be considered of placing at the disposal of the Executive Committee for Jewish Claims "an additional amount" for the rehabilitation of Jewish victims of Nazism in Austria.

INTERIM PERIOD

The middle of September 1953 passed without word from Austria about the resumption of discussions. Goldmann therefore visited the chancellor in Vienna again.

Goldmann had hoped to reach an agreement in principle with the chancellor on the matter of heirless property, leaving details to be negotiated by the technical expert. The unexpected absence of Finance Minister Reinhard Kamitz, whose return from the United States had been delayed, rendered these hopes abortive. But the chancellor again expressed his conviction that agreement would be reached on this issue. On September 30, 1953, another discussion was held between Vice Chancellor Schaerf (in the absence of Chancellor Raab) and Finance Minister Kamitz, for the Austrian government, and Moses W. Beckelmann, head of the Executive Committee's negotiating delegation. On this occasion, a definite hardening was noticeable in the government's attitude. Kamitz said that the government would embody the principle of nondiscrimination on the grounds of residence abroad, or loss of Austrian nationality, in a legal enactment. No agreement was reached, however, on the question of heirless property, which Kamitz declined to discuss, although Beckelmann scaled down the proposed demands to 300,000,000 schillings, representing the token value of \$12,000,000. Kamitz suggested that the experts on both sides should resume detailed negotiations on this unclear basis. Beckelmann urged that an agreement should first be reached in principle. Kamitz then declared that the Austrian government was not prepared to deal with the heirless property problem, nor would it envisage any payment which would include non-traceable property. While the delegations might get together to discuss other subjects, the heirless property issue must be indefinitely deferred, at least until the final date for filing individual restitution claims, which the Austrian government could postpone at will. This unexpected Austrian reversal rendered the resumption of negotiations impossible.

This seemed all the more regrettable in that almost simultaneously (at a cabinet council on October 6, 1953) a draft bill was reintroduced providing for the restitution of properties and emoluments to convicted Nazis, and their rehabilitation to pension rights, both of which were forfeited by deci-

sion of the People's Courts.

Early in October 1953, Goldmann telegraphed Raab asking for a frank statement from the government on the subject of heirless property, in accordance with the views expressed by the chancellor in September. This telegram was left unanswered for several weeks. A meeting of the Executive Committee was therefore summoned in Paris for November 12, 1953. Decisions were taken as to the new line to be pursued in view of the Austrian government's change of attitude. Chancellor Raab had answered Goldmann's telegram on November 13, after a delay of six weeks. In his reply the chancellor refused to discuss the heirless property problem until six months after the signing of an Austrian state treaty with the Allies, the same basic treaty which the Soviet Union manifestly could not be expected to sign for a long time to come, if ever. The Jewish claims were sharply criticized. The letter concluded with a formal indication that new proposals for the resumption of negotiations were expected from the Jewish side.

On December 1, 1953, the chancellor gave a reply to a parliamentary interpellation (dating back to June 17, 1953) by the VDU deputy, Herbert A. Kraus, asking how the situation stood concerning heirless property. Emphasizing that his reply was given "in agreement with the ministry of finance," Raab suggested that the Austrians had never intended the negotiations with the Executive Committee to achieve any concrete result. Raab concluded by inviting the Schutzverband—a body representing the interests of former Nazis who had had to make restitution—"to make known its wishes to the gov-

ernment."

The following day, December 2, 1953, Kamitz gave an eleven-page written reply to a Socialist interpellation concerning the negotiations. This placed all responsibility for all losses and sufferings of Jews in Austria on the German government, and declined to admit any liability on the part of the Austrian state-despite the fact that 600,000 Austrians had been regular members of the Nazi Party. Two weeks later, on December 17, 1953, Raab was handed a note from the Executive Committee, signed by Goldmann, dealing with the chancellor's letter of November 13 and the two replies of the chancellor and finance minister to the parliamentary interpellations. The note concluded by expressing the Executive Committee's willingness to resume negotiations, provided these were to deal not only with individual claims but also with the matter of a payment in respect of heirless Jewish property. The following day, December 18, Goldmann sharply criticized the behavior of the Austrian government at a press conference in London, declaring that there was no legal justification whatever for the Austrian government's thesis that the problem of heirless property could be solved only six months after the conclusion of a AUSTRIA 389

state treaty. The Austrian government was pursuing its policy of restoring property and positions to former Nazis, and apparently did not share the general view that measures of justice towards the victims of the Nazis should take precedence over any measures to benefit former Nazis. The Jewish press in Austria proceeded to set forth charges detailing the responsibility of individual Austrians, not merely Germans, for the long series of outrages committed in Hitler's name against Austrian Jews.

SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS

On December 30, 1953, Deputy Undersecretary of State Robert M. Murphy assured a delegation of the Executive Committee headed by Jacob Blaustein that the United States government regarded as unfounded the Austrian claim that the pending issue of the draft state treaty justified the delay of a settlement on heirless property. Murphy also stated that the desire of the United States government for Austrian cooperation with regard to the settlement of the Jewish claims would again be made clear to the Austrian authorities. At the same time, a number of American public figures, including leaders of the Senate, publicly expressed their concern over Austria's failure to render justice to this important moral issue. Thus Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, on March 8, 1954, declared that "it is my earnest hope and faith that Austria will, in line with the principles of existing legislation, do justice, and will not seek to enrich itself at the expense of the victims of Nazism." Senator Herbert H. Lehman stated his pleasure over the fact that the Eisenhower administration was "faithfully following the example of its predecessors" in supporting the settlement of these claims by Austria. In January 1954, on the occasion of the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers, whose agenda included the proposal for the restoration of Austria's full independence through the signing of the state treaty, the Executive Committee for Jewish Claims addressed a letter to the foreign ministers of the three Western great powers, urging that the occasion of the Berlin Conference be used to remind the Austrian representatives of their country's obligation to the victims of Nazism.

In the meantime, Foreign Minister Karl Gruber resigned from that position and was appointed Austrian ambassador to Washington. In that capacity, Gruber seems to have displayed personal interest in an early settlement of the dispute. In March 1954 Finance Minister Kamitz informally approached the Executive Committee with the proposal that in order to make the resumption of the negotiations possible, he would be willing to recommend to his government that an advance payment of 50,000,000 schillings (about \$2,000,000) on heirless property, and a "hardship fund" of 100,000,000 schillings (about \$4,000,000) be offered as a basis for negotiations. This offer amounted to only half of the drastically reduced last compromise proposal of the Executive Committee; but the chancellor himself could indicate only his individual approval of this barely adequate proposal of Kamitz's, making it clear that officially the offer could not be submitted until opposition against it within the cabinet was overcome. All that actually resulted from the hypothetical Kamitz offer was the unacceptable March 5 offer of an advance pay-

ment of 30,000,000 schillings on heirless property, as an "inducement" for the

Executive Committee to reopen the negotiations.

Following the Executive Committee's rejection of this offer, Ambassador Gruber with the approval of the chancellor proposed that the Committee again send a representative to Vienna to explore informally and confidentially with top cabinet officers the possibilities of improving upon the tentative offer of Finance Minister Kamitz, and thus to find a way for reopening formal and detailed discussions. For this mission, the Executive Committee delegated Seymour J. Rubin, economic and legal consultant in Washington for the American Jewish Committee. Rubin had repeated discussions with the chancellor, Vice Chancellor Schaerf, the new Foreign Minister Leopold Figl and, mostly, with Kamitz.

Notwithstanding Gruber's assurances, Rubin at first received no new offer of any kind, but only the proposal that the experts get together to compare notes on their respective heirless property estimates, i.e., that formal contact between the delegations be reestablished in the absence of any Austrian offer. Rubin protested against this violation of the terms upon which he had been asked to come to Vienna and on April 8, 1954, submitted a proposal of his own to the cabinet. Subject to approval by the Executive Committee, he recommended (as a preliminary settlement chargeable against a later agreed and final evaluation of the total complex of heirless property), an advance payment by Austria to the Executive Committee of 75,000,000 schillings and an additional credit of the same amount. The latter might be paid partly in Austrian products to reduce the foreign exchange burden.

The Austrian leaders accepted Rubin's memorandum for study and asked the author to return to Vienna on April 26, to hear the cabinet's response.

On his return to Austria, Rubin was given two letters addressed to the Executive Committee. In one of them Raab gave up, at long last, the untenable argument that the discussion and settlement of the heirless property problem could take place only after the signature of the state treaty with Austria. The chancellor explained that the failure of the Berlin Conference "has shown that this period (of the signing of the state treaty) has been moved to a nebulous distance." On this ground, he fixed June 30, 1954, as the last date for the submission of new restitution claims by individuals, making it possible to discuss with the Claims Committee a settlement for "property unclaimed until then." With regard to the advance payment, however, the letter repeated the unacceptable offer of 30,000,000 schillings, with an additional payment on the basis of the final evaluation of heirless and unclaimed property. In principle, the letter at last recognized the right of the Executive Committee to receive all heirless property left by Jews in Austria.

The second letter, signed by Kamitz, repeated the acceptance of this principle and stated that Austria "would not be narrow-minded" with regard to payments to be made for the alleviation of indigent Nazi victims' needs. It refrained from mentioning any advance payment on heirless property, but emphasized that Austria now was again prepared to negotiate on both major issues. Kamitz proposed June 1, 1954, as the opening date of the negotiations, and expressed the view that "the conclusion of discussions on all questions,

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including the final report on the evaluation of heirless property, will not require more than a month."

The Executive Committee replied that the offer contained in these letters was unacceptable as a basis for negotiations. But in the interest of individual claimants, and encouraged by Kamitz's indication of a more liberal Austrian attitude, the committee at the same time informed Raab that it was nevertheless prepared to sit down again for formal negotiations, in the expectation that they would also lead to agreement on a global payment for heirless property "more commensurate with realistic estimates" than the chancellor's latest token offer.

As a result, the second series of formal negotiations started in Vienna on June 1. They soon turned out to be another disappointment and failure, this time in relation to both major categories of claims, heirless property and individual indemnification alike.

The Jewish delegation endeavored to give priority to the latter problem, of vital direct interest to tens of thousands of Nazi victims. It soon became evident, however, that the Austrian government had decided to give such a narrow interpretation to the principle of nondiscrimination against Nazi victims living outside of Austria as to render the equitable satisfaction of most major claims impossible. All in all, the Austrian government agreed to the application of this principle only in respect to the payment of pensions to the small group of former state officials (but not to officials and employees of other public bodies) and to the grant of some benefits under the social insurance law.

In more important respects, in 1954 the Austrian government repudiated its own promises made in the course of the 1953 negotiations. Thus it had originally promised compensation to all Jewish victims of Nazism for household furnishings looted from their homes, but now it declared that it would make such payments only to refugees who returned to Austria for permanent residence. The Austrians executed another about-face on the question of assets which, they claimed, were not in Austria but had been transferred to Germany. At first, the Austrian delegation conceded that this question might be taken up at a later stage, in connection with the ultimate settlement of Austria's and Germany's mutual financial claims arising out of the Anschluss of Austria and its aftermath. Later, however, they reverted to an entirely negative position, holding that Article 38 of the draft state treaty prevented Austria from presenting such claims against Germany. On this legalistic ground, based on a treaty draft which might or might not enter into force, the Austrians rejected any responsibility for non-restitutable assets (consisting of the entire huge complex of property other than real estate and similar identifiable assets), even for those properties which never had been transferred to Germany but had directly enriched the population of Austria. Even the Austrian offer of compensation for the losses of Jewish communities in Austria (particularly for the destruction of synagogues) fell far short of both the damage and the present needs of the communities.

At the same time, the Austrian proposal on heirless and unclaimed prop-

erty remained on the unacceptable level of 30,000,000 schillings indicated by Chancellor Raab.

After five weeks of such gradual whittling down of the position reached in principle in the June 1953 negotiations, the Austrian government decided to summarize its position in an official memorandum transmitted to the Jewish negotiators. The latter then decided to call for a meeting with the chancellor, the vice chancellor, and the key ministers, in a last attempt to break the deadlock brought about by this official confirmation of unacceptable conditions of settlement. Realizing that the proposals as drafted would lead to an immediate formal break in the negotiations, the Austrian government suddenly withdrew its memorandum.

Instead, on July 6, 1954, Chancellor Raab sent another letter to the Executive Committee which once again reaffirmed (with certain restrictions) the principle of nondiscrimination, and promised to restudy all Jewish claims. The chancellor also stated that this time Parliament itself would be consulted on the entire issue, as soon as the fall elections for the state parliaments were over. On the basis of these consultations, a new offer would be presented to the Executive Committee.

JEWISH POSITION

In a resolution adopted on July 11, 1954, the Executive Committee publicly stated its views on the chancellor's letter as follows:

An agreement . . . must be based on the definitive acceptance by the Austrian government of the following provisions which have been known to the Austrian government for over a year:

(a) Elimination of all legislative and administrative Austrian postwar measures discriminating, in law or fact, against former Austrian citizens or residents, now living abroad or having acquired another nationality.

(b) Adequate compensation for furniture and household furnishings lost due to Nazi persecution.

(c) Payment of compensation for economic losses which are not indemnifiable under existing Austrian restitution legislation.

(d) Appropriations for the rebuilding and reequipment of necessary synagogues and other Jewish communal buildings and institutions; provision of housing for Jewish victims of Nazism requiring homes in Austria.

(e) Adequate compensation for heirless or unclaimed Jewish property, both traceable and non-traceable, and payment of an advance thereon.

The resolution added that the chancellor's letter was too vague to provide a basis for even a provisional conclusion of the negotiations, but expressed the Executive Committee's readiness to consider the new definite proposals promised by the chancellor for the fall of 1954, provided they met the minimum demands as summarized above.

At the same time, Nahum Goldmann wrote the chancellor that Jewish opinion the world over was aroused by the delaying tactics of the Austrian government, and members of the Executive Committee felt that "the renewed delay on the part of your Government should be regarded as a breaking off of these talks."

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RESTITUTION FOR NAZIS

On June 2, 1954, the Austrian parliament passed a bill providing for the restoration to former Nazis of property and other rights confiscated from them in favor of the Austrian state by decision of the early postwar People's Courts. Some 26,000 Nazis had been charged before these courts with war crimes of all sorts. In some 12,000 of these cases, the accused had been found guilty and, in addition to being sentenced to various penalties, had had their property, pensions, etc., confiscated. In 30 to 40 per cent of these cases, crimes against Jews and property looted from them had been involved.

REACTION BY OCCUPATION POWERS

On August 13, 1954, Austria was publicly rebuked before world opinion by the Allied Council for Austria, on one of the very rare occasions where the Western powers and the Soviet Union were able to take unanimous action. Parliament had passed two laws in favor of former Nazis, the one alluded to above, and a companion measure providing for the payment to former Nazi officials of pensions which they had forfeited under the Nazi Prohibition Law of 1947. The reasons which had united the four occupying powers on this issue were clearly given, in the spirit of American protest against earlier similar pro-Nazi measures in Austria, by the British High Commissioner, Sir Geoffrey Wallinger.

"Before certain victims of Nazi oppression law have had their wrongs righted," Sir Geoffrey said, "we are asked to approve two laws, designed to relieve former Nazis who took part in that oppression, from the legal penalties imposed on them by Austrian legislation." The British government refused to approve this legislation, because "the solemn pledge given by the Allied Council to the people of Austria in its first meeting on September 11, 1945, to eliminate the after-effects of Nazi misrule, has not yet been fulfilled." Britain, Sir Geoffrey added, would be prepared to consider such laws as had been submitted that day for approval, only after full justice had been done to the victims of the Nazis. Charles W. Yost, the American representative, concurred, as did the French and the Russian High Commissioners.

Jewish Population

The number of Austrian Jews in Austria was little changed during 1953–54, but the number of non-Austrian Jews, mainly Displaced Persons (DP's), was considerably reduced by increased emigration (see Table 1).

The very high proportion of old people and the small number of children remained constant and seemed likely to reduce the Jewish community

by 10 per cent in twenty-five years (see Table 2).

There were some 150 Jewish students in Austria: most of them at the University of Vienna, others in Innsbruck and Graz. Many came from abroad—e.g., from the United States, Britain, and Israel—owing to the lower cost of Austrian education, especially in medicine.

TABLE 1

Jewish Population Changes, Austria, January 1, 1954—June 1, 1954

Nationality	January 1, 1954	June 1, 1954	Decrease
Austrian Non-Austrian	7,713 1,286	7,661 1,090	52 196
Total	8,999	8,751	248

TABLE 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION, JEWISH COMMUNITY OF AUSTRIA, DECEMBER, 1953

Age	Austrian	Non-Austrian
Under 5	100	83
6-8	192	88
9–11	95	23
12–17	168	51
18–24	238	26
25–44	1,612	533
45-60	2,926	309
60-	2,382	173
Total	7,713	1,286

DISPLACED PERSONS AND MIGRATION

The Jewish Displaced Persons (DP) camps continued to be administered by the Austrian government, with supplementary assistance from the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). A number of inmates came under the United States President's Escapee Program (PEP) for refugees from behind the Iron Curtain who had arrived in the camps after 1948. Despite the decrease in the resettlement potential of the Jewish DP's, the JDC had intensified its resettlement program.

The majority of the DP's in Austria had registered for one emigration scheme or another, most of them for emigration to the United States. The number of DP's decreased greatly by emigration, the camp population being cut by 50 per cent during the period under review. Toward the end of July 1954, it proved possible to liquidate the camp at Hallein, almost the worst in Austria. Under the auspices of the PEP and the JDC, fresh accommodation was found for its inmates at Glasenbach. DP's still had the utmost difficulty in securing Austrian citizenship, to which they were theoretically entitled; it was also extremely hard to get labor permits.

Out of 526 persons who emigrated under JDC auspices during the period under review, only 80 were Austrians. This indicated that the great majority of the Jews in Austria intended remaining in that country.

In an effort to resettle some of the "hard core" of unwanted emigrants, a few more arrested tuberculosis cases were accepted, and Sweden indicated

her willingness to take a few more active tuberculosis cases, in repetition of the program of the previous year. There was very little influx of fugitives from behind the Iron Curtain, since very few Jews or other persons were able to escape. Only a very few aged and dying Jews were allowed to get out legally. During the period under review well under 100 Jewish refugees escaped to Austria from the east.

Social Services

Funds from the Conference for Jewish Material Claims Against Germany were made available through the JDC for the installation of an elevator in the home for old people, provision of summer vacations for all Jewish children, an increase in welfare expenditure, and some assistance for the Jewish school. A total of 2,650 persons received help of one sort or another through the JDC.

In June 1954, the welfare section of the Jewish community serviced a total of 663 persons, of whom 571 were Austrians and 62 non-Austrians, with an expenditure of 88,204 Austrian schillings (\$22,933); the medical department provided assistance to 231 persons. In the same month, the JDC assisted 43 university students, with the expenditure of 30,967 (\$8,051) Austrian schillings; in the Vienna area, the JDC's welfare program assisted a total of 1,378 persons, providing 6,145 days of care and 6,120 meals; 671 persons received cash assistance directly from JDC during June 1954.

TABLE 3

IEWISH POPULATION IN COMMUNITIES AND CAMPS IN AUSTRIA JUNE 30 1954

JEWISH TOTOLATION IN	COMMUNITIES	AND CAMPS II	AUSTRIA, JUNE	50, 1954
Area				June 30, 1954
Vienna Community Camp Rothschild			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	9,112 137
U.S. Zone Community Camp Asten Halleina Glasenback	196			460 335
British Zone Community				201
French Zone Community		• • • • • • • • • • • • • •		155
TOTAL COMMUNITIES TOTAL CAMPS	* * * * * * * * * * * * *			9,928 472 ^b
GRAND TOTAL				10,400

^{*} This group moved into private quarters near Salzburg in July 1954.
b Approximately 100 persons who formerly lived in camps moved into communities in Vienna and Salzburg. Nevertheless, the sharp cut in the number of DP's living in camps was brought about by the efforts of the JDC Emigration Department.

Jewish Education and Religious Life

There was one synagogue in Vienna, in the Seitenstaettengasse. The rabbi was Akiba Eisenberg. The other synagogues destroyed by the Nazis had not been rebuilt. In addition there were two Bethäuser (Houses of Prayer) in Vienna, one belonging to the (Orthodox Zionist) Mizrachi, the other to the (Orthodox) Agudath Israel. There were several prayer meeting houses in the provincial capitals, as well.

In Vienna some 300 children educated at various Austrian schools received supplementary religious teaching at six instructional centers. Important festivals were celebrated in the Grosser Musikvereinssaal, as the syna-

gogue was too small.

The all-day Jewish school, with some seventy pupils, was re-established on a firm financial basis by the JDC in the famous building of the B'nai B'rith. There was a summer kindergarten, which was attended by fifty children.

Special ceremonies marked the fifteenth anniversary of the Reichskristallnacht (November 9-10, 1938). This was the night when all but one of the synagogues in Austria were burned down by the Nazis. On that occasion over 10,000 Austrian Jews were rounded up and sent to Dachau. Mourning ceremonies were held on November 8, 1953, outside the destroyed and desecrated Ceremonial Hall of the Jewish section of Vienna's Central Cemetery. Jewish periodicals published full details of the horrors of those days and commented that the remnants of Austrian Jewry were still fighting for proper reparations. Accounts were published of the restoration work carried out by the Vienna community in Jewish cemeteries, not only in Vienna, but throughout Lower Austria and the Burgenland, to repair the deliberate havoc wrought by the Nazis.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

All Israel parties were represented in the Vienna community, but only as very small nuclei. Thus, there were two Zionist youth movements, with a combined membership of 150, the (Labor Socialist) Gordoniah and the left-wing Hashomer Hatzair. There were no hachsharah agricultural training farms. Great interest was taken in Israel affairs, and there was a considerable sale of Hebrew books and newspapers.

The Austrian press showed little interest in spot news from Israel but great interest in the Israel way of life; many features were published dealing with it. Most newspapers had regular correspondents in Israel. Arab influences were always at work and were slightly on the increase. They were supported by a section of the business community which hoped that, if a settlement of the restitution demands were refused, they could secure the business which the Arab states threatened to withdraw from Germany on account of its settlement of Jewish claims. Normal diplomatic relations between Israel and Austria had not yet been established, owing to Israel's

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reluctance to accept the Austrian thesis that Nazism had been thrust upon the population by the German invaders, and by Austria's failure to settle the reparation issue.

Anti-Jewish Activity

There was a considerable increase in neo-Nazi activities and in minor indications of anti-Semitism during the period under review—as well as some cases of public condemnation of such tendencies. On July 18, 1953, for example, the prominent Catholic publication Offenes Wort published a letter from a reader—who described himself as "neither Jew nor Nazi, but a Catholic Christian"—which strongly supported the demand that "the property of Jews who lost their lives under Hitler and left no heirs should not fall to the state but, by a special law, should be allotted to Jewry." Unfortunately, the public expression of such sentiments was extremely rare. The Salzburger Nachrichten (Independent) frequently opened its columns to anti-Semitic writers and neo-Nazis of the VDU Party, who throughout the year were active under their leader, Herbert A. Kraus, in blocking progress on Jewish restitution claims. Salzburg was the scene of many neo-Nazi, pan-German, and anti-Semitic gatherings.

On some occasions the Salzburger Nachrichten wrote in praise of such notorious Fascists and anti-Semites as the Rumanian Iron Guard (which, under Horia Sima, has its headquarters in Salzburg), and the Slovak Fascist leader Ferdinand Durcansky. On March 21, 1953, the Freiheitliche Sammlung group headed by the neo-Nazi parliamentary deputy Fritz Stueber held a congress in Salzburg which struck a strongly Fascist and anti-Semitic note. Stueber made a typically anti-Semitic speech in parliament on April 7, 1953, attacking the provisions of the new social insurance bill, which provided for the payment of benefits and pensions to Austrian emigrés living abroad. Declaring that the emigrés had "escaped much suffering," Stueber proceeded to a full-dress attack on Jewish restitution claims. The bill was passed by

the votes of all parties except those of the VDU and Stueber.

The new law was attacked by Merk's Wien, the electoral organ of the Catholic Volkspartei, the party of Chancellor Raab, which referred to "emigrés living abroad most of whom have huge incomes" who considered that they "should not be refused payment of pensions by Austria on the ground

that they have a right to it."

A leaflet aiming at increasing church attendance was distributed during March by the St. Joseph's Parish authorities in Vienna. The leaflet warned against indifference to the Catholic religion in these terms: "The tragic fate of Jewry, with its sin against the blood of Christ—this tragic fate which we have seen again exemplified among us—should be sufficient warning." Such neo-Nazi organs as the Neue Front and Signal greeted with enthusiasm the news of the nomination of the former Nazi-appointed burgomaster of Vienna, Hermann Neubacher, to a post in Abyssinia. Neubacher, who was sentenced in Yugoslavia as a war criminal, had played a leading part in plundering the Jews.

Neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic circles gave a warm welcome to Field Marshall Albert Kesselring, German Nazi first convicted as a war criminal but later pardoned, when he visited Austria in March 1954, allegedly for reasons of health. When Kesselring's presence became known in the press, there were many protests from various quarters. The ministry of the interior, learning that Kesselring's program included an address to the former inmates of the Wolfsberg postwar internment camp for Nazis, informed him that his further presence in Austria was undesirable. Kesselring arrogantly ignored this, and continued his tour of many places in the American and British zones, where he held reunions with former soldiers in Hitler's army. Oscar Helmer, Socialist minister of the interior, accused Kesselring of abusing the laws of international hospitality, and said that he had caused nothing but difficulties for Austria and delighted her enemies. But, Helmer said, there were no legal grounds for expelling him. Having completed his program, Kesselring left a week later.

In April 1954 Otto Seits, deputy commander of the Jewish forced labor camp at Donnerskirchen, was acquitted because of insufficient evidence on a charge of murdering two Jewish inmates. The charge had been originally brought against him in October 1945, but only now came up for hearing. (It was common practice in Austria for defending counsel in such cases to try to delay hearings until all witnesses had dispersed.) In December 1953, however, a Linz court passed a sentence of ten years' rigorous imprisonment on a police inspector, Johann Kirchmayer, for shooting a Jewish concentration camp prisoner during the notorious "death march" of Jews from Hungary via Mauthausen to Ebensee. In April 1954, a similar sentence was passed on Heinrich Trnko for ill-treating numerous Jews and murdering one during the Engerau Death March in 1945. Here, again, most of the original witnesses could not be found after nine years, but it proved possible to convict Trnko on his own earlier confession.

Unfavorable notice was attracted by the inclusion by the municipality of Braunau-on-the-Inn of a photograph of the house where Adolf Hitler was born, as one of the "sights of Braunau." In May 1954 the Jewish community sent a letter of protest to the Austrian Broadcasting Center against a proposal of Catholic Action to allow only one Jewish religious broadcast per annum, instead of one broadcast on every Jewish religious festival, as had been provided by the American authorities (who in 1953 handed back their stations to Austrian control).

G. E. R. GEDYE

Eastern Europe

INTRODUCTION

DURING THE YEAR under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954), the rulers of the Soviet empire were striving to overcome a major crisis arising from Josef Stalin's death, the struggle for power between his most prominent successors, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lavrenti P. Beria, and the unrest in the population. This unrest had found its most conspicuous expressions in the East German uprising of June 1953, in strikes in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in passive resistance by peasants throughout the Soviet satellites, and in a revolt of slave laborers in the Vorkuta camps in the Soviet Union, all in the summer of 1953.

The struggle between Malenkov and Beria reached its bloody conclusion with the trial and execution of Beria and his aides in December 1953, and in an extensive purge and reorganization of the secret police. The leaders of the Communist Party reasserted their power; Premier Georgi M. Malenkov and Party secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev emerged as the most influential individuals. But neither of them had yet attained the status of omnipotence and infallibility enjoyed during his lifetime by Stalin. The Byzantine cult of the leader was publicly deprecated, and the regime stressed "the principle of collective leadership," as it had after the death of Lenin and before Stalin ascended to exclusive power.

Foreign Policy

The much-heralded New Look in foreign policy in fact merely continued the tactical turn inaugurated by the nineteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October 1952, when it was still under Stalin's leadership. The aim of the New Look was to disrupt the great defensive alliance of the democratic countries, in order to neutralize European and Asiatic powers and to isolate the United States; its immediate objective was to prevent the rearming of Western Germany and the strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Europe. For this purpose, the Soviet Union toned down its own and the Communist parties' propaganda in Western countries, and made a series of diplomatic advances to various powers, ranging from Great Britain and France to Yugoslavia and Turkey. But it did not make any substantial concessions: The Soviet Union remained intransigent in its opposition to the unification of Germany on the basis of free elections, and refused to sign a state treaty for Austria even

when the Western powers offered to accept the Soviet-proposed text without changes. The Soviet Union's hold on the satellite countries was in no way relaxed; in Asia, Communist aggression continued with full Soviet support; and Soviet behavior toward the United States remained openly aggressive in its propaganda, as well as in numerous incidents in which American airplanes were shot down and American citizens killed.

Economic Conditions

In economic policies, there was a change in emphasis. The crisis in Soviet and satellite agriculture, which could no longer sustain the accelerated tempo of industrialization, was openly acknowledged. Industrial plans were revised, the build-up of some branches of heavy industry was slowed down (though not halted), and measures were taken to increase the production of agriculture and of light industry. In the Soviet Union, pressure on individual members of the collective farms was relaxed, and new agricultural colonization was undertaken in the Asiatic parts of the country. In the satellites, the complete collectivization of agriculture was postponed until times should improve. Everywhere, there was an effort to produce more consumer goods; but progress was slow and there were many complaints of new shortages, inferior quality, and a "sabotage" of the new policy by the bureaucratic apparatus.

Political Situation

Economic concessions to the population were not matched by any relaxation in political rule. Following Lenin's prescription from the days of the New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1921, Communist leaders combined a partial economic retreat with a strengthening of the dictatorship and its oppressive machinery. Amnesties decreed in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries in the spring and summer of 1953 excluded the overwhelming majority of political prisoners from their benefits. In Eastern Germany a campaign of terror was waged against all those who were suspected of having played an active role in the strikes and demonstrations of June 1953, "unreliable" workers were fired from their jobs, and many Communists were purged because they had been "soft" toward the strikers. In all satellite countries, security organizations were purged of real or suspected partisans of Beria, and the police was reorganized and streamlined. In the summer of 1954 the Communists were wooing Tito's Yugoslavia and stopped all public attacks against "Titoism." There were rumors that some Communists arrested for "Titoism" were being released from jail in Hungary and Bulgaria. The belated release of the American citizens Noel and Herman Field (on November 16, 1954, and October 25, 1954, respectively) seemed to belong to the same category. But there was no revision of the charges against Rudolf Slánský and his numerous "accomplices," accused of participation in a worldwide "Zionist conspiracy."

Jewish Situation

There was little change in the situation of the Jews. Openly anti-Semitic campaigns in the press disappeared and diplomatic and commercial relations with Israel were resumed, but anti-Jewish propaganda in the guise of anti-Zionism continued. A long series of trials against the "co-conspirators" of Slánský was conducted in Czechoslovakia, and many of the defendants—most of them Jews—were sentenced to jail for life or for decades. In other satellite countries, Jewish co-defendants played a prominent role in proceedings against disgraced leaders of Communist parties.

At the same time, a campaign of mass terror was organized against former leaders of the Jewish communities, most of whom had been held in jail since 1949–50. Hundreds of them received severe sentences for their activities in the Zionist movement and in Jewish communal institutions, which had been perfectly legal before their arrest. In Rumania the victims included practically all the well-known former leaders of the Jewish communities; in Hungary even the Communist-imposed Jewish commissars shared the fate

of their Zionist and liberal predecessors.

Jewish religious services were still held in a small number of synagogues, and this fact was utilized by Communist propaganda abroad as a proof of "complete religious freedom." But the surviving Jewish religious communities—as well as the few surviving Jewish schools and theaters in Poland and Rumania—were under complete Communist control, and the rabbis still tolerated were forced not only to participate in Communist political and propaganda campaigns but also to sign manifestoes destined for foreign use which asserted that Jewish life behind the Iron Curtain was free and blooming.

JOSEPH GORDON

EASTERN GERMANY

The shock induced in Communist ruling circles by the mass uprising of June 17, 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 267-68), persisted during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954). It led to the imposition of cruel penalties upon those suspected of having been actively involved; but there was also some relaxation of the measures of regimentation and coercion applied to the general population. The collectivization of agriculture and the nationalization of private business proceeded, but at a much slower pace. Interference with church affairs became less noticeable. Foodstuffs and consumer goods remained dearer, scarcer, and shoddier than in West Germany, but they became available at lower prices, in greater quantity, and of better quality than in the earlier postwar years.

Certain of the domestic measures served to lend emphasis to the regime's primary propaganda theme, the demand for German reunification. Thus, barriers between West Berlin and the Soviet zone were largely removed. "Interzonal passes" were abolished; permits authorizing residents of East Ger-

many to visit relatives or friends in the West, and vice versa, were issued comparatively freely. Travel and mail curbs were reduced to a minimum. For the annual laymen's convention of the German Protestant Church, held in the Soviet zone for the first time since World War II, 100,000 West Germans and 400,000 East Germans were allowed to congregate at Leipzig in a mighty

demonstration of religious faith.

Within the Soviet zone itself, there were various efforts to raise the living standard of the population. Some remained on paper, but others were in fact carried out. In July 1953 the wages of low-paid workers in nationalized factories and of sales clerks in the state-owned HO stores were increased. In these retail establishments, which sold scarce or rationed goods at a huge mark-up, prices for a variety of items were slashed repeatedly. Tax cuts benefited not only workers but also artisans, peasants, and the remaining private businessmen, who received larger allocations of merchandise and raw materials. Even the Five Year Plan was modified with the aim of boosting production of consumer goods by 10 per cent, a higher increase than that stipulated for heavy industry.

In May 1953 the Soviet Union had dissolved the Soviet Control Commission and created a High Commission of the Soviet Union in Germany. After negotiations conducted at Moscow in August 1953, the Soviet Union announced that it would terminate the levying of reparations as of January 1, 1954, that it would reduce occupation costs, return Soviet-confiscated plants to the East German government, and wipe out certain East German debts. In March 1954 the Soviet Union granted "full sovereignty" to Eastern Germany, "except for functions in connection with security and with obligations deriving from four-power agreements on Germany." The Soviet High Com-

mission was transformed into an embassy.

Perhaps the change in the psychological climate was best epitomized by the reactions, only one year apart, to two American offers of aid. In July 1953 a proposal by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to furnish \$15,000,000 worth of foodstuffs to Eastern Germany was turned down; the East German parliament termed it "provocatory and insulting." In July 1954 a United States offer to supply relief foodstuffs to East German flood victims through

the International Red Cross was accepted with thanks.

But although conditions improved somewhat during the year under review, Eastern Germany remained a police state where basic human rights were trampled underfoot and where the material conditions of life continued to be unsatisfactory. During the 1953 calendar year, 326,000 people fled from Eastern to Western Germany. The rate declined somewhat toward the end of 1953 and in 1954, but there was no blinking the fact that during 1949–54 nearly 2,000,000 Germans had crossed to the West from the Soviet zone and from East Berlin, which together had a population of only 18,500,000.

Reparations

Whenever the occasion offered, the East German authorities spoke out against the West German reparations pact with Israel and called for its im-

mediate revocation. Thus, government spokesman Albert Norden (see below) stated at a special press conference in November 1953 that the East German government would not recognize the "completely unjustified" reparations

Interested in pressing its claim against Eastern Germany for reparations of \$500,000,000, and safeguarding the smooth continuation of reparations deliveries in the event a unified Germany was created, Israel was represented at the Four Power Conference held in Berlin in January 1954 by Chaim Yahil, deputy head of the Israel Purchasing Mission in Germany. The world Jewish organizations supported the Israel goals, and in special memoranda again indicated their interest in the extension to Eastern Germany of restitution and indemnification legislation enacted in Western Germany. However, these issues did not become acute, since reunification never had a serious chance of realization. Eastern Germany, for its part, showed itself adamant in its refusal to recognize any moral obligation to redress the wrongs perpetrated by Germany. The East German foreign minister went so far as to receive Syria's envoy to Bonn, and to assure him that Eastern Germany would not deviate from its policy in regard to reparations.

After-Effects of the Anti-Jewish Purge

In the wake of the 1952-53 anti-Jewish purge (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 268-71), certain personnel shifts took place in the summer of 1953, and the Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Nazi Regimes-VVN (Association of Victims of Nazism), once one of the mainstays of the regime, was dissolved. On July 28, 1953, the Socialist Unity Party (SED), the Communist party of Eastern Germany, eliminated the last remaining two Jews from its top leadership. Rudolf Herrnstadt, editor of the authoritative central party organ, was excluded from the Party Central Committee and placed in seclusion in a provincial town; later he was expelled from the Party altogether. Hermann Axen, the Party's one-time cadre chief and more recently its political agitation head, was dropped from the Party Secretariat and shifted to a lesser job in East Berlin. On July 30, 1953, Bernd Weinberger, who had served as an important member of the Soviet Zone cabinet, was demoted to a subcabinet post, which was abolished some months later. Weinberger was the last cabinet member of Jewish origin.

In October 1953, the well-known Communist playwright, author, physician, and diplomat, Friedrich Wolf, died in his sixty-fifth year. Wolf had been recalled as East German ambassador to Warsaw amid the initial stirrings of the anti-Jewish wave. Paul Baender, another Jewish-born official ousted at the onset of the purge from his position as state secretary in the ministry of commerce and supply, was given six years at hard labor (July 1954) for allegedly "upsetting the food supply of the population by deliberately false planning

and through wrong directives."

In the course of the late summer and fall of 1953, the campaign against "Zionists" and "Slanskyites" abated. In January 1954 Alexander Abusch and Albert Norden, two Communists of Jewish birth who had long before renounced all identification with Judaism, were elevated to the rank of state secretaries, in a move interpreted as part of the more conciliatory Communist policy adopted in preparation for the Big Four Conference in Berlin and the Communist-propagated reunion of Eastern and Western Germany. Both Abusch and Norden had lived in the Americas during World War II, and their presumed familiarity with the Western world apparently was regarded as an advantage in this situation.

Jewish Community

As the anti-Jewish purge and the publicity campaign against "Zionists" subsided, the exodus of Jews (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 268-71), came to a halt. Out of the previously estimated Jewish population of 2,700 in East Berlin and in the Soviet zone proper, almost 600 had fled in the course of the six months from December 1952 through May 1953. They had crossed to West Berlin, whence more than half either were moved to Western Germany, or else emigrated to other countries.

Because the refugees included practically the entire communal leadership and many of those who had been most interested in Jewish affairs, Jewish life was vestigial in the seven congregations outside of East Berlin-Leipzig, Dresden, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Halle, Chemnitz (Karl-Marx-Stadt), Schwerin, and Plauen. The Association of Jewish Communities in the German Demo-

cratic Republic was reorganized, but was simply a letterhead.

In East Berlin, the Rykestrasse synagogue, the largest in Germany and the only one in East Berlin, was renovated during 1953 with the financial assistance of the East Berlin municipality, and rededicated for the High Holy Days by the Rev. Martin Riesenburger, a preacher and former schoolteacher of religious subjects who was now the only religious functionary in all of Eastern Germany. In October 1953 a simple black-granite monument to the victims of Nazism was unveiled at the Weissensee Jewish cemetery in East Berlin.

SOVIET UNION

There were still no reliable data about the number of Jews in the Soviet Union. The most acceptable estimate put their number at about 1,800,000 persons. The Jewish population of the capital, Moscow, was estimated at between 250,000 and 500,000. The old centers of Jewish population in the western territories of the Soviet Union, in the Ukraine and Biclorussia, had been depopulated, partly by the mass extermination under the Nazi occupation, partly by the postwar deportation of Jews to the eastern territories. A large part of the Jewish population was now concentrated in the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union, in Siberia, and in the Central Asiatic republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, and Kazakhstan. According to some

¹ For another estimate of the Jewish population of the Soviet Union, see p. 291.

reports, Tashkent in Central Asia had emerged as the city with the second largest Jewish population in the Soviet Union. Most of the Jews now residing in this Soviet Asiatic area were newcomers; only a small fraction of the Asiatic Jewish population were the descendants of long-settled groups of Central Asiatic Jews.

Deportees

Most of the Jews in Siberia and Central Asia were refugees or deportees from the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, of World War II, and of the postwar period. Some of the refugees had settled in the East "voluntarily" because they had no place to go to in the "liberated" western territories. Others had returned after the war only to be deported to the East in the new wave of deportations that took place in 1948–49. Still others, after having served their time in slave-labor camps, had been released on condition that they settle in the eastern territories as "free" workers or "specialists." They were allowed to accept civilian jobs, but forbidden to leave the territory. Such settlers were dispersed in the wide area from the Turkestan deserts up to and behind the Polar Circle. Allowed to travel in Siberia in the summer of 1953, Harrison E. Salisbury, the Moscow correspondent of The New York Times, met these deportees in many places, including the Polar Circle city of Yakutsk in northeast Siberia. Salisbury wrote (The New York Times, September 28, 1954):

From the Ukraine and Bielorussia, many Jews have been sent to far northern Yakutia with its permafrost (permanently frozen subsoil), its Lena River, ice-bound until June, and its dark and frigid winters. Many of the Jews have found work in the city of Yakutsk, in its small factories and service industries. I asked a young Jewish engineer who had been shipped out to work in the Yakutsk bakery, after getting into "trouble" in a Moscow factory, how his life compared with that in Moscow. He did not reply. He simply snorted and looked at me as if I had lost my wits.

In addition to these "free" settlers, there were also many Jews in the slavelabor camps. New reports about these slave-labor camps reached the West in 1953 when the Soviet government released several hundred citizens of Germany and Austria. These survivors reported having met Jews-of Soviet as well as of Central European origin-in the camps of Vorkuta behind the Polar Circle in European Russia, and in Central Asia. One of the released persons, Maria Jacobi, who was allowed to emigrate in 1954, was of Jewish origin. She had operated a matsoh bakery in West Berlin in 1947, her products being distributed by the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in the Eastern sector of Berlin. On a shopping trip to East Berlin, Mrs. Jacobi had been arrested, deported to Moscow, and from there to Central Asia, where she had been detained in the slave-labor camp in Spassk. There Mrs. Jacobi had met many prisoners of German, Hungarian, and Czech origin. Many Jews from the satellite countries had been deported the same way; in only a few exceptional cases had they found their way back to freedom.

Jewish Communal Life

The death of Josef Stalin in March 1953 did not affect the ban on all manifestations of Jewish cultural and communal life in the Soviet Union. There were no Jewish periodicals, publications, theaters, schools, welfare institutions, or associations of any kind. Many of the estimated 1,800,000 persons of Jewish origin had, except for childhood memories, no ties with the Jewish communities or traditions. Their attitude was expressed in an interview that N. B. Levinson, deputy director of the Moscow State Puppet Theater, gave to the correspondent of the [London] Jewish Chronicle in July 1954. Asked about the reasons for the closing of the Jewish Theater in Moscow in 1949, Levinson replied: "There was . . . the problem of finding themes for the plays. There are no particular Jewish problems in the Soviet Union and it is extremely difficult to find Jewish authors to write for a Yiddish theater." (Levinson did not mention that all Soviet Yiddish authors had been arrested and deported in 1948.) Asked about the number of Jews, Levinson said: "I do not know. I could tell you about the number of Ukrainians, who have their own language, but not about the Jews." When asked what being a Jew meant to him, Levinson cited some childhood memories. However, he added that his conception meant nothing to Jews under the age of thirty-they had no similar memories. "I never . . . have discussions with other Russian Jews about religion or about Jewishness."

Other reports stressed the acceleration of assimilation through intermarriage. "The younger generation," reported the [London] Jewish Chronicle on June 25, 1954, "brought up in Communist schools and with no knowledge whatsoever of Judaism, almost invariably marries out of the faith." The report added that many young Jews married non-Jews to demonstrate their allegiance to party principles and their "complete emancipation" from Jew-

ish and bourgeois, religious and other prejudices.

Religious Life

The only surviving Jewish institutions were a few synagogues still kept open in Moscow and several other places, in order to facilitate police supervision of the remaining believers and to demonstrate to foreign visitors that there was "religious freedom" in Russia. The Moscow synagogue was visited by several delegates to the meeting of the council of the Communist-dominated International Union of Students held in Moscow in August 1954. The delegates—some of them from Israel, some from England—were not allowed to speak to the members of the congregation. They were seated apart: after the service, as the delegates left the congregants stood up, but did not approach them. One of the visitors also saw the synagogue in Leningrad, which looked deserted and decaying. Salisbury was allowed to visit the "tiny" synagogues in Birobidjan and Bokhara—everywhere, the congregations consisted of elderly, poorly dressed, unhappy looking persons.

ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

A strong anti-religious propaganda campaign was waged with new vigor in the summer of 1954. Sharp articles against religious "superstitions" appeared in the press, and clergymen were attacked at meetings. The campaign was so violent that on November 11, 1954, the Moscow Pravda printed a directive signed by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, "correcting" certain "abuses." The decree stressed that anti-religious propaganda should be conducted on a more "scientific basis" and with more tact: it should not gravely offend the feelings of the believers, and persons should not be considered "politically suspect" just because they were religious. But the article stressed that the campaign against religion should be continued. Jewish religion was not especially singled out for attack—the battle against Jewish traditions was waged more on the political and cultural fronts, under the flag of "anti-Zionism" and "anti-cosmopolitanism." But neither was Judaism spared: The 1954 edition of the Soviet Philosophical Dictionary described it as "superstitious" and "reactionary."

Birobidjan

Birobidjan was still formally in existence as the Jewish Autonomous Province. In the general elections in March 1954, Birobidjan elected five deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities, the upper chamber of the Supreme Soviet. But

only one of these five was of Jewish origin.

Communist delegations to the Soviet Union, though not allowed to visit Birobidjan, repeated the usual propaganda reports about a "blooming Jewish life" in that province that they had heard in Moscow. Thus, the Communist women's delegation from Israel "reported" the existence of fifty-two Yiddish public schools, ten Yiddish high schools, and two Yiddish technical colleges in Birobidjan, and a Yiddish department at the Khabarovsk University in eastern Siberia. This delegation also spoke of movie houses playing Yiddish films—without saying where they were produced—and of "Jewish" holkhozes (collectives) and tractor stations. The holkhozes and tractor stations may have been enterprises whose personnel was partly of Jewish origin. But almost certainly there were no Yiddish schools in Birobidjan.

The province had been closed to foreign visitors for seven years. Promises that the Israel ambassador to Moscow, Shmuel Eliashiv, would be allowed to visit Birobidjan, had remained unfulfilled up to the time of this writing

(November 1954).

However, in the summer of 1953, Soviet authorities did allow Salisbury to stop in Birobidjan. The police surveillance of the visitor was extraordinary even for Soviet conditions. A secret police officer established himself as the ostensible manager of the hotel, and whenever Salisbury emerged from his room, police agents followed his every step. Free conversation with the local residents was impossible.

Among the few visible remainders of Jewish life were street signs in Rus-

sian and Yiddish; Salisbury also saw a few copies of the *Birobidjaner Shtern*, a small newspaper in Yiddish, which had been allowed to appear, with frequent interruptions, in Birobidjan during the postwar years.

Birobidjan had become part of the eastern Siberian slave-labor territory ruled by the secret police, and Salisbury was able to discover a prisoners' camp

next to the unpaved main street of the province's capital.

Anti-Semitism

After Stalin's death in March 1953, and the retraction of the charges against the Moscow doctors in April 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 273 and f.), open anti-Jewish propaganda disappeared from the columns of the Soviet press. But, except for the doctors, none of the victims of the vast anti-Semitic campaign was rehabilitated, and nothing was done to repair the damage inflicted upon the Jewish population. The accusation against Zionism as a world conspiracy was never retracted, and while the persecution of real and imaginary Zionists continued in the satellite countries, in the Soviet Union the belief that Zionism was counter-revolutionary and subversive remained an article of Communist faith.

In April 1953 the Soviet government had denounced two high officials of the ministry of state security as primarily responsible for falsely incriminating the doctors. One of them, Mikhail D. Ryumin, was arrested, and on July 7, 1954, sentenced to death. But strangely enough, the paragraph invoked when Ryumin was sentenced was not the one dealing with counter-revolutionary incitement to group hatred, but rather article 58, point 7 of the Criminal Code, punishing the "undermining of state industry, transport, trade, currency or credit... carried out for counter-revolutionary purposes." According to the sentence passed on him, Ryumin's chief crime seems to have been the arrest, not of the Jewish doctors, but of some unspecified leaders of the Soviet economy.

Ryumin's chief, the former minister of state security, Semyon D. Ignatiev, was only temporarily demoted in April 1953. A few months later, after the fall of Beria, Ryumin was appointed the secretary of the Communist Party in the Autonomous Republic of Bashkiria, and in the March 1954 elections,

he was nominated and elected as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

Relations With Israel

Soviet diplomatic relations with Israel, broken off after the attempt on the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv on February 11, 1953 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 277) were resumed several months after Stalin's death. Preliminary contacts between both governments were established in April 1953; negotiations were then conducted between the Soviet ambassador in Sofia and the Israel chargé d'affaires there. The Soviet government demanded that Israel make the first official approach, which Israel did in a note dated May 28, 1953. Further negotiations followed, and finally, Israel officially asked for the resumption of diplomatic relations on July 6, 1953. In a

letter to Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov, the Israel government expressed once again its regrets at the attempt on the Soviet legation, offered apologies, promised compensation for the injuries and damages suffered, and pledged further efforts to apprehend and punish the culprits. The note also stressed that Israel would not be a party to any alliance or pact

aiming at aggression against the Soviet Unon.

On July 15, 1953, the Soviet government accepted these statements and agreed to reestablish diplomatic relations. On August 2, 1953, the Israel government reappointed Shmuel Eliashiv minister to Moscow, while Moscow appointed a new minister to Israel, Alexander N. Abramov. But it was some time before relations were really fully resumed. Eliashiv, who arrived in Moscow in November 1953, presented his credentials on December 14; the same month, Abramov presented his credentials to the Israel president in Jerusalem. But the seat of the Soviet embassy was not, as had been expected, transferred to Jerusalem—it remained in Tel Aviv.

Reviewing Soviet foreign relations in an address to the Supreme Soviet on August 8, 1953, Premier Georgi M. Malenkov stressed that Israel had promised not to join any aggressive alliance against the Soviet Union. Malenkov declared that this promise would assist the development of cooperation between the two countries, but added that the resumption of diplomatic relations did not imply any weakening of the Soviet Union's friendly relations with the Arab countries. And in fact subsequently, the Soviet Union did continue to support Arab claims in the United Nations. After the resumption of Soviet relations with Israel, several trade agreements were concluded. The export of Israel oranges and other fruit to the Soviet Union was renewed, while the Soviet Union began to deliver to Israel considerable quantities of crude oil.

In June 1954 both countries agreed to transform their legations into embassies.

On August 3, 1954, Soviet newspapers published a Tass dispatch from Tel Aviv alleging that Israel had proposed a mutual defense pact to the United States. The Israel legation sent the Soviet foreign office a note denying this report and asking for the publication of this denial. On August 10 the Soviet newspaper Izvestia actually published the denial—an unusual occurrence in the Soviet press, which only rarely printed repudiations of its own reports.

Emigration

The hope that the resumption of Soviet diplomatic relations with Israel would lead to a relaxation of the ban against Jewish emigration to Israel was disappointed. As in previous years, only some dozen exceptions were made for hardship cases, and a few old men and women whose children were abroad were given exit permits. Generally, emigration remained forbidden, and Soviet Jews were cut off from any contacts with the Jewish communities abroad.

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That followed the death of Josef Stalin in March 1953 did not come to Poland until March 1954. Apparently in the wake of the second congress of the Polish United Workers Party (Communist), held in Warsaw March 10–17, 1954, the Polish government was reorganized and brought into step with the new line of "collective leadership" announced in Moscow after Stalin's demise. Boleslav Bierut relinquished his government post of prime minister to become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Bierut was succeeded as prime minister by Joseph Cyrankiewicz, a former Socialist, who had joined the Communist Party in 1948 and, in fact, had been prime minister before Bierut took over the position.

This new division of responsibilities coincided with a new policy of concentrating on meeting the needs of the peasants and consumers—i.e., with the proclamation of the "new line" in Poland. "Brutal ways" of forcing peasants into collectives were strongly condemned at the Party congress, and Hilary Minc, chief economist of the regime, stressed the necessity of a "new look" at the Polish economy, particularly with respect to over-all planning, shortages, etc. In fact, the New Look seemed to have coincided with reports from Poland, as well as other satellite countries, of serious trouble among the workers, whose wages were lagging desperately behind the prices of consumer goods. As of the end of 1953, Poland had over 8,000 collective

farms, with about 100,000 peasant members.

General Position of the Jews

The anti-Jewish policies that characterized the last year of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union did not affect Poland in the same degree as they did the other satellite countries, although they did produce fertile soil for the strong anti-Semitic feelings still alive in Poland. There was a case toward the end of 1953 of the murder of a Jewish couple in Wroclaw (western Poland) which was allegedly perpetrated by anti-Semitic Poles. A general feeling of insecurity and fear was reported to be widespread among Polish Jews—particularly in the western areas of Poland, whose legal status might be challenged in the event of a new political settlement. Reports from Poland indicated that many Polish Jews still desired to quit the country, most of them to go to Israel.

Poland seemed to have escaped the worst features of the anti-Jewish trends—no leading Jewish Communists had been purged and no Zionist groups had been brought to trial. There were the usual vituperative articles in the press against Zionism, and against leading officials of the State of Israel, but these seemed more in the nature of anti-Zionist than anti-Jewish attacks. Thus, the Jewish workers in shops and factories were forced to vote for strong anti-Zionist motions condemning the Israeli "reactionary Fascists," pledging themselves to foster the economic and military developments of

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their fatherland, etc. American Jews were singled out for attack, particularly in connection with the visit to Western Germany of Rabbi Norman Salit of

the Synagogue Council (Folksztyme, January 3, 1954).

Continuing rumors of the gradual demotion of Hilary Minc, vice premier and chief economic planner, seemed to have been unfounded, at least at this writing (December 1954). In fact, at the second congress of the Polish United Workers Party (Communist), which was held in Warsaw on March 10–17, 1954, Minc delivered one of the most important reports on the economic tasks for 1954–55 within the general framework of the six-year plan. The new Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party elected at this congress included, among others, Minc (fourth in the listing) and Jacob Berman (eighth). Both men were also nominated to a vice premiership, Minc to be first vice premier in addition to his other positions. Szymon Zachariacz, a leading member of the Jewish Cultural and Social Union, was listed among the members of the Gentral Control Commission. Although there were persistent reports of the gradual elimination of Jewish employees from responsible positions in the state and city government, no reliable information on this score could be obtained.

Jewish Population

Verifiable data on Jewish population in Poland were not available. Nor were there data on such matters as distribution by occupation and age groups. From official reports it was known, however, that the great majority of the gainfully employed Jews were in light and small industry, servicing occupations, and individual handicrafts (report by Hersz Smoliar to the enlarged plenum of the presidium of the Cultural and Social Union held in Warsaw November 15, 1953 [Folksztyme, Warsaw, November 18, 1953]). Current estimates of the number of Jews in Poland varied from 35,000 (as reported in The Jewish Daily Forward, October 9, 1954, on the basis of an estimate by an Israeli diplomat) to 72,000. The latter figure was quoted by the British Laborite member of parliament Ian Mikardo after his visit to Poland (The Jewish Chronicle [London], October 15, 1954). The figure had apparently been supplied by official Jewish groups in Poland, but there was no substantial material to back it up. Mikardo reported that in 1954, 90,000 persons took out matzot for the Passover holiday, of whom 15,000 to 20,000 were non-Jews. As there had been no report of an influx of Jews to Poland from other satellite countries, this sudden increase cannot be explained. The previous estimate of 45,000 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 283) was based on a careful study of the population data available since the liberation and seemed to be nearer to the real situation than any other figure. The Jewish population was distributed in about 30 cities, with 5,000 living in Warsaw and about 12,000 in Wroclaw.

Communal Life

Most of the efforts of the official Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews were devoted to an ideological re-education of the Jewish people and to

combatting "nationalism and bourgeois trends." According to official reports, during the period of five months between December 1953 and May 1954, 336 meetings were held in the various shops and cooperatives where these problems were presented and discussed. These meetings were arranged by special "social commissions," which were created in all the communities to serve as the watchdog organs of the local committees. Their efforts did not, however, succeed in overcoming the so-called "nationalist" trend—judging by the angry comments of the Communist leaders of the Union. Nor did it overcome the widespread apathy and lack of interest in Union activities. Apparently individual members did not care to pay dues, and the local committees themselves did not care to collect them. This peculiar situation was discussed again and again at meetings of the presidium and in the press (S. Fiszgrund, Folksztyme, July 13, 1953).

The membership of the Union on April 1, 1954, was 11,640, including 8,640 with long-standing affiliation and 3,000 new members (Folksztyme, April 7, 1954). There were no changes in the leadership; Hersz Smoliar and David Sfard were still holding the positions of president and secretary general respectively. In addition, Szymon Zachariacz, Joel Lazebnik, Bynem Heler, and Salo Fiszgrund were among the leading members of the presidium.

Religious Life

Very little was known about Jewish religious life in Poland, except that the officially recognized Union of the Congregations of the Mosaic Faith still existed. Though there was no information about the over-all number of synagogues, some were mentioned as still existing in Warsaw, Lodz, and Cracow. There were reliable reports of small prayer houses in a few other communities. There were, however, no qualified rabbis, no religious teachers, no shochetim, no yeshivot or other kind of religious schools. The number of mixed marriages was reported as continually increasing. Jewish cemeteries were not being taken care of, and the Jewish rabbinate was not represented at the official commemoration of the Warsaw ghetto uprising held in Warsaw in April 1954.

Iewish Education

It was difficult to construct an accurate picture of the Jewish school system in Poland. Meager reports indicated that state-supported schools still existed in a number of cities. The Jewish lycée in Lodz had 400 pupils at the beginning of the 1953–54 academic year, the school in Lignice 320. There was also a Jewish lycée in Wroclaw and schools in Dzerzionow, Walbrzich, Szczecin, and other cities. The interesting thing about these Jewish schools was the difficulty that they experienced in teaching Jewish subjects. Not only was it true that nothing was taught in those schools of Jewish history, Jewish national movements, or of the Hebrew language, but even instruction in the Yiddish disciplines left much to be desired. These difficulties were discussed frequently and openly in the press—although apparently with some

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reticence, since such discussion might have been construed as "nationalist" deviation. Absenteeism in the schools took on alarming proportions—in some schools about 25 per cent of the pupils did not attend school. There were also continuing difficulties in regard to a dearth of Jewish textbooks, and the continuing lack of qualified teachers. In fact, some local writers attributed the high incidence of absenteeism among the pupils to the prevailing low level of the teaching—as well as to the gradual disappearance of interest in things Jewish among the younger generation. There was no information as to the number of Jewish students in universities, where it was said that the old Polish anti-Semitic tradition persisted.

Cultural Activities

Jewish cultural activities seemed to have changed in character, at least in the sense that more and more propaganda had replaced the earlier and broader endeavors of the various clubs. For that matter, there seemed to have been a discernible general trend towards narrowing Jewish activities to such cultural forms as art, choral singing, and dance groups, and identifying those activities increasingly with the general work which the local committees of the Union were supposed to carry on. This trend was only natural under the prevailing conditions of state-regimented conformity. In 1954 there were in Poland 42 such Jewish art ensembles, with 1,064 members (Folksztyme, April 7, 1954).

The Jewish Writers Club continued to function as a part of the Polish Union of Writers. In 1954, the club was headed by Ber Mark, Bynem Heler, and Moisze Szkliar. The publishing agency Dos Yiddishe Buch continued its activity. A conference devoted to Jewish books and press took place in Wroclaw on November 22, 1954, with 250 delegates representing about 30 cities participating in its work. During 1954 Dos Yiddishe Buch had 5,087 subscribers, and its publishing plans included not only original works in Yiddish but also translations from German, Polish, and Russian, as well as special children's literature. Altogether, it was planned to issue thirty-four

items.

HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

The Jewish Historical Institute continued its activities in research and publication of the quarterly *Bleter far Geshichte*. Its work and publications, as always, conformed to the Communist line not only in interpreting recent events, but also in rewriting the history of the past. The working plans of the institute included, among other things, a collective study on the extermination of Jews during the German occupation, and the publication of works created in the ghetto by martyred Jewish writers. Preparations were also under way to publish a special issue of the *Bleter far Geshichte* devoted to the eleventh anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

A new find of material dealing with Jewish life under the occupation was reported. It consisted of sixty boxes containing written records of the ghetto

of Lodz (Folksztyme, January 9, 1954).

Personalia

During the period under review a number of Jewish writers, artists, and journalists received special awards from the state. The painter Kalman Gleb and the theatrical director Jacob Rotboym were awarded the State Prize of the third degree for a series of drawings, The Fighting Ghetto, and the adaptation and direction of Der Loif zu Pragola, respectively. A Gold Merit Cross was awarded to Nathan Meisler, an actor from the Yiddish theater, and a Silver Merit Cross to Abraham Kwaterka, a member of the staff of Folksztyme. The writer Bynem Heler was awarded the Chevalier Cross of the Order of the Polish Renascence.

Julian Tuvim, one of the most important contemporary Polish poets, died in December 1953 in Zacopane, Poland. The poet had spent the war years in the United States, but returned to Poland soon after the end of hostilities.

LEON SHAPIRO

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The LAST RELIABLE ESTIMATES of the Jewish population, dating from 1949, had indicated about 15,000 persons of Jewish origin as residing in Czechoslovakia. Since that time, emigration had been forbidden. On the other hand, the Jewish population, which had a disproportionate number of elderly people, had probably suffered a decrease.

Community Organization

The surviving Jewish religious communities were completely dominated by the Communists and forced to take part in Communist peace campaigns. Their central organization in the western part of Czechoslovakia, the Council of Jewish Religious Communities, had not been allowed to function as a legal body for several years, its by-laws, submitted to the authorities for approval, having been held up by these authorities for five full years.

Finally, in the fall of 1953, the by-laws were approved, and the communities were allowed to hold their conference in Prague on November 22, 1953. French- and English-language reports of the conference were widely circulated in democratic countries in an attempt to prove the existence of religious freedom in Czechoslovakia. The report contained some palpable falsehoods—as for instance, that this was the first time the Jewish communities had been allowed to have a central organization. As a matter of fact, such an organization had existed in democratic Czechoslovakia as well as in the first years of the Communist rule after World War II. There had been a council in existence, and the monthly Věstník in Prague had described itself as its organ, up to January 1952 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 244).

The council organization revived at the conference included all the Jewish religious communities in the western part of Czechoslovakia, the Czech-speaking provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The eastern part, Slovakia, evidently had, as before, its own Federation of Jewish Religious Communities, whose chairman and chief rabbi attended the Prague conference as guests.

There had been 217 Jewish religious communities in the three western provinces before World War II; after the war, 51 of these communities had been revived, and had distributed among themselves the territories of the extinct communities. In 1953, 9 religious communities were left: Prague, Karlovy Vary, Ústí n.L., Liberec, and Plzeň were their seats in Bohemia; Brno, Kyjov, Olomouc, and Ostrava, in Moravia and Silesia. Each of the communities administered vast geographical areas; there were synagogue congregations without administrative jurisdiction in several smaller towns.

According to Věstník, daily services were held in synagogues in Prague, Brno, and Karlovy Vary, Sabbath services in a second synagogue in Prague and in nine synagogues in provincial cities. In addition to Chief Rabbi Gustav Sicher in Prague, there were four peripatetic district rabbis, who toured extensive areas. There were two old-age homes, which had been transferred

from the capital cities of Bohemia and Moravia to smaller places.1

In addition to the eight-page monthly *Věstnik*, the council published a year book and a religious primer. The communities reported in *Věstnik* anniversaries and deaths of community members and meetings commemorating the deportations and exterminations of the Jewish population under the Nazi rule. The council issued occasional statements supporting Communist peace campaigns and called for the elections of the Communist "Unity Lists" in local and provincial elections.

The financial situation of the religious communities was precarious; some of them tried to meet their current expenses by selling such properties as unused synagogue buildings. Often, even the funds resulting from such sales did not help the communal treasury. Thus, when the Prague community sold its synagogue building destroyed during World War II and located in the suburb of Vinohrady, the community succeeded in obtaining 19,000 crowns for it. But the community had to pay 9,000 crowns for the demolition of the ruins, and was then forced to "volunteer" the remaining 10,000 crowns for the reconstruction of North Korea.

In the spring of 1954, the council appealed to the State Office for Church Affairs for financial help in maintaining and reconstructing several hundred deserted Jewish cemeteries. The office had no objections to this work, but ordered the communities to maintain the cemeteries at their own expense and to organize voluntary labor brigades among their members. Reports of the activities of such brigades appeared in *Věstník* throughout the summer of 1954, but only a few cemeteries could be salvaged with the modest means at the communities' disposal.

¹ In November 1954, the Free Europe Committee received a report about one of these homes, which had been transferred to Marianské Lázně. The home was described as horribly crowded, and the inmates as forced to begging in the street. Four of the inmates had committed suicide; two others had disappeared.

Anti-Semitism

The purge of Jews, which had reached its climax in the famous Slánský trial (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 288-94), continued throughout 1953 and 1954 and up to the spring of 1954, with trials of Slán-

ský's alleged co-conspirators.

On May 26, 1953, four high officials of the diplomatic service, three of them Jews, were tried in Prague. Slánský's brother, Richard, and Eduard Goldstuecker, former Czechoslovak minister to Israel, were sentenced to prison for life, Pavel Kavan and Karel Dufek to twenty-five years. On August 7, 1953, Shimon Ohrenstein, an Israel citizen, received a life sentence. On October 9, 1953, his cousin, the left-wing Mapam deputy of the Israel Knesset, Mordecai Oren, was sentenced to fifteen years in jail. All these defendants were convicted for their participation in a world-wide "Zionist conspiracy" allegedly directed by the statesmen of Israel and the leaders of American Jews (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 294-95). There were repeated rumors that Ohrenstein and Oren would be granted pardon, and Ohrenstein was actually released in October 1954, after thirty-four months of imprisonment; Oren, at the time of this writing (November 1954), remained in jail.

In the meantime, the trials continued. On January 29, 1954, seven other alleged accomplices of Slánský stood trial in Prague. Six of them were Jewish: Jarmila Taussigová, former secretary of the Communist Party Control Commission, received a term of twenty-five years' imprisonment; Mikuláš Landa (Landau), former district secretary in Ústi n.L., twenty years; Bedřich Hájek (Karpeles), deputy head of the Party's cadre commission, twenty years; Ervín Polák, former Party district leader, eighteen years; Vítězslav Fuchs and Hanuš Lomský (Gabriel Lieben), former district secretaries in Ostrava and Plzeň, fifteen years each. The only non-Jewish defendant, Marie Švermová, the widow of the national hero Jan Šverma, was described as the mistress of the Jewish "traitor" Otto Šling, who had been executed in the Slánský trial. She received a life sentence. Landa was accused of having used his Zionist connections to enrich himself through the restitution of Jewish properties, and Ervín Polák was denounced as a "Jewish bourgeois nationalist." The anti-Semitic intent

of these charges was unmistakable.

The anti-Semitic implications were still more conspicuous in another trial which took place in Bratislava, Slovakia, in March 1954. The defendants were five former leaders of the Slovak Communist Party, friends of the executed Foreign Minister Vlado Clementis. Though none of them was Jewish, they were charged with having tolerated Zionist activities and with having failed to punish persons who were described as "Zionists," "Jewish capitalist smugglers," and Jewish agents of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). The JDC was denounced as a branch of American military intelligence. The trial was "popularized" in a broadcast which, according to the [London] Jewish Chronicle, was "provocatively anti-Jewish." The charges of alleged pro-Zionist activities by the defendants were stressed.

COMPLETION OF PURGE OF JEWS

By the time of the tenth congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held in Prague in June 1954, the purge of Jews from Party positions was complete. Of the ninety-seven members of the Central Committee who had been elected at the ninth convention in 1949, sixty-three had disappeared. Of this number, four had been executed, including two Jews: Rudolí Slánský and Otto Šling; seven had been jailed for treason, including four Jews: Růžena Dubová, Hanuš Lomský, Vítězslav Fuchs, and Jarmila Taussigová; of the ten who had disappeared after being condemned as deviationists, three were Jews: Gustav Bareš (Breitenfeld), Koloman Moško (Moškovič), and František Vais. The convention elected a new Central Committee consisting of eighty-four members and twenty-eight candidates. Though the Central Committee included several Sudeten Germans and Hungarians, there was not one person of Jewish origin.

Nor were there any persons of Jewish descent remaining among the cabinet members. Of the higher officials, only Gertruda Sekaninová-Čakrtová, the Czechoslovak representative to the United Nations, was known to be of Jew-

ish parentage.

ARRESTS IN JEWISH COMMUNITIES

The extent to which the purge of Jews in prominent positions had been accompanied by reprisals against rank-and-file members of the Jewish communities was revealed by several local reports. Apparently, during the period of the Slánský trial, many Jews had been arrested and held in jails for one or two years without specific charges. Thus, a dispatch from Prešov, Slovakia, reported the return of some twenty Jews who had been imprisoned since 1952; four others had died in prison. Another dispatch reported the return to Jihlava, Moravia, of ten Jews who had been detained for two years. In Ostrava, Moravia, fifty Jews had been arrested on the charge that they had helped Jewish refugees from neighboring Poland.

More recent reports reaching Radio Free Europe told of the arrest of twenty-one members of the Jewish community in České Budějovice, Bohemia, in February 1954. Eighteen of them were subsequently released, but three, including a former rabbi, remained in jail. Another report published in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), describing the arrest of twenty-three Jews

in Plzeň, Bohemia, in February 1954, was officially denied in Prague.

Emigration

During the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954), it was theoretically possible for a citizen of Czechoslovakia to apply for an emigration permit, but such permits were granted only in a few exceptional cases. Of 2,500 requests for exit visas pending in May 1954, only twenty-two visas for elderly persons with near relatives in Israel were authorized. Ac-

cording to a report (published in the JTA, October 6, 1954), the Jewish community was informed that it was useless to submit requests for any large number of exit permits.

JOSEPH GORDON

HUNGARY*

No statistics were available on the Jewish population of Hungary during 1953-54. It was estimated that between 130,000 and 150,000 had survived World War II and the Nazi deportations. The extent to which this remnant had been still further reduced by mass deportations, and perhaps also by an excess of deaths over births due to the age structure of the community and its economic impoverishment under Communist rule, was unknown. Approximate figures compiled by the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in 1947 showed that more than half the members of the community were over the age of thirty-four, and nearly 20 per cent were over sixty. At that time the majority lived in Budapest, and the proportion of workers and artisans was low. Of the 70,000 persons capable of engaging in gainful employment, between 25,000 and 35,000 were engaged in trade, while some 10,000 were employed by nationalized enterprises. The remainder managed somehow to sustain a hand-to-mouth existence, with the aid of the JDC and of relatives abroad; they suffered constant official and unofficial harassment as undesirables and expendables.

The ruthless extermination of private trading after 1947 must have made the situation significantly worse. Emigration was rigidly barred after the departure of a final 3,000 persons, who were permitted to leave for Israel under an order issued in November 1949. The closing down of the IDC in January 1953 ended its efforts to help Jews find new methods of gaining a livelihood within the framework of a state which would not let them go, and rendered their position more desperate than ever. Moreover, mass deportations between 1951 and 1953 removed approximately one-third of the Jewish population from Budapest and other major cities to provincial towns and villages, where their opportunities for earning a living were even less and their living conditions even worse than they had been in the capital. Early in 1954, as a part of the New Look which followed Stalin's death, the decrees providing for these deportations were revoked, and the system of mass deportations liquidated, on paper. But, in fact, many of the surviving deportees were not permitted to return to their original places of residence, especially to Budapest. Resettlement permits from the municipal authorities were required before deportees were permitted to return, and these were issued only if relatives could assure shelter to the returnees. Thousands of Jewish deportees had not received such permits, and were compelled to remain among the hostile populations of the poverty-stricken villages to which they had been deported.

^{*} Prepared with the assistance of G. E. R. Gedye.

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Jews in Government Service

Before 1948 a considerable number of persons of Jewish descent had held more or less important positions in the government service, including the political police. Hence many anti-Communists, in a country where anti-Semitism was always rife, blamed the Jews for their sufferings under the Communist dictatorship. Beginning in 1948, however, a series of purges eliminated most of the Jews who had held government positions. Some were executed or officially sentenced to prison terms; others simply disappeared. Among those who were eliminated were the head of the political police, General Gabor Peter, and his immediate assistants. Peter was probably arrested on January 8, 1953. Doubtless he was intended to serve as principal in a Hungarian version of the "Slánský trial." An attempt was being made by the Hungarian authorities to assign to General Peter the sole responsibility for all the abuses which they now admitted had taken place in the period prior to Stalin's death.

Purges

The open official use of anti-Semitism went out of style in Hungary when, after Stalin's death, the "Jewish doctors' plot" campaign was dropped in Moscow. But Jews were still regarded with suspicion by the regime, and their elimination from key positions continued. Many Jewish technicians, as well as white-collar and industrial workers, lost their livelihoods in connection with the abandonment of part of the plan of forced industrialization. And in the government itself, the last Jews of importance, Mathias Rakosi and Erno Gero, were dropped from the cabinet and seemed to be gradually disappearing from the scene altogether. (At the same time, however, the Jewish former head of the State Planning Board, who had disappeared in 1953 and been rumored executed, reappeared—apparently as the chosen instrument of Gero's downfall.)

In December 1953 the Vienna Jewish community protested to the Hungarian minister to Austria against the treatment of Bela Denes, former Hungarian Zionist leader, Henrik Galos, former secretary general of the Budapest Zionist movement, and Abraham Kornitzer, a representative of Orthodox Jewry. The three were known to have been arrested and put on trial on charges of participating in Zionist activities and facilitating emigration to Israel, although at the time they had engaged in these activities they were perfectly legal. The Hungarian government ignored the protest. The fate of the accused was not known. Denes had been arrested when the Zionist movement in Hungary was liquidated in 1949, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for having aided emigration to Israel. Although this sentence expired in April 1952, he was not released from prison. The present charges dated back to before his first arrest (before the prohibition of Zionism). Galos and his family had been deported from Budapest in 1949. It was also

reliably reported that a former Jewish youth leader, George Schay, had been secretly tried by a military court on December 2, 1953, and sentenced to

five years' imprisonment on a charge of "espionage."

There was also a purge of the Communist-appointed officials of the Jewish community in 1953. Lajos Stoeckler, who had been appointed by the government to the positions of head of the Budapest Jewish community and president of the Union of Jewish Communities in Hungary, was arrested, together with Laszlo Benedek, the Communist Party's supervisor of Jewish community life, at the same time as Gabor Peter. A number of Jewish physicians were also arrested at the same time. It was probable that these arrests were intended as preliminaries to a mass trial similar to that of the doctors in Moscow. Due to Stalin's death and the subsequent change of line, however, no such trial ever took place. Nothing was known of the fate of the physicians arrested. Stoeckler and Benedek were believed to have been tried secretly on December 8, 1953. Nothing definite was known as to the charges or sentences, although it was rumored that Stoeckler had been sentenced to a prison term equal to the time he had been held before trial, and then released.

Like the Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran clergy, the rabbis had been forced to sign repeated declarations of loyalty to Communism and denials that persecution existed (see American Jewish Year Book, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 350-51).

Community Organization and Activity

An account of a public meeting of the Budapest Jewish community held on June 28, 1953, was published in the Budapest Jewish periodical Ui Elet ("New Life") in August 1953. The meeting was presided over by Lajos Heves, a lawyer who had succeeded Stoeckler as head of the Budapest Jewish community and president of the Union of Jewish Communities. Speakers said that the state would provide for the maintenance of charity homes, but that the organization of religious affairs was the sacred duty of the Jews. Their obligations in this respect were explained by the deputy president, Gyula Seifert. Proposals were submitted calling for increased contributions by members of the communities. These were to be used to take care of indigent old people (this seemed at variance with the previous statement that charitable homes would be provided for by the state), as well as to maintain the synagogues. The representative for religious, educational, and cultural affairs promised to use the sums at his disposal as thriftily as possible "to fight for faith with faith." Miklos Vida spoke of financial difficulties. Raffael Fuchs discussed the Jewish secondary school where, he said, thousands of boys and girls had once been educated. But conditions had deteriorated. (As a gesture of post-Stalin "liberalism" the government apparently now permitted the operation of one secondary school; in 1947 there had been six secondary and forty-two elementary schools.) The school was now not sufficiently well known, and parents showed indifference about sending their children to attend its sessions.

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RUMANIA

WITH AN ESTIMATED 200,000 inhabitants of Jewish origin, Rumania remained the home of the largest Jewish group behind the Iron Curtain outside the Soviet Union. Of about 400,000 Jewish survivors of World War II and the Nazi occupation, almost one-half had left Rumania—legally or illegally—when it was still possible to do so. There was little doubt that most of the remaining Jews would follow their example if they were allowed to.

In August 1953 Leon Stern, the president of the Bucharest Jewish religious community, told Lore Scheer, a British delegate to the Communist-sponsored Youth Festival, that out of 200,000 Jews, 90,000 were living in the capital. Sheer's report, published in the [London] Jewish Chronicle on October 2, 1953, quoted Stern as saying that "the figures were only estimates, since no census had been taken recently."

Jewish Communal Life

The data about Jewish religious institutions given by Stern were even more in the nature of unreliable "estimates." Stern spoke of "500 synagogues and places of worship," and of "about 200 rabbis, schochetim, and other full-time officials." However, he neglected to indicate how many of the 500 synagogues were open for services, and how many of the 200 full-time employees were rabbis and how many Communist commissars. When, in August 1954, the government found it necessary to issue a statement denying persecution of Jews. and to have it signed by all the rabbis, there were only 32 signatures. That number of rabbis obviously was not able adequately to serve 500 synagogues.

An informational bulletin released by the Rumanian legation in Paris in July 1954 claimed that there were 126 Jewish communities in Rumania, and that services were held "daily" in 500 synagogues, 50 of them in Bucharest. But according to information gathered from Israel diplomats by H. Seidman, and published in *The Day-Jewish Journal*, New York, November 1, 1954, only six synagogues were open in the capital.

In addition to the synagogues, there were three state schools with Yiddish as the language of instruction, located in Bucharest, Jassy, and Timisoara. Yiddish was also taught as a subject in a few other state schools, not in the "hundreds" that Stern claimed. The state schools were indoctrinating Rumanian Jewish youth in an anti-Zionist, anti-religious, Communist spirit.

There were two Yiddish state theaters, located in Bucharest and Jassy. Their repertoire included plays by Sholem Aleichem, as well as by Molière, Schiller, Gogol, and Communist authors.

The two "Jewish" periodicals under Communist domination, Viata Noua (in Rumanian) and Ykuf Bleter (in Yiddish), had ceased to reach foreign subscribers at the end of 1952. There were rumors that the Jewish Democratic Committee, a Communist-dominated association which had been repeatedly

purged in previous years, had been dissolved. It was not mentioned among the Jewish institutions enumerated in great detail by Stern in the interview mentioned above.

Trials of Jewish Leaders

About 200 leaders of Jewish religious communities, Zionist associations, and communal institutions had been arrested during the years 1949–50. Since that time, they had been held in jails, incommunicado. All efforts to secure their release or to learn the nature of the accusations against them remained fruitless.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 and the retraction of the charges against the Moscow Jewish doctors did not change the fate of the Rumanian Jewish prisoners. None of them was released when the Rumanian government, following the Soviet example, announced an amnesty in the summer of 1953. And in the fall of that year, the government began a new campaign of persecution. The Jewish prisoners were tried in a series of secret trials which lasted throughout the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954). The defendants were found guilty of having engaged in Zionist activities, aided emigration to Israel, collected and distributed funds for these purposes, maintained contacts with the Israel legation and the World Jewish Congress—all activities which had been perfectly legal and sometimes even encouraged by the authorities at the time they were conducted. Some of the defendants were charged with having been British or American spies, because they had helped British parachutists or fliers shot down during the war; others were smeared as Nazi "collaborators."

There were no official reports of the trials. But relatives of the defendants were allowed to attend—probably in order to spread terror in the Jewish communities—and details of the proceedings leaked out abroad. They were published by the Israel press and radio, as well as in the reports of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), of the [London] Jewish Chronicle, and of the Israelitisches Wochenblatt in Zurich. These reports were sometimes inexact or contradictory in minor details, such as the first names or the spelling of the surnames of the defendants, and the exact dates of individual trials. But the reports agreed on all major items, and made it possible to arrive at the following reliable, if perhaps incomplete, picture of the anti-Semitic campaign in Rumania during 1953–54.

The first of the major trials was conducted in August 1953 and involved six leaders of the Revisionist movement. The defendant Edgar Kenner, who refused to "confess" and proudly reasserted his Zionist convictions, was sentenced to sixteen years in jail; A. Horowitz, to fifteen years; Solomon (or Samuel) Schittnowitzer, Pascu Schechter, and Jancu Tabacaru, to ten years each; the sentence meted out the last defendant, Jean Cernauteanu, was unknown.

The next trial came in November 1953. The defendants were Jean A. Littman, a leader of the Rumanian section of the World Jewish Congress, and Mrs. Suzanne Benvenisti, leader of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) and wife of Mishu Benvenisti, former president of the

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Rumanian Zionist organization. The main charge against the defendants was that they had maintained contact with the World Jewish Congress. Littman was sentenced to fifteen years, Mrs. Benvenisti to ten years in jail.

A third trial, that took place in March 1954, was of twenty-two members of the left-Socialist Zionist organization, Hashomer Hatzair. The organization's former leader, Armand (alias Abir) Mark, defended himself courageously and received a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment; similar sentences were meted out to Mark's co-defendants Sattinger, Antonier, Mrs. Antonier, Ze'ev Lazarovici, Motzi Moscovici, and Mrs. Szold. Other defendants received prison sentences ranging between three and eight years.

In a fourth trial, A. L. Zissu, the former president of the Jewish Party and of the Zionist Organization of Rumania, Mishu Benvenisti, another former president of the Zionist Organization, and Jean Cohen, former president of the Rumanian section of the World Jewish Congress, were sentenced to prison for life; Mrs. Mille Jancu, former leader of the Oeuvre pour Secour des Enfants Israélites (OSE), Moshe Weiss, a former prominent member of the Zionist youth organization, and Mishu Moshkowitz, a former employee of the Israel legation, were each sentenced to twenty years in prison.

The campaign reached its climax in a trial against thirty-two (or, according to other reports, of forty) former community leaders. Among the defendants were Cornel Jancu, former deputy chairman of the World Zionist Federation; Bernard Roehrlich, former president of the Zionist Organization of Rumania; Leon Itzcar, former chairman of the Jewish National Fund; Dan Ieshanu, former chairman of the Poale Zion; and the well-known historian, Theodor Loewenstein. These prominent leaders, as well as the defendants J. Mandelowitz, Joseph Aberkorner, M. Osterer, and M. Jakerkaner, received sentences of ten or eight years in jail; other defendants, including M. Tomergrin, the former legal adviser of the Israel legation, received prison sentences of between one and five years. Finally, a trial of nineteen Zionist youth leaders counted among its victims M. Argintaru, Leon Weinstein, S. Drimmer, Itzhak Permo, Jacob Rosenblatt, and Leiba Grossman.

In other proceedings, the Jewish leaders Ludovic Gardos and Moshe Weissberg were sentenced to twelve years, Stefan Kraus to three years in prison.

Persons connected in any way with the Israel legation were a special target for persecution. As of this writing (December 1954) no fewer than ten employees of the legation had been sentenced. These included, in addition to those mentioned above, Paul (or David) Blumenthal, who had been first arrested in 1950, and had served his sentence. Blumenthal was rearrested on March 27, 1954, and sentenced to fifteen years in jail in July 1954. His "crime": "misuse of the diplomatic pouch" for "conspiracy against the People's Democracy."

Another victim was the night watchman of the legation, Gertler, who lived in the legation and dared not leave the building for fear of arrest. Gertler was lured out by a phone call describing an alleged accident in which his wife was supposed to be seriously injured, and arrested.

Finally, in September 1954 the police arrested a former legation employee of Rumanian nationality, Jancu Aron Grinberg, a former leader of the Zionist youth association Gordonia. Grinberg was accused of having tried to leave Rumania illegally with a passport issued to him by the first secretary of the legation, Daniel Laor. Laor was declared persona non grata and had to leave the country.

REACTION ABROAD

The persecution of Rumanian Jews led to vehement protests by Jewish communities and organizations throughout the world which culminated in an organized hunger strike of Jewish leaders in Israel in May 1954 (see p. 473). The Rumanian government first ignored the protests, then in June 1954 tried to counter them with broadcasts and statements by "communal leaders" that there was no persecution of Jews in Rumania. The reports of a "blooming Jewish life" mentioned at the beginning of our report were part of this campaign.

In August 1954 there were rumors that some of the arrested Jewish leaders had been released. The names of released persons mentioned in these reports were: Aaron Kahane, described as a "leading Zionist"; Efraim Guttman, described as a brother (or son) of a Bucharest rabbi; S. Saltzman (or Zalman), the former physician of the Israel consulate; M. H. Baddi (or Bady), a journalist; Mrs. Bluma Lupu; and Mishu Dascalu, a former member of the Rumanian parliament. There were also rumors that the sentences against Jean A. Littman and Mrs. Benvenisti had been quashed on appeal to a higher court. But an overwhelming majority of the leaders of Rumanian Jewry, sentenced in the secret trials to draconic punishments, remained in jail.

There were also new arrests. The most prominent victim was Miklos Feinfeld, the rabbi of Arad, who was arrested in December 1953. Feinfeld may have been released later, because his name appeared on Communist-inspired

statements denying that there was any persecution in Rumania.

Trials of Jewish Party Members

The anti-Semitic campaign in Rumania was reinforced by the role which defendants of Jewish origin were forced to play in show trials against dissident Communists. The latter were accused of having committed treason and

espionage in the service of "Western imperialism."

One of these trials took place in Bucharest in April 1954. The chief defendant was Lucretiu Patrascanu, a prominent Communist lawyer, who had defended Ana Pauker in the 'Thirties and had been minister of justice in the first postwar Rumanian cabinets. Patrascanu had been forced to resign and had disappeared from the political scene in 1948, had been arrested soon afterward, and had spent a number of years in prison. In April 1954 he was tried on the charges of having been an agent of the Gestapo, of the pre-war Rumanian secret police, and of the American legation; Patrascanu was sentenced to death, and executed.

There were ten co-defendants in this trial. Most of them had never been Patrascanu's close friends and were evidently associated with him only for RUMANIA 425

the purposes of the show trial. At least five of the defendants were of Jewish origin. One of them, Remus Kofler, was executed. The four others, Emil Kalmanovic, Herbert Silver, Jacques Berman, and Harry Brauner received jail sentences ranging from twelve years to life imprisonment. Kofler's brother, Mishu, who returned to Rumania from Israel, was arrested soon afterward, and though an Israel citizen, was refused a permit to return to Israel.

In another show trial, of the former Politburo member and deputy premier Vasile Luca, which took place in October 1954, one of the main defendants was Alexandru Jacob, former deputy minister of finance. Luca was sentenced

to prison for life; Jacob received a sentence of twenty years.

There were repeated rumors that another trial was being prepared of Ana Pauker, former Politburo member and foreign minister of Rumania. But as of the time of this writing (December 1954), nothing reliable was known of Ana Pauker's fate.

Emigration

Emigration from Rumania remained forbidden throughout the period under review, in spite of many rumors that it would be resumed. Some Rumanian emigrants to Israel registered for return to Rumania, had their passage back paid by the Rumanian government, and were used for Communist anti-Israel propaganda. In August 1954 some of these returnees were interviewed on the Bucharest radio. Reading from prepared papers, they criticized conditions in Israel and praised Rumanian "freedom." But other returnees were reported by the JTA, May 19, 1954, to be without homes and jobs, though both had been promised them.

JOSEPH GORDON

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North Africa

ALGERIA

PREMIER MENDES-FRANCE'S solemn proclamation of Tunisian autonomy on August 1, 1954, set off a great wave of hope, and to some extent of impatience as well, among the Moslem nationalists of all North Africa. The triumph of the Neo-Destour in Tunisia was a preface to fundamental structural changes in all North Africa. The tragic events which took place in Morocco on August 4, 1954, when six Jews at Petitjean were frightfully mutilated and burnt by Moslem rioters, gave some idea of the impatience aroused by the recent reforms introduced by France.

When he heard of the events in Tunisia, the Algerian nationalist leader Ferhat Abbas sent Premier Mendès-France a telegram from Cairo, where he was a refugee, declaring that the Algerian people confidently hailed Mendès-France's coming to power and hoped that Algeria also would be included

in the program of reforms which he was carrying out.

Algeria posed sociological problems which were on the whole identical with those of Morocco and Tunisia, as well as of those other African countries (South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda) where the interests of the European colonists were coming into conflict with the interests of the natives.

Nevertheless, Algerian nationalism had developed along a different path from those of the Neo-Destour Party in Tunis and the Istiqlal Party in Morocco. Messali Hadj's Popular Party and Ferhat Abbas's Democratic Union of the Manifesto had been active only underground; on the surface there had been complete peace. Only occasional police measures had been necessary. During the course of the year under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) there was no sign of violence, and the European, Moslem, and Jewish communities continued to live together in exemplary peace. While Tunisia and Morocco continued to be the object of United Nations (UN) concern, Algeria had not been a problem in the UN. Neither the deposition of the Sultan of Morocco on August 20, 1953, nor the numerous assassinations in neighboring Tunisia and Morocco, resulted in any disturbance of the security and order of Algeria.

It was expected that until the Moroccan and Tunisian problems were solved, Algerian nationalism would continue to wait and hope in silence—particularly as the Moslem élite had been integrated into the political life of Algeria in the Assembly and the Councils-General of the various departments

since 1947.

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Jewish Population

There had been no official census in Algeria since 1948. Figures subsequent to that date were estimates based on the 1948 census and vital statistics. The population of Algeria as of January 1, 1954, was estimated at 9,748,138—8,773,000 Moslems and 975,000 non-Moslems, including 140,000 Jews. The last census of the Jewish population had taken place in 1941, under the Vichy regime; hence, all estimates of the Jewish population were necessarily arbitrary. However, since 1948 the total population of Algeria had increased by 10 per cent. At that time, on the basis of the 1941 census, the Jewish population had been estimated at 130,000. So the figure of 140,000 would represent a fairly close approximation of the number of Jews living in Algeria in 1954. Approximately 28 per cent of the Jews of North Africa lived in Algeria, 51 per cent in Morocco, and 21 per cent in Tunisia. A more exact basis for estimates was expected to be available after the official census of the Algerian population, which was scheduled for October 1954.

The Jewish population of Algeria was extremely homogeneous, being composed exclusively of Sephardic Jews from the Mediterranean area; the number of Ashkenazic East and Central European Jews settled in North Africa was negligible. Hence the Algerian Jewish community had a high degree of unity. This was to be explained by the great antiquity of the Algerian Jewish community, which dated back to the pre-Christian era, and by the fact that it had stood outside the great currents of migration which

had affected contemporary European Jewry.

The Jewish population of Algeria, like the general European population of North Africa (80 per cent of which was concentrated in the cities), was essentially urban. The three cities of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine contained 55.3 per cent of the entire Jewish population of Algeria. In the eight largest cities of the country there were 85,756 Jews. But despite this heavy concentration, the 140,000 Jews of Algeria were scattered through eighty-eight centers in the Departement of Oran, eighty-eight in the Departement of Algiers, sixty-six in the Departement of Constantine, and sixteen in the oases of South Algeria. The greatest concentration was to be found in the Departement of Oran, bordering on the great Moroccan reservoir.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS

The economic recession which affected the entire world during the period under review was less marked in Algeria than in Tunisia and Morocco, where it was aggravated by local political conditions and by the resulting troubles. Since the Jews of Algeria were essentially merchants, their migration was inevitably affected by the conditions of their economic life. The shifts of Jewish population from the North to the South, particularly to the area of Colom Bechar, as the result of economic developments in that region, noted in the American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], (p. 305), practically ceased during the period under review, and the normal laws of North African Jewish demography resumed their sway—migration from the

South to the North, from the small towns to the large cities, and, increasingly, from Algeria to France. The growing number of Algerian Jewish migrants to France raised many problems. These were analyzed by Grand Rabbi Maurice Eisenbeth of Algiers in an article in the September 1953 issue of Information.

Rabbi Eisenbeth proposed: (1) that the Jewish congregations of France prepare lists of the North African Jews settled in their territory; (2) that the North African and French communities cooperate to direct, if possible, the currently uncontrolled migration; (3) that in the principal French communities a reception center for North African Jews be set up, to provide for their social and religious needs-religious instruction, the organization of synagogues following the Algerian ritual, etc.; (4) that a dayyan of North African origin be attached to the rabbinical tribunal of Paris to help the French rabbis settle cases involving North African Jews; (5) that an information bulletin for North African Jews be established in Paris; (6) that welfare committees, directed by the North African Jews settled in France, be established; (7) that the cultural life of the new arrivals be developed by the establishment of libraries and the holding of discussions and lectures for the purpose of bringing about closer cultural contact between France and North Africa. Grand Rabbi Eisenbeth concluded his article by emphasizing the important role that the Jews of North Africa could play in strengthening and revitalizing metropolitan Judaism.

Along this line, the first synagogue intended especially for North African Jews was opened in Paris on July 24, 1954. Rabbi Chekroun, himself a native of Ghardaia, spoke in Arabic, urging the North African Jews to organize themselves in France into living and active Jewish communities.

Nevertheless, this effort at integration was faced with economic, social, and psychological difficulties. There was the usual clash between old established communities and newcomers. In Information of April 1954, Benjamin Heler, president of the Consistory of Algiers, inveighed vehemently against the condescending attitude of certain French Jewish circles towards Algerian Jewry. These clashes had led certain influential members of the French Jewish community to suggest that the migration of Algerian Jews be directed to Israel instead of to France. The result was a revival of Jewish migration from Algeria to Israel in the course of the year under review. This migration had taken place within the framework of the immigration policy of the Jewish Agency. This policy was the subject of debate in the action committee of the Jewish Agency, meeting in Jerusalem in August 1954, and its decisions were expected to have decisive consequences for the future of North African Jewry. The massacre at Petitjean (Morocco) in August 1954 proved that the position of Jewish communities located at a distance from the great centers remained precarious; it seemed likely to stimulate new departures for Israel in the near future.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The highly undifferentiated Moslem society had offered the Jews under its rule no outlet except as artisans, merchants, or usurers. The most far-

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reaching change introduced by the French was the opening of wide economic possibilities to the Jews and the granting to them of the rights necessary to develop economically on a basis of equality with their fellow French citizens. Jews continued to occupy an important place in Algerian commercial life, both wholesale and retail. Jewish artisans, abandoning the ancient methods of the mellah, were learning in the French schools mechanical skills which permitted them to compete with products imported from Europe. Alongside the artisans, a class of skilled workers was growing up, trained in government technical schools and in the schools of the ORT. Year by year, the number of Jewish physicians, lawyers, dentists, and civil servants was growing. According to the latest available figures, as of 1953, 85.11 per cent of Algerian Jews were gainfully employed. In the Departement of Algiers 13.4 per cent were unemployed, in the Departement of Oran 18.6 per cent, in the Departement of Constantine 27.7 per cent, and in the territories of the South 45.4 per cent. But these figures had risen considerably as a result of the economic recession. The condition of the unemployed was alarming, and was a heavy burden on the budgets of the welfare organizations which were helping them. Commerce, especially the leather and textile trades, employed 30.8 per cent of all Jewish workers. In the intellectual world, where they occupied a position of growing importance, there was a significant tendency among Algerian Iewish youth to abandon such pursuits as law and teaching in favor of the scientific professions. This trend, which could be observed in the registration lists of the universities, represented a shift of the younger generation away from the preferences of its elders.

Political Status

For an understanding of North African Jewry it is important to emphasize the differences of status among the Jews of Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco. Before the arrival of France in North Africa in 1830, all North African Jewry was identical in religion and social and political status. From Mogador to Carthage, the Jews were united by a common ritual in the synagogue and a common subjection to a single law, that of Islam, for which the Jew was a dhimmi, subject to very severe legal discriminations. France put an end to this system, which had kept the Jews of the Islamic countries in a humiliating status for twelve centuries, by the Crémieux Decree of October 24, 1870. This gave the rights of French citizenship to all the Jews of the Algerian departements. By virtue of it they ceased to be regarded as native Jews and to be subject to the Mosaic law of personal status, receiving the full legal status of Frenchmen. This decree was abrogated under German influence in 1940 and reaffirmed after the liberation of Algeria in 1943. It did not apply to the Jews of the Southern territories; hence the latter, notably those of Ghardaia in the M'zab, were still excluded from the benefits of French law, and had no regular civil status. They were forced to vote in the Moslem electoral college, and were subject to the Mosaic law of personal status, which kept women in a position of inferiority and made them subject to divorce at the will of the husband. This exception affected only about 2,000

persons, several hundred of the Jews of South Algeria having emigrated to Israel. The repeated promises of the French administration to find a solution for this problem had, so far, produced no concrete results. It was hoped that the reforms to be introduced would include the extension of the benefit of the Crémieux Decree to the Jews of the Southern territories. An appeal had been made to the French government in April 1954 for a just solution of this problem.

The Jewish community of Ghardaia could serve as a standard by which to measure the evolution of the Jews of Algeria since the time of their emancipation. Thanks to their possession of political rights and to the guarantee of equality given women by French law, the Jews of Algeria had in the course of three generations reached a high level of Western civilization. They were represented in all the political, economic, and cultural activities of Algeria. The president of the General Council of the Departement of Algiers, Marcel Belaich, and the president of the General Council of the Departement of Constantine, René Meyer, were both Jews, elected by their Christian and Moslem colleagues. This fact was characteristic of the position of the Jewish population of Algeria as an intermediary between the Christians and Moslems; they were able, under certain circumstances, to play a limited role in mediating between the Moslems and the colonists and reconciling their clashing psychologies.

If the emancipation of the Jews of Algeria was firmly rooted in reality, certain signs showed that there was still room for progress, particularly in assuring women in practice the rights which the law conferred on them. An interesting article by Rabbi Rahmim Naouri of Bone (Algeria), published in the July 1953 issue of the periodical Information d'Alger, vigorously denounced the custom by which a Jewish woman had, in order to get a husband, to bring him a substantial sum of money as dowry. This practice had led to the development of the grave abuse of "dowry-chasing," and degraded

the sanctity of marriage.

Community Organization

Each Jewish community in Algeria was directed by a consistory elected and organized in accordance with the provisions of the law of 1905; under this law the consistories were specifically religious bodies, whose function was the organization of public worship. In principle, they had no role as representatives of the community, and no social function except to help the poor within the narrow limits of their budgets. They set up and organized the synagogues, named the rabbis, provided for religious instruction, and administered the Jewish cemeteries which existed in each Algerian Jewish community.

Despite their very limited role and the substantial state subsidies which they received in certain cities, and which paid part of the salaries of the rabbis, almost all the consistories faced great difficulties in meeting their expenses. Hence, with rare exceptions, the rabbis received miserable salaries which undermined their authority and discouraged the youth from devoting themselves to the rabbinical calling. Thus the Rabbinical School of Algiers

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and the Talmud Torahs of Oran and Constantine recruited their students from the lowest economic levels of the population.

In order to make their work more effective, the Jewish consistories of Algeria had organized themselves, in April 1947, into a Fédération des Communautés Juives d'Algerie. This central organization, which united sixty of the principal Algerian Jewish communities, was the first in the thousands of years of their history. The Fédération held its annual meeting in Algers on April 28, 1954. It resolved to bring Algerian Judaism into closer association with the great currents of world Judaism. The Fédération also set itself the goal of establishing a rabbinical school for Algeria, something which has not yet been possible because of lack of funds. The lack of such a school illustrated the grave spiritual crisis which was affecting a Jewish community whose juridical emancipation had preceded its social emancipation. The result was a marked dejudaization and a strong trend towards assimilation. In Tunisia and Morocco, where economic and social emancipation had preceded and paved the way for political emancipation, it had been possible to avoid this tendency.

The conference of the Fédération elected Benjamin Heler as president for the year 1954-55, Armand Attali as secretary general, Joseph Charbit as treasurer, and Paul Barkatz, Gaston Saffar, and Joseph Bensadoun as vice presidents. This board was chosen from the elected representatives of the consistories of the three Algerian departments. One of the principal decisions of the Fédération was to urge the extension of the work of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in Algeria, in order to strengthen the feeble life of the communities, to fight against the indifference of the Algerian Jewish middle class to Jewish questions, to remedy the absence of a network of social agencies, and thus to resist the trend toward assimilation noticeable in the growing number of mixed marriages. Conscious of its own weakness, the Fédération had on several occasions repeated this appeal to the IDC to extend its activities to Algeria, emphasizing the great poverty of a large part of the Algerian Jewish masses. In September 1953, the JDC announced that discussions were under way between IDC officials and leaders of the Jewish community of Algeria for the broadening of JDC activity to meet the specific needs of thousands of poverty-stricken Jews in Algeria.

The JDC contributed 1,000,000 francs (\$28,570) for the immediate relief of needy victims of the earthquake in Orleansville in September 1954. In addition, the JDC office in French Morocco was authorized to forward food, clothing, blankets, and other urgently needed supplies to the stricken area. JDC relief programs in Algeria had been previously limited to the cities of Algiers, Constantine, and Bone. Assistance of one kind or another was being

provided to some 1,355 Algerian Jews annually.

The Assemblée Générale du Comité Juif Algérien d'Action Sociale met in Algiers on November 14, 1953. This committee had been set up in 1940 by Professor Henri Aboulker to deal with the situation created by the Vichy racial decrees. It was reconstituted in April 1948 to undertake a general defense of the interests of the Algerian Jewish community and to carry on cultural activities. At the time of writing (July 1954), it had 622 members

in all parts of Algeria; 237 were in Algiers. During the period under review the committee had been active in organizing radio programs dealing with Judaism, which had been a definite success, and had reached a large audience. The committee had also organized lectures, addressed by speakers from France, including Armand Lunel, Emmanuel Eydoux, and Jules Isaac. Isaac, an eminent historian whose book Jesus et Israel had wide repercussions in France, spoke on Judaeo-Christian relations; his talks in January 1954 reached a very large public and strengthened intercommunal relations. The committee also published an interesting year book of North African Jewry in September 1953.

The Commission Culturelle Juive d'Algerie, set up in December 1952 on the initiative of the North African Bureau of the World Jewish Congress,

also organized lectures which were very successful.

The Jewish communities of Algeria were represented in the Consistoire Central des Israélites de France et d'Algérie, whose headquarters were in Paris. On December 5, 1953, elections took place for the ten Algerian members of the Consistoire Central—four from Algiers, three from Oran, and three from Constantine. These elections were a part of the constant and vigorous efforts of the leaders of the Algerian Jewish community to strengthen their ties with the Jews of the world. For the same purpose, Algerian Jewry was represented by a delegation at the third plenary general assembly of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, from August 4 to August 11, 1953. Algerian Jewry was also represented by fourteen delegates at the World Congress of Sephardic Jews in Jerusalem, and sent representatives to Paris for the Assize of French Jewry and for the sessions of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in June 1954.

Algerian Jewry also expressed itself in numerous social and educational groups, including welfare organizations, the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), the World Jewish Congress, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Keren Kayemeth—Jewish National Fund, the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT), and, among the youth, the Algerian section of the Union des Etudiants Juifs de France and the Mouvement des Eclaireurs Israélites de France. And the religious Zionist youth movement B'nai Akiva, which had set up branches throughout Algeria, organized study circles and held summer encampments at Ain-Tranin near Oran and Bugeaud near Bone in July and August 1953. These were attended by delegates from all parts of Algeria and observers from Israel.

Interfaith Relations

When Léon Blum became premier of France in 1936, there was a great wave of anti-Semitic indignation among the French colonists in Algeria. This indignation was exploited by Hitlerite propaganda, which was at that time very active in Algeria. Eighteen years later, in 1954, the reaction to the accession to office of another Jew, Premier Pierre Mendès-France, was a measure of the great ideological and practical evolution in interfaith relations in Algeria. The few reactionary individuals who regretted Mendès-France's

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coming to power because he was a Jew were the exception; the great majority of the population, Christian as well as Moslem, rejoiced in the chance of a renascence which the new prime minister offered Algeria.

Algeria seemed to be abandoning its long-time role as a favorite stamping-ground for professional anti-Semites. Anti-Semitic publications, like Rivarol and Aspects de la France, no longer had an immense audience among the colonists who used to read papers like Gringoire and l'Action Française. In the sharp conflict between the French and the Moslems, the Jews tended to act as harmonizers of the clashing viewpoints, recalling those things which unite rather than those which divide. Thus they served in a mediatory role between the two major sections of the population, and this was appreciated by both Moslems and Christians. Neither the stir caused by the Finaly Affair (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 183-87), nor the grave developments in Morocco and Tunisia had disturbed this exemplary harmony.

Christian and Moslem religious festivals had in the past been considered the sole religious holidays in Algeria. As a result of the action of the Consistoire, the secretary general of the Algerian government sent a telegram to all civil and military authorities on September 2, 1953, directing that special leave be given to Jewish civil servants and soldiers on Rosh ha-Shanah

and Yom Kippur.

The monthly Informations Juives, founded in December 1951, carried news tending to give a better understanding of Jewish life, thereby strengthening the bonds between the different communities. L'Union Monothéiste des Croyants had as its purpose the development of friendship and mutual respect among Jews, Christians, and Moslems. This spirit was still growing, and during the year under review was not marred by a single act or newspaper article.

The grand rabbi of Algiers published in September 1953 an interesting historical study, Les Juifs en Algérie et en Tunisie à l'époque turque (1516–1830). In Musulmans, Andalous, et Judaeo-espagnols, I.D. Abou in November 1953 gave a graphic description of the North African Jewish communities

of Spanish origin.

In February 1954 a pastoral visit to Algeria by the grand rabbi of France, Jacob Kaplan, strengthened the bonds between the Jews of France and of Algeria. It was also an opportunity for demonstrating the friendly relations between Jews, Christians, and Moslems, from whom Grand Rabbi Kaplan received a friendly reception in all the many communities he visited.

Jewish Education

In contrast to Tunisia and Morocco, all Algerian Jews attended government schools. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, whose educational activities extended throughout Tunisia and Morocco, had no schools in Algeria. The Alliance had traditionally contributed to the efficient functioning of the Talmud Torahs by supplying them with competent teachers. For the last forty years the director of the Talmud Torah of Algiers had been Albert

Confino, founder and former director of the schools of the Alliance in Persia. He was eighty-two years old, but as his long career drew to a close, no one had been found to replace him. As a result, religious education was very much neglected in Algiers, and reached only a tiny minority of Jewish youth. In the other cities of Algeria, religious education was given in the Talmud Torahs and its quality depended on the ability of the rabbi who dispensed it. All too often the quality was mediocre, a fact closely related to the religious indifference of the youth and the strong trend toward assimilation noted above.

Young Jews received technical training in the state schools. In addition, ORT helped in the technical training of the youth in its school for the boys and girls of Algiers. This school had 225 students and rendered further service to the Jewish youth of Algiers through its medical clinic and its apprenticeship service. In July 1953 the school was inspected by Mrs. Ludwig Kaphan, president of Women's American ORT, accompanied by Mrs. Gustave Gettemberg and Mrs. Victor Segal. On the basis of their inspection, recommendations were made for additional improvements.

As a result of the initiative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) undertook during the year under review a large-scale campaign against trachoma. This had very beneficial results for the Jewish youth, who were very much subject to this disease, especially in the communities of South Algeria.

Zionist Activities

The year under review saw a sharp rise in Zionist activities in Algeria. The growth of the State of Israel, the increasingly close bonds between that state and the Jewish communities of North Africa, and the testimony of delegates from Israel and Algerian visitors returning from that country, resulted in an increasingly intense interest in Israel among the Jewish masses. The worsening of the political situation in Morocco and the energetic measures of the Mendès-France government in Tunisia had also considerably increased the interest of the Algerian Jewish masses in the State of Israel.

The Fédération Sioniste de Algérie met in Algiers on November 22, 1953. Forty-five delegates represented all parts of Algeria. On November 23, the first meeting of the three Zionist federations of North Africa took place in the headquarters of the World Jewish Congress. This North African Zionist congress was called by I. Blumenthal, representing the Jewish Agency in North Africa, in accordance with the decisions reached at the Marseilles congress of February 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 309). This meeting decided to set up a permanent Zionist organization for North Africa and to adopt a program for the coordination of all North African activity. A council of twelve members, four from each of the three countries, and a general assembly of thirty-six members, twelve from each country, was to meet annually. They would deal with all North African Zionist activity. The second North African Zionist Conference met in Algiers February 21–23, 1954. It expressed its disquiet over the slowing down of

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emigration from North Africa to Israel, and called on the Jewish Agency to recreate a climate of enthusiasm favorable to mass emigration. The conference also took steps to stimulate Zionist education among the Jewish youth, particularly in regard to the teaching of Hebrew. Delegates present from Israel included Rabbi Zeev Gold, member of the executive of the Jewish Agency and head of its department of education and study of the Torah in the Diaspora; Emmanuel Muskat, representative of the Jewish Agency, and Mrs. Abraham Guilboa, wife of the Israel Consul in Paris. They activated Zionist hopes and made preparations for the annual campaign for Israel, whose 1954 results were not yet available at the time of writing (July 1954).

André Chouraqui

TUNISIA

In the twelve months beginning July 1, 1953, and ending June 30, 1954, the conflict between the French Protectorate authorities and the Tunisian nationalists underwent a drastic change for the worse. A campaign of widespread, well-organized, and ruthless terrorism caught the Regency unprepared and finally brought home to it as never before the deadly seriousness with which the nationalists took their fight for independence. The cost in lives and property was heavy—about 300 persons killed or wounded and many homes and farms bombed and burned. Among those assassinated were Tunisians and Frenchmen high in government and military office. The government's inability to cope with the situation turned the French colonists and their representatives against Pierre Voizard, the Resident General. They accused him of weakness in dealing with the lawlessness and violence.

General Developments

On August 25, 1953, the then French Resident General in Tunisia, Jean de Hautecloque, left Tunis for a visit to Paris. A week later Tunisia learned officially that he had been replaced by Pierre Voizard, former French minister to Monaco. Voizard arrived in Tunis on September 26, 1953, and a month later lifted the press censorship, returned full powers to the civil authorities, raised the state of siege in the Sahel, and freed more than a hundred political prisoners. The bombings and assassinations abated and Tunisia settled down to a "wait and see" attitude.

The solution of Tunisia's economic problems became the government's chief preoccupation. Widespread discontent arose over the promulgation of new tax decrees by Finance Director Jean Gaston Fraissé. Aiming to decrease the heavy financial burden on France, the new taxes attempted to tap more local sources of money. Lawyers, doctors, dentists, and other professionals were to pay in advance annual fixed sums assessed on the basis of the number of workers employed and of the footage occupied by their offices, irrespective

of their declared yearly earnings, while industrial firms were to pay similar assessments based on the numbers of their employees and machines.

The lawyers struck and were followed by the other professional groups. Uneasy, tentative compromises were accepted, accompanied by promises of further study by the government. Industry's demands were less successful, and some firms went out of business, among them several small Jewish shoe manufacturers employing mostly Jewish artisans. Unemployment increased sharply.

The 1954-55 budget for Tunisia reached 42,000,000,000 francs (about \$95,000,000), an increase of 3,000,000,000 francs (about \$6,000,000) over the previous year. A deficit of 2,500,000,000 francs (about \$5,500,000) was to be

met by France.

PROPOSED REFORMS

On January 26, 1954, Voizard declared in a speech delivered at the Cercle Republicain d'outre Mer in Paris that new reforms would be announced soon that would grant more sovereignty to the Tunisians while continuing to safeguard the permanent interests of France and its citizens in Tunisia. Immediately after Voizard's statement, the nationalist Neo-Destour party broke the silence it had kept during the short "wait and see" period. "No grant of reforms—but an accord freely negotiated," they declared, also demanding liberation of their leader, Habib Bourguiba, from detention on the Isle of Galete. The daily Al Akbar warned that any reforms not agreed on in advance with the real representatives of the Tunisian people and approved by the Bey were doomed to failure.

On March 2, 1954, the day after his return from Paris, Voizard held a press conference to announce the formation of a new Tunisian government of twelve members, under the presidency of Mohamed Salah M'zali. Eight ministers were Tunisians—namely, the prime minister and the ministers of Musulman institutions, health, commerce, justice, agriculture, labor, and construction. Four ministries remained in French hands, those of finance, public works, education, and communications. The former government had included fourteen members, half of them French and half Tunisians.

The new reforms were published on March 4, 1954. They provided for five representative bodies for which elections were to be completed by mid-October 1954: 1) the Tunisian Assembly; 2) the French delegation; 3) the economic chambers; 4) the municipal councils, including the Municipal Council of Tunis; and 5) the caidal councils. The attributes of all five bodies were purely advisory and consultative. None had legislative power.

In the Tunisian Assembly, the representation of the Jews was reduced to two, one for Tunis and one for the interior; in the previously existing consultative assembly there had been three representatives, one for Tunis, one for the Center and South, and one for the North. A démarche was presented to the Regency and to Premier M'zali by leaders of Tunisian Jewry protesting this reduction and asking representation more in conformity with the important role played by the Jews in the economic life of Tunisia.

The reforms were severely criticized by both the French colonists and

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the Arabs. Both groups reproached the Protectorate for the secrecy in which the reforms had been drawn up and the haste with which they had been promulgated. The French complained that France had betrayed them by giving too much power to the Arabs, especially by giving the latter most of the posts in the Tunisian government. The Arabs complained that the reforms were a mere repetition of those proposed in August 1952 which they had rejected, and only confirmed and legalized the principle of co-sovereignty which the Arabs had been fighting since 1951. The political bureau of the Neo-Destour Party proclaimed its opposition to the reforms and to the government responsible for them. It criticized the Protectorate for its lack of comprehension of the desire of the Tunisian people to administer their own affairs freely and democratically, and emphasized its determination to fight ceaselessly for the restoration of genuine Tunisian sovereignty and the establishment of a free democratic regime.

TERRORISM

More direct and violent opposition to the reforms broke out 1 with the first armed attacks by the fellaghas in the region of Sbeitla. Calling themselves the Army of Liberation, these armed bands pillaged and burned the farms of French colonists and pro-French Tunisians, assassinated Frenchmen and prominent Tunisian Francophiles, attacked and set fire to trains and automobiles, and engaged in open warfare with French army detachments. Each day brought its bloody events and its mounting toll of innocent victims. The massacre on May 27, 1954, of all five male members of the French families Bessede and Palombier, on their farms near Le Kef, shocked and outraged the French colony and led them, for the first time since the emergence of the fellaghas, to protest indignantly against Voizard.

Events moved more rapidly thereafter. Voizard placed a sun-down to sun-up curfew on the central and western areas of Tunisia, prohibited all taxis and hired vehicles from leaving city limits, transferred police powers to the military, placed all members of the political bureau of the Neo-Destour under house arrest, and rushed in 2,000 infantry and parachutist rein-

forcements.

On May 21, 1954, Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour Party, was transferred from the Isle of Galete off the northern coast of Tunisia, where he had been confined since January 18, 1952, to the Isle of Croix, off the Brittany coast of France. This change of enforced residence satisfied neither the French colonists nor the Neo-Destour.

On the afternoon of May 29, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Premier Salah M'zali. His bodyguard was wounded. On June 16, Premier M'zali tendered the resignation of his government, giving as the reason "the return to methods of violence and incomprehension of certain groups."

The choice of Pierre Mendès-France as premier of France on June 18, 1954, and the creation of a bureau for Moroccan and Tunisian affairs under Christian Fouchet, was received with satisfaction in Tunisian political circles, but with considerable reserve among the French colonists.

¹ Latter part of March 1954,

TUNISIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

In the United Nations, the Arab-Asian block again requested that the Tunisian question be included in the provisional agenda of the eighth session of the General Assembly. On September 17, 1953, the General Assembly decided to include the question in its agenda and referred it to the First Committee for consideration and report. In a letter dated October 7, 1953, the representative of France informed the chairman of the First Committee that the French delegation would not participate in the discussions, since the French government considered them an intervention by the United Nations in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France. The First Committee considered the Tunisian question at meetings held on October 21-26, 1953, and recommended to the General Assembly that all necessary steps be taken to ensure the realization by the people of Tunisia of their right to full sovereignty and independence. The First Committee requested the Secretary General to transmit this resolution together with the record of the proceedings to the French government and to report to the General Assembly at its ninth session. The effect of this resolution differed in no respect from that passed at the meeting of the First Committee on December 17, 1952, and left the situation status in quo, since it could be interpreted as conforming with the declared position of France toward Tunisia.

Jewish Population

The last government census (1946) estimated the population of Tunisia at about 3,500,000, of whom more than 3,000,000 were Moslems, 250,000 Europeans (comprising French and other foreigners), and approximately 100,000 Jews.² The most recent figures of the Jewish population (1953), obtained from the Jewish communities, gave a total of 100,264. About 70 per cent of the Jewish population was believed to reside in Tunis and its suburbs, such as La Goulette, Ariana, and La Marsa.

The latest government figures on the occupational distribution of the Jewish population were published in 1948. At that time Jewish workers and artisans were chiefly employed in shoemaking, needle trades, woodworking, and light metal trades. They constituted 46.5 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews. Commerce and small businesses employed 31.1 per cent, while 8 per cent were in the professions, and the remainder in various other types of work, including transportation, fishing, domestic work, and government service.

EMIGRATION

From July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954, 758 Tunisian Jews emigrated to Israel, as compared to 496 in the previous twelve months. The overwhelm-

Of the 100,000 Jews in Tunisia, about 25,000 had French citizenship.

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ing majority of the emigrants originated in the small towns of the interior and came from the lowest economic level. For most of them the Jewish

Agency paid transportation expenses.

In June 1954 Zalman Shragai, chief of the immigration department of the Israel government, visited Tunisia to see what could be done to increase the number of emigrants. He visited most of the towns in the South and met with the leaders of the communities throughout the country. It was decided: (1) to create an Aliyah commission consisting of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist Federation of Tunisia, and the Community of Tunis, to act as the policy-making body in all matters pertaining to the encouragement of emigration; (2) to open a Tunisian Bureau in Israel to help in the absorption and integration of Tunisian immigrants, under the supervision of the department of immigration in Israel; (3) to appoint a local Tunisian, responsible to Shragai, to handle cases of business people wishing to relocate their businesses in Israel; (4) to permit 600 persons from the towns of Hara Srira and El Hamma to emigrate without undergoing the usual selective screening, in order to liquidate these two towns as quickly as possible.

The critical political situation and the worsened economic conditions led to fears for the future and created greater interest in emigration to Israel, particularly in the South, where the small Jewish communities felt themselves most exposed. It was anticipated that substantially larger numbers would leave Tunisia for Israel during 1954–55. Emigrants from Tunisia encountered no difficulties in obtaining passports and other travel documents.

Civic and Political Status

The Jewish population of Tunisia fell into three nationality categories: Tunisian, French, and foreign. About three-quarters of the Jews belonged to the first category; most of the remainder were French.

Tunisian nationality antedated the French Protectorate, which came into existence in 1881 under the Treaty of Bardo. Tunisian nationality was defined in the basic treaty of September 10, 1857, and in the Tunisian Constitution of April 26, 1861. The treaty provided in Article 4 that Jewish citizens not be required to change their religion and be permitted to practice their religious rites, and in Article 8 that no distinction be made between Tunisian Moslems and Tunisian Jews. Article 86 of the constitution of April 1861 guaranteed all subjects of the Tunisian Regency, no matter of what religion, the right to complete security of person, property, and of honor.

The constitution also provided for permanent allegiance to the Regency. It stated that all Tunisians who left the country, for whatever reason, whether or not they had been naturalized in another country, would become Tunisian subjects whenever they returned to the Regency. All Jews born in Tunisia and unable to establish a foreign nationality were considered Tunisian under the law. The one exception to the principle of permanent

allegiance was the provision that a Tunisian could become a citizen of the

Republic of France upon individual application.

Under various laws the Jews had the rights of freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and freedom to form trade unions and to establish Jewish organizations for any legal purposes. For Tunisian Jewish citizens the law governing personal status, such as matters of marriage and inheritance, was expressly reserved to the Rabbinical Court. The Rabbinical Court was composed of rabbis appointed by the state. This court applied the Mosaic law and had the right to decide on questions of fact and law. Its decisions were enforced by the Tunisian governmental authorities. Cases outside the jurisdiction of the Rabbinical Court were tried in Tunisian courts, if they involved Tunisian Jews. For other nationalities, the French Consular Court had jurisdiction.

Discrimination and Anti-Semitism

It is a fact of singular significance that in the course of the numerous attacks on French colonists and pro-French Moslem Tunisians, not a single Jew or Jewish community was touched. It must be remembered that small Jewish communities were surrounded by many thousands of Arabs, and that many of these communities were in the areas most affected by the terrorists. Anti-Semitism, however, showed itself in the campaign launched by Arabs in the larger cities to keep Arab women from accepting work as housemaids in French and Jewish homes. Vigorous protests against this campaign were delivered to some of the leaders of the Neo-Destour Party by influential Jews. The Neo-Destour leaders disclaimed all responsibility, blamed extremist elements over whom they had no control, and reaffirmed their friendship for the Jews of Tunisia.

Community Organization and Communal Affairs

Two rival Federations of Jewish Communities of Tunisia carried on their internecine warfare, despite attempts made by the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress to reunite them. The first federation had been organized in 1948 under the presidency of Charles Saada, president of the community of Sfax. The second was organized in May 1953 under the sponsorship of Charles Haddad, president of the Tunis community. Legal recognition was refused to either federation, since the French refused to take a position favoring one against the other. This division made it impossible for either federation to meet the needs of the communities of the interior or to provide a unified voice for the Jewish people of the country.

Neither federation had sufficient funds to carry on its activities, nor could any agreement be reached for a unified fund-raising appeal for the entire country. Since a single unified campaign for the country was blocked by the struggle between the two federations, OSE-Tunisia, ORT-Tunisia,

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and Nos Petits conducted their own campaign. This raised only 3,000,000 francs (\$8,500) because the community of Tunis refused to give its support.

The Jewish communities were financed by tax monies collected by the government from kosher meat and Jewish sacramental wine. The government allocated this money on the basis of population figures. For the first time the French government agreed to the repeated requests of the Jewish communities for the inclusion of their welfare and religious needs in the annual budget along with those of the Moslems. The sum of 250,000,000 francs (\$71,400) was provided in the 1954–55 budget for Moslems and Jews. This represented an important departure from previous practice, since previously the Jewish minority was never assured of definite government aid. The communities also received funds from contributions made in the synagogues, from religious rites in the cemeteries, and from special appeals made during Passover and the High Holy Days.

Independent of the organized communities, a multiplicity of small local organizations carried on specialized programs, such as summer camps, kindergartens, and canteens, and providing trousseaux, Bar Mitzvah clothing, and blankets. These organizations were financed by membership fees and periodic social affairs. Most of them received substantial assistance from the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), either in the form of supplies,

technical assistance, or cash.

The Jewish communities of Tunisia had maintained active contact with many foreign and international Jewish organizations, notably the Jewish Agency, JDC, the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the World Sephardi Union, the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) and OSE. Both federations of Jewish communities of Tunisia sent delegates to the congress of the World Sephardi Union held in Jerusalem on May 9, 1954.

Social Services

Significant advances in social welfare services were made in 1953–54 by many communities and local private agencies. The communities continued to look after their poor with regular weekly or monthly financial grants and with special assistance in cash and food supplies for the Passover holidays. Local Nos Petits organizations fed about 7,000 needy children daily hot lunches and morning and afternoon snacks in some thirty excellently organized canteens throughout the country. About 2,500 children from the ages of eight to fifteen were sent to summer camps by the Zionist Youth Federation, Nos Petits, the Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive, and Sport et Joie. Summer and winter clothing was distributed to about 20,000 children and adults. All of these organizations received the greater part of their funds and supplies from the JDC. The JDC subvention was in the neighborhood of 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 francs monthly.

The Tunis community, with the help of the JDC, finished repairing its old age home, opened a dispensary for the care of adults, provided a special canteen for active tuberculars, and rendered substantial financial

assistance to the orphanage and to the Garderie Israelite, the largest nursery school for Jewish children in Tunisia. The social service department, staffed by workers trained in France at the JDC-supported Paul Baerwald School for Social Work, made significant contributions to the rationalization and reorganization of the welfare services founded by the community. Permanent case records were set up and the city divided into sectors and assigned to specific workers. From an amorphous, undifferentiated caseload, specific categories of relief recipients were pulled out, and budgets and services bearing some relation to individual needs were established. Thus, tubercular heads of families, the aged, abandoned children, foster-home services, potentially employable widows with children, etc., were given an individual attention previously unknown in Tunis.

OSE-Tunisia provided medical care and services for more than 16,000 children and adults through its chain of clinics. Pre-natal care, confinement, and postnatal care for needy mothers and their babies were given special emphasis, while some 1,500 babies received a daily allocation of safe, sterilized milk. For the first time, a mass examination of 2,500 Tewish inhabitants of the Tunis hara (ghetto) was successfully undertaken during the last three months of 1953. A new health center, offering all medical services, was opened in the city of Sousse in August 1953. OSE-Tunisia also continued its excellent work in combatting the three widespread contagious diseases,

trachoma, tinea, and tuberculosis.

The Caisse Israélite de Relèvement Economique (loan society), financed by the JDC and the Jewish Colonization Association, opened in June 1953, and by the end of June 1954 had given 259 artisans loans totaling 12,529,000 francs (\$35,700). A branch of this society was opened in the city of Sfax on June 30, 1954.

Education

According to the government's figures for the scholastic year 1953-54, there were 16,356 Jewish children attending French schools. Of this number 12,915 attended primary schools; 1,477, technical schools; 1,807, secondary schools; and 157, schools of higher learning. Of these, about 3,500 attended five schools operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, three of them in Tunis, one in Sousse, and one in Sfax. About 200 Jewish students attended the Institute des Hautes Etudes in Tunis. More than 100 Jewish students attended universities in France on scholarships provided by the community of Tunis and the JDC. The number of Jewish children in all French schools showed an increase from 13,694 in 1950 to 16,356 in 1954. Throughout the South, religious and Hebrew education was provided for the boys, but no provision was made for girls of school age. Attempts to enroll Jewish children in the French schools in the extreme south of the country, notably on the island of Djerba, were not favored by the rabbinate.

The JDC-sponsored Paul Baerwald School for Social Work continued its in-service teacher training program for nursery school teachers with considerable success. This in-service training for employed teachers and for

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new candidates was scheduled to take place periodically, since there was an increasing demand for more nursery schools throughout Tunisia. Twenty-two employed nursery school teachers took part in the program in 1953–54.

ORT-Tunisia completed the third section of its boys' school, begun in May 1953, thus bringing to fruition its plans for a full three-year course of vocational instruction. Courses in automobile mechanics and woodworking were added to the curriculum, and the student body was increased to 350 boys. The needle trades' school for girls added a third year of study and increased its student body from 60 to 80.

In addition to its vocational training classes, ORT-Tunisia operated an apprentice placement program with considerable success. Boys and girls whose level of education would not permit them to attend the regular courses were placed in jobs in private industry. Where wages were below a minimum of 2,000 francs (\$5.73) per month, the community and ORT contributed the balance. About 540 apprentices were placed in jobs during 1953–54.

Jewish Education

In the three Alliance Israélite schools in Tunis, the number of teachers of modern Hebrew increased from eight to thirteen and the number of hours of instruction for all students was consequently augmented. The Alliance Israélite school in Sousse added one additional teacher of modern Hebrew to the staff as a result of an agreement between that community and the JDC. Jacob Madar, a young Tunisian graduate of a French seminary, was engaged by the community of Tunis and the JDC to give religious and Hebrew instruction to students at the Lycée. About 125 students attended these courses. Hebrew books of all types were distributed to all of the schools, making it possible for the first time for all students to possess copies and to familiarize themselves with the written texts. Several of the most promising Hebrew teachers were provided with one-year scholarships by the cultural and religious department of the Jewish Agency and the JDC for advanced studies in Israel. Three hundred students attended the community's Or Thora school full-time and about 500 youths and adults attended the special evening courses in Tunis and the suburbs. Courses in Hebrew, Jewish history, and Palestinography, conducted by the Zionist youth movements, reached another 1,500 students in Tunisia.

In the South Simon Cohen was appointed to supervise the new schools established by the JDC and the rabbinate. He helped in guiding the teachers and developing the progressive curriculum initiated early in 1953. In addition to religious training and modern Hebrew, the students received instruction in personal hygiene, elementary arithmetic, Jewish history, and geography. Teachers were encouraged and assisted to use Hebrew as the language of instruction instead of Judeo-Arabic. New schools were opened in Moknine and Bizerte, in addition to those already established in Hara Sghira, Zarzis, Foum-Tataouine, and Medenine.

Religious Life

Religious life in Tunisia was marked by strict adherence to old traditional forms. Jewish holidays and customs were strictly observed, as were the annual pilgrimages to El Griba, the famous synagogue on the island of Djerba, and to the tombs of revered rabbis. The Mosaic law governed marriage, dowry, and inheritances. A conference of all officiating rabbis was held in May 1954 to discuss the liberalization of dowry and inheritance provisions in cases resulting from divorce actions. The government respected this communal religious life and contributed financially toward its upkeep. A very active rabbinate was headed by Chief Rabbi David Bembaron, who was appointed by the Bey.

Zionism and Relations With Israel

Interest in Israel was more lively in 1953-54 than it had been during 1952-53. Emigration increased and more frequent exploratory visits to Israel by business people and rabbis reawakened closer contact. Representatives from various departments of the Jewish Agency and the government of Israel visited Tunisia, held many meetings and conferences, and stressed Israel's preeminent concern for the Jews of North Africa. The Zionist Federation of Tunisia launched a new membership drive, re-established closer working relationships with the communities, and took an active part in the plans for an accelerated aliyah (emigration to Israel). A summer camp program organized by the Zionist Youth Federation and assisted financially by the JDC sent 1,250 children to the beaches and the mountains.

The inability of the director of the Israel fund-raising campaign to travel through Tunisia caused a sharp drop in the amount collected as compared with the previous year. As of the end of June 1954, 11,000,000 francs (\$31,400) in cash had been raised, with 3,000,000 francs (\$8,500) pledged still outstanding, whereas by the end of June 1953, 20,000,000 francs (\$57,000) had been collected. It seemed reasonably certain that the campaign would be extended for several months in order to achieve the target

of 25,000,000 francs (\$71,000).

The Arab daily newspapers, El Ayoum, Ennahda, and Azzorha frequently carried anti-Israel articles in their columns. On Radio Tunis the Arab radio commentator, Abdelaziz Laroui, continued his anti-Zionist campaign. The effect of the anti-Israel articles and speeches was to increase the insecurity of the Jewish population and lead them to distrust all official utterances of friendship which emanated from private talks with Neo-Destour leaders. Furthermore, since many of these articles gave support to pronouncements issuing from Arab League sources, they served to add to the insecurity and uncertainty of the Jewish leaders and population. It was inferred that even if the Neo-Destour Party should be successful in obtaining internal autonomy from the French, the Neo-Destour leaders would not be able to control the more extreme elements in the party.

Cultural Activities

The Jewish theatrical group Ha Kol resumed its activities after a lapse of seven years. Former students of the Alliance Israélite Universelle had organized this group in 1941 to acquaint the public with Jewish literary, theatrical, and musical works. For the season of 1953–54 Ha Kol presented several attractions, including the play *Tsedoka* by Ryvel, the pen name of Raphael Levy, director of the Alliance Schools in Tunisia. The weekly Jewish half-hour on the radio continued.

HENRY L. LEVY

FRENCH MOROCCO

BEGINNING IN DECEMBER 1953, French Morocco was the scene of tragic events. Terrorist attacks were directed against the highest officials, including the Sultan himself, Pasha El Glaoui of Marrakech, and the French governor of that area, Commandant d'Hauteville; similar attacks were made on ordinary citizens. At the time of writing (November 1954), Resident General Francis Lacoste was carrying on discussions with representatives of the Moroccan people on a program for the future development of the Protectorate, with the goal of raising the standard of living and permitting the local population to participate more fully in the affairs of their country.

Anti-Semitic Activities

Although the terrorists asserted that they wished no evil to "Moroccan" Jews, whom they regarded as their "brothers," these declarations were contradicted by their acts. At Petit Jean, a group of Moroccan Jewish merchants from Meknes were savagely murdered and burned by their "brothers." Bombs were placed in Jewish stores; letters signed with the death's-head which was the sign of the terrorists were sent to leading Jews, threatening them with death if they did not close up shop or get rid of all imported merchandise. School children were threatened.

Only the heavy police guards placed in the local ghetto, the *mellah*, near the schools, and in all places where there were large numbers of Jews, had protected the Jewish population from attack. The Jews of Morocco were fearful that if France should hand over a large part of its power to the extremists, and if Morocco should obtain independence or even autonomy on the Tunisian model, they would no longer be able to live in this country, which had been their home for centuries. The Moroccan Jews would be in danger of once again becoming the *dhimmi* of the nineteenth century, bowed beneath humiliation and ill-treatment.

Emigration

It was this fear which was responsible for the widespread desire to emigrate to France, Israel, the United States, or elsewhere. Where between 1946 and 1953 only the very poor sought to emigrate, in 1953–54 white-collar workers, middle-class people, and even the rich were preparing to leave, whether immediately or in the near future. Thus, the United States immigration quota of 100 persons a year had never been reached in the past; but so many Moroccan Jews applied during the course of 1954 that they could not hope to receive visas for many years to come.

Jewish Population

The official census for the year 1951 gave a total Jewish population of French Morocco of 199,156, of whom 97,497 were males and 101,659 females, or a proportion of 104 females per 100 males. Casablanca was the place with the largest Jewish population in French Morocco (88,529), followed by Marrakech (41,698), Meknes (19,794), Rabat (19,412), Fez (19,011), Agadir (5,400), and Oujda (5,312).

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Moroccan Jews had assimilated Western culture much more easily than had the Moslems. In the economic field they had become the equals of Western workers. The census of 1936 showed that of 162,000 workers, 28,000 were Jews; in 1947, Moroccan Jews accounted for 61,164 out of a total of 204,000 workers reported by the census. The percentage of workers in the Jewish population had risen from 17.9 to 30.4; that of gainfully employed men from 28.4 to 46.1, approaching the European percentage of 56.5. Unemployment had become practically unknown. Like other inhabitants of Morocco, the Jews benefited from the adoption of labor legislation, and especially legislation regulating the labor of women and children. The above figures were the more significant in view of the fact that of the Jewish population reported, 33.8 per cent were children under fifteen, 58.2 per cent were adults of working age, and 8 per cent were over sixty. Of the 46,752 gainfully employed men, 23,638 were proprietors and 23,114 were manual or white-collar workers; of 14,412 employed women, the census reported 1,403 as proprietors and 13,009 as manual or white-collar workers. It should be noted that the retail businesses covered by the term "proprietors" were often very small.

About 28.000 Jews—44 per cent of the gainfully employed—were to be found in commercial occupations, including the hotel and restaurant trade, clothing, textiles: Jews served as representatives of big stores, brokers and commission agents, in banking, insurance, and small-scale trade. Artisans and industrial workers comprised about 36 per cent of the Jewish labor force, some 22,100 persons. Most of them were employed in the traditional occupations of tailors and garment workers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, jewelry

workers, and watchmakers. In these fields, numerous trade classes helped the workers and artisans to acquire modern techniques and reach a European level of life.

In the extreme south of Morocco there were some small communities of farmers who still lived by the traditional cultivation of their lands. The reintegration of these rural communities was on the order of the day, but it posed numerous problems.

There was also an educated class of bookkeepers, secretaries, lawyers, doctors, and civil servants. The rapidity with which the Jews of French Morocco had passed from an Oriental society and adjusted themselves to the requirements of a modern economy was a progressive and hopeful factor not only in their own life, but in that of all Morocco and even the Western world.

Social Services

In the unhealthful atmosphere of the *mellah* the Jews of Morocco, undernourished and ignorant of hygiene, physically impoverished by inbreeding, had long been decimated by epidemics. But thanks to the efforts of the directorate of public health under Dr. Sicault, the financial assistance of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and the devoted day-to-day work of the physicians of the social services, periodic epidemics were on the way out.

The birth rate was now exceeding the death rate, infant mortality was on the decline, and despite the emigration of an average of 15,000 persons a year, there was no longer a decrease in the Jewish population, a phenomenon particularly noticeable in Casablanca. OSE, the directorate of health, the World Health Organization, and the Jewish Agency had conducted systematic and coordinated examinations of the urban and rural Jewish population, with special emphasis on scurvy, trachoma, tuberculosis, and syphilis, which were veritable social plagues. Anti-trachoma centers opened by OSE in the mellahs of Casablanca, Marrakech, and the villages of the interior, had made possible the timely treatment of eye diseases which would otherwise have led to complete blindness for children and adults. These centers had operated under the supervision of the directorate of health with funds supplied locally as well as by the government and, above all, by the IDC. Seriously affected children were being sent to Paris for operations and appropriate care and then brought back to Morocco. During 1953-54 not a single new case of blindness among these children was recorded, thanks to timely preventive treatment. The fight against scurvy had been equally effective, although the financial resources available for it were still insufficient.

Pioneer work in these fields had been done by Drs. Benzaquen and Mosberg, chief physician and director of OSE, respectively, the ophthalmologist Dr. Saccone, and Drs. Lapidus, Abecassis, and Levy Lebhar in the fight against scurvy. Despite the magnificent work of the services of the Protectorate, the extraordinary results recorded during 1953–54 could certainly not have been obtained without the invaluable financial assistance of the JDC. The establishment of well-baby clinics and milk stations, and the provision of pre-

natal care and aid to mothers was progressing to the extent that finances

permitted.

The most striking medical development of 1953-54 was the establishment of hospitals open to all without distinction of nationality or religion. There still existed, especially in the larger cities, hospitals reserved primarily for Moroccan Jews (the Jules Mauran Hospital), for Moroccan Moslems (the Maurice Gaud Hospital), and for Europeans of whatever religion (the Colombani Hospital). But the year 1954 saw the opening in Rabat of a magnificent hospital of 675 to 715 beds where Moroccan Jews and Moslems and Europeans were all received. A mosque, a synagogue, and a chapel were attached to the hospital. This hospital, named after the famous eleventh century Arab physician and philosopher Avicenna, was a real link between the Orient and the Occident.

The campaigns against syphilis and tuberculosis continued actively. Because the Jews of Morocco were much more amenable to vaccination and treatment than the Moslems, their health had been improved to a greater extent. Except for scurvy and trachoma, Moroccan Jewish health conditions were approaching those of Europeans.

AID TO CHILDREN

French Moroccan youth were being singled out for extensive medical, social welfare, and nutritional aid. Essential support had been given in these fields by welfare organizations, and especially by the JDC. All Jewish schools now had canteens, largely subsidized by the JDC, the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, the municipalities, and the Jewish communities. More than 4,000,000 hot meals and as many light lunches were distributed during 1953–54. Every Jewish school had regular medical supervision, with its own infirmary. The majority of schools also possessed modern sanitary equipment to combat trachoma and scurvy.

A good example of welfare work was furnished by the l'Aide Scolaire of Casablanca, of which Jo Levy was president and Israel Benarroch treasurer. This organization assisted 6,200 students, coming from the poorest sections of the population and divided among seventeen schools. Its total budget was over 30,000,000 francs (\$85,000), and it received substantial help from the public authorities, especially the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, and

from the IDC.

Jewish Education

The Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in Paris in 1860, had established its first schools in the French zone even before the signing of the Protectorate treaty in 1912. Since the creation of the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, which operated impartially among all groups, the Alliance had continued its work on behalf of Moroccan Jewry. Thanks to the subsidies received from the Protectorate and the JDC, and to funds raised directly in the United States and in France by the Alliance, the education of Moroccan Jewish children was increasing each year.

According to figures furnished by the official services of the Protectorate, school attendance approached 100 per cent in such Atlantic coastal cities as Safi-Mazagan, Mogador, and Salé. In Casablanca it was 74 per cent, in Marrakech 80 per cent, in Meknes 86 per cent. Even in the small towns of the extreme south, approximately 80 per cent of the Jewish children were receiving a regular education. About 38,000 Jewish children attended school in all of Morocco during 1953–54.

To supplement the work of the Alliance and meet the needs of the ultra-Orthodox who wished their children to receive a Hebrew education, the Moroccan Jewish communities had established forty-two communal Talmudic schools, which gave an education meeting the official standards but with a large number of hours also reserved for the Hebrew language and religious studies. These schools accommodated 3,000 new students in Casablanca, 350 in Rabat, and 200 in Sefrou. Modern Talmudic schools conducted privately by Ozar Hatorah, Em Habanim, and Mogen David, were attended by 500 students in Fez and 700 in Casablanca.

The governmental French Jewish schools were attended by some 3,000 students in 77 classes. But these schools seemed destined to disappear in the face of the increase of the schools of the Alliance, for which the French government paid the cost of construction and equipment, as well as the cost of training and in large part of salaries. The Direction de l'Instruction Publique supervised the quality of instruction in all schools, but did not touch matters of religion and Jewish culture.

Fortunately, the accelerated development of these schools during the period 1952–54 had permitted the closing of many of the *chedarim*, where staffs without pedagogical training had taught children from two to ten years of age in classrooms lacking the most elementary hygienic requirements.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The high schools and colleges conducted by the Direction de l'Instruction Publique were open to all without distinction. There were 512 Jewish boys and 571 girls studying for the baccalaureate, while 800 others were studying for their degree. In the Centers of Legal Studies and the Scientific Institute, there were 88 Jewish students, of whom 60 were studying law and political science, 6 were pursuing Arabic studies, 16 were studying science, and 6 were preparing to meet the entrance requirements of the great French schools. Other Moroccan Jewish students (151 in 1954) had chosen to go to the universities of Metropolitan France and Algeria.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Almost all the vocational education received by Moroccan Jews came from schools of the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) in Casablanca and the trade schools of the Alliance Israélite in Marrakech, Meknes, Rabat, and Fez. The 500 boys attending the ORT school at Ain Seba received specialized training in iron work, carpentry, electrical work, and the building trades. President Jules Senouf and Director General B. Wand-

Pollak had given this school and the girls' school at Val d'Anfa a novel energy. Approximately 600 girls were receiving training as dressmakers, embroiderers, laboratory workers, beauticians, and cosmeticians, and in domestic science. After three years of this specialized training, the boys and girls were finding jobs at salaries which raised the standard of living of their entire families. However, it was obvious that the two schools in Casablanca were insufficient to solve the problem of Jewish vocational education, and that additional centers were needed in Marrakech, Meknes, and Fez.

SPANISH MOROCCO

C PANISH Morocco is about 220 miles long and 25 miles wide. It stretches around the International Zone of Tangiers and borders on the Atlantic Ocean, where it has the port of Larache; the Straits of Gibraltar, with the harbor of Ceuta; and the Mediterranean, where the cities of Tetuan and Melilla are located. Even before the Sultan and France signed the Protectorate treaty in 1912, Spain had established a fairly important colony in the Riff

province of Morocco on the Mediterranean.

Administratively, this small territory was divided into two parts. Ceuta, Melilla, Alhucemas, Charafinas, and Penon de Villez were considered Spanish territory and had been since the fifteenth century, and were administered as part of the Province of Malaga. These cities were administered directly by Spain without any French or Moroccan influence. The rest of the territory had a dual sherifien and Spanish administration. The Sultan of Morocco was the sovereign of the country and was represented by a deputy called the Khalifa of Tetuan. Beside him there was a representative of the Spanish government, who was always a general of the army, which assured the successful operation of the Hispano-sherifien administration.

When France concluded the Protectorate treaty with Sultan Moulay Hafid in 1912, it at the same time concluded an agreement with the Sultan and with Spain by which the latter country was assigned the Spanish zone in view of its de facto historical, economic and cultural interests. Thus by a treaty of November 1912, supplementing the one signed in March 1912, France delegated to Spain the right to pacify, unify, and administer the territory which Spain occupied. By the same treaty France agreed to aid Spain in this task. When the Arabs of the Riff revolted against the Spanish occu-

pation, France and Spain waged war side by side until 1925.

The French resident general in Morocco, who had his seat at Rabat, also possessed the title of minister of foreign affairs of the Sultan of Morocco, and by virtue thereof was the official representative of the government of the Spanish zone in dealings with foreign nations. From 1912 to 1953 relations between the governments of the two zones were excellent. But there had been

a marked deterioration in this relationship since the end of 1953.

Political Developments

The Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, was deposed on August 20, 1953, and Sidi Mohammed Moulay Arafa was designated to succeed him. Under the Franco-Spanish treaties of March and November 1912, the new Sultan was to reign over all Morocco, including the Spanish zone and Tangier. But the Spanish government, whose foreign minister had a few months previously made a good-will visit to the Arab states, refused to recognize the new Sultan and maintained that the Moroccan sovereign of the Spanish zone was still Sultan Sidi Mohammed V, now in exile in Madagascar. The Khalifa of Tetuan did not take the oath of allegiance to the new Sultan. Hence the Spanish zone became a rallying point for the opponents of the new government installed in the French zone in August 1953, and the refuge for those who wished to free Morocco from the protection of Western powers.

Jewish Population

Before the Spanish civil war of 1936–39 there were about 25,000 Jews living in the Spanish zone. Since that time emigration to Tangier, the French zone, South America, and Israel had reduced the membership of the various communities to about 13,000. They were distributed as follows:

TABLE 1

Jewish Population, Spanish Morocco, 1953–54

Community	$\mathcal{N}o$.
Tetuan	5,500
Larache	1,250
Alcazarquivir	1,400
Villa Nador	200
Villa Sanjurjo, Puerto Capaz, and Cuatro Torres	200
Arcila	300
Other small centers	150
Ceuta	300
Melilla	3,000
TOTAL	12,300

The total population of the zone was about 1,130,000. There were about 125,000 Spanish colonists and members of the army corps stationed in the zone; the remainder of the population were Arabs. The Spanish and sherifien authorities had always maintained excellent relations with the Jews, who had never been the victims of any pogrom or discrimination.

Community Organization

There was no federation of Jewish communities in the Spanish zone; however, autonomous communities did exist in Larache, Alcazarquivir, Arcila,

and Tetuan. The Tetuan community was particularly well organized and had members devoted to the interests of the Jews in their zone. Under the leadership of its president, Jacob Benmaman, and its vice president, Moses A. Hassan, a de facto federation had been established for aid to the needy and to Hebrew studies. Tetuan had the oldest Sephardic community in Africa. The best-known families of Tangiers, Oran, Gibraltar, and even South America were descended from emigrants from this city.

FUND RAISING

The extreme poverty of the majority of the communities and the constant emigration made it difficult to set up a system for collecting funds. Nevertheless, since 1951 the members of the communities had, at the instance of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), substituted an increase of the semi-annual Nedaba ("gift") contribution to the council of the community for direct individual aid, in order to channel gifts more effectively to philanthropic work.

At Tetuan, the *Nedaba* came to 86,000 pesetas in 1950 (\$1,720), while in 1951 it reached 108,950 (\$2,175), and in 1952 it climbed to 147,300 (\$2,946). In Larache, the *Nedaba* and taxes came to about 17,000 pesetas (\$340) during 1953–54. But Alcazarquivir, Arcila, and the other small communities had almost no resources aside from state subsidies and the aid they received from the JDC. The latter's contribution had risen from 55,000 pesetas (\$1,100) in 1951 to about 405,000 (\$8,100) in 1953 for relief and cultural purposes, in addition to valuable technical assistance.

Jewish Education

Jews could go to the schools operated by the Spanish Directorate of Public Instruction. The Alliance Israélite Universelle had three schools—one each at Larache, Alcazarquivir, and Tetuan. The old Tetuan school was to be replaced during 1954–55 by a beautiful modern building under construction. Approximately 250 Jewish children attended the Spanish schools and 852 those of the Alliance. Secondary education was too expensive for the masses.

In Tetuan the community had opened a Hebrew school called Yagdil Torah whose physical facilities were inadequate. The Isaac Toledano Foundation had established a school called Or Hayeladim where 82 children received a Hebrew education and learned such trades as those of carpenter and electrician. Hebrew courses for adults had been organized under the auspices of the community and the JDC.

Recently established dressmaking courses for girls had given excellent educational and social results. A general reorganization of education was needed so as to avoid duplication and meet the need for more secondary education, Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT) schools, and a unified program of Hebrew education.

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Social Services

School canteens had been opened for the poor at Larache, Arcila, Alcazarquivir, and Tetuan, but they were all inadequate. A canteen for old people, which could serve as a model for any institution in North Africa, had been opened in Tetuan. That city also had a children's dispensary and a maternity center. The beautiful building used by the dispensary and maternity center was constructed for these purposes by the Isaac Corcias Foundation at a cost of 1,500,000 pesetas (\$30,000).

Zionism and Relations with Israel

Emigration to Israel was slight during 1952–53 but had increased as a result of the developments in Morocco during 1953–54 (see p. 445). The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), Youth Aliyah, and the Orthodox Zionist parties were active and very popular with the Jewish population.

Cultural Life

There were no Jewish periodicals or radio programs. Since April 1951 there had been a Jewish library with an assembly hall where local or foreign lecturers could speak freely.

TANGIER

Tangler had been successively occupied by the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Visigoths, the Arabs (in the eighth century), the Portuguese (fifteenth century), and the English (sixteenth century). In 1684 the English, regarding Tangler as a center of pirates and Berbers in which it was too expensive for the Crown to keep order, abandoned it. The Arabs, and later Spain, then occupied Tangler. These various civilizations had all left their traces. In 1954 Tangler was an island of freedom from economic and fiscal regulation.

The strategic situation of Tangier, twelve miles from Europe, had played a part in its relations with the Western powers. In 1787 the United States established there its first consulate in Morocco, and by an agreement of 1856 between the Sultan of Morocco and the representatives of the European populations, the city of Tangier received the status of "diplomatic capital of Morocco."

For political and economic reasons the European nations had sent to Tangier the families which now constituted the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Austrian, Dutch, and other foreign colonies. Their third- and fourth-generation descendants in Tangier preserved the nationality of their countries of origin. Hence in Tangier there were many Jewish families of the most diverse

European nationalities, forming a nucleus of western civilization in the midst

of the indigenous population.

In December 1923 the representatives of France, Spain, and England prepared a special statute for Tangier; this was modified in 1928 at the request of Italy. Under this statute Tangier, while remaining part of the sherifien empire whose unity was proclaimed by the Act of Algeciras on April 7, 1906, became the capital of an international zone of some 350 square kilometers. In June 1940 Spain took advantage of the collapse of the Allied armies to occupy Tangier, and replace its international administration with a purely Spanish one. But on October 11, 1945, Tangier again became international.

In July 1952 the international statute of Tangier was amended. The local legislative assembly was now composed of representatives designated by the signatory powers of the Act of Algeciras and by the United States, and of representatives of the Moslem and Jewish Moroccan population. The assembly consisted of six Moslems, three local Jews, four Frenchmen, four Spaniards, three Britons, three Americans, three Italians, one Belgian, one Netherlander, and one Portuguese. It was presided over by the Mendoub, the local representative of the Sultan at Rabat. There were six vice presidents, one of whom was Joë Hasan, former president of the Jewish community of Tangier, who represented Portugal. The assembly voted the budget and appointed civil servants.

This state, one of the smallest in the world, had a regime of exceptional freedom, in which all nations and creeds fraternized without distinction. The population was about 175,000 of whom 120,000 were Moslems, 13,000 Jews, and the remainder Europeans and Americans.

Jewish Refugees

Tangier was the chief haven of refuge in North Africa for those who fled Nazism. Since 1938 the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) had given substantial assistance to the refugee committee headed by Abraham J. Laredo. Persons who still possessed the nationality of their country of origin were able to remain in Tangier without any special authorization or difficulty. Those who had been expatriated had to furnish a guarantee before they were admitted, and were subject to police supervision. Some refugees, chiefly those of Hungarian origin, remained in Tangier, where most of them were bankers. Others emigrated to North and South America, the Belgian Congo, Australia, and elsewhere, with the assistance of the JDC.

Of several thousand transients, during 1953-54 only thirty-five old, sick persons were being supported by the refugee committee, all of whose funds came from the JDC. During 1953-54 no new case had been registered or helped, as the majority were returnees from Israel or Canada. Tangier was no longer a place of refuge for penniless expatriates, since the absence of local industry made it impossible for them to obtain jobs, lacking which they

were expelled from the international zone.

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Community Organization

The Jewish community was composed of all the Jews in Tangier, whatever their nationality. (Those who had no other nationality to return to were considered Moroccans.) In contrast to the French zone, Jews of a nationality other than Moroccan, but born in Tangier or of Tangerine descent, could be members of the directing committee of the community. This committee was elected by all those who paid the *Nedaba* and was genuinely representative of the Jews living in the international zone. The majority of the heads of welfare groups took part in it, so that it was a *de facto* if not *de jure* welfare federation.

Social Services

A social service agency set up under the auspices of the community and staffed by graduates of the JDC's Paul Baerwald School in Versailles was in the process of transforming the philanthropic aid to the needy into an efficient system of rehabilitation. The community was replacing its dilapidated buildings in the center of the city with modern new buildings. In four or five years the welfare organizations of the Tangier communities would have no need of outside aid. At present, almost all welfare organizations were subsidized or received aid in kind or technical assistance from the JDC.

The Oeuvre de Nourriture et d'Habillement, headed by Joë Hasan, had originally been established for the children in the Alliance Israélite Universelle school. In 1953–54 it consisted of a central kitchen distributing meals to 1,372 children, of whom 900 were in the Alliance school, 55 in the Seminary, 217 in trade courses, and 200 in the kindergarten. There were 1,773 children enrolled in these schools. The number of the needy continued to grow because of the increasting migration of families from the Spanish zone, especially from Melilla, Arzila, El Kasar, and Larache.

HEALTH SERVICES

In the international zone the various nations had their own hospitals and dispensaries, used by their nationals, in which the expenses of the indigent were met from the budget of the zone. The Benchimol hospital, founded by the first Moroccan to become a naturalized French citizen, Haim Benchimol, cared for indigent Moroccan and expatriate Jews with the aid of a zonal subsidy. The hospital was administered by a committee headed by M. Benoualid. It had recently acquired a modern operating room and a room for paying patients. Rich and poor received the same care.

With the aid of subsidies from the JDC and the community and local contributions, OSE expanded its activities during 1953-54. It conducted a milk station for 120 children, 4 dispensaries in the schools, a yeshiva, and trade courses, and gave daily help to infants and children up to fifteen years old. An anti-tuberculosis center established by a committee headed by Jaymes

Nahon, the president of the directing committee of the community, was the first group to attempt to combat the ravages of tuberculosis in Tangier with local resources. The JDC had furnished the necessary streptomycin since the opening of the center. The Anti-Tuberculosis League of Tangier cared for the sick without distinction and subsidized the center. Despite the poverty of the majority of the population of Tangier, there was a noteworthy absence of the trachoma and scurvy which plagued the other parts of Morocco.

Jewish Education

Since the nineteenth century, the European powers had sent teachers to Tangier. In 1864, the Anglo-Jewish Board of London established English courses under Moses Haim Nahon. The Alliance Israélite opened its schools, and until 1914 teachers from Germany conducted private courses. In 1953–54 there were in Tangier a French *lycée*, an American school, several Spanish schools, Alliance schools, and numerous private classes. The Alliance was located in old, unhealthful buildings belonging to the community, and was badly in need of new accommodations for its 1,300 students. The teachers of the Alliance schools were subsidized by the Direction de l'Instruction Publique at Rabat, with the community of Tangier paying the teachers of Hebrew.

The Association d'Aide a l'Enseignement Professionel de la Jeunesse Israélite de Tanger had been founded in 1949 by Jack Pinto and Abraham I. Laredo. During 1953–54, it had ninety-four girls and fifty-four boys in courses in carpentry, electricity, radio, masonry, dressmaking, etc. From 1950–52 the school had a section for student fishermen, but it closed down for security and financial reasons. The six graduates of that section sent to Israel were so useful that the Israel ministry of agriculture offered to take all the graduates of the section. The association was financed almost entirely by the JDC. The students helped by the association would not be eligible to take the courses in the zonal government schools, because they lacked the diplomas required for entrance, so that without the association they would add to the number of those without skills or jobs.

The Alliance schools gave about an hour of Hebrew instruction a day. Adult courses had been organized by the Association des Anciens Elèves de l'Alliance, with financial and technical assistance from the JDC. The Talmud Torah taught fifty-five students in the buildings of the community; the Yeshiva Etz Hayim had sixty-five resident students between the ages of twelve and eighteen. The yeshiva had been built by one of its donors, the architect Samuel Toledano, and was one of the most beautiful school buildings in North Africa. Its teachers came from England, France, and Israel, and its students received an advanced Hebrew and secular education. Its graduates were rabbis, professors, and interpreters able to teach Hebrew under modern conditions while preserving a strict Orthodoxy.

HÉLÈNE CAZES-BENATAR

Union of South Africa

The political tensions of preceding years (see American Jewish Year Book, vols. 51-55) continued to affect South African life during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954). But after Premier Daniel Francois Malan's success in the general election of April 15, 1953 (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 329), the governing Nationalist Party consolidated its position and the opposition parties lost ground. The economic contraction of the preceding two years gave way to an upward trend, reflected in an improved balance of payments, in budget concessions to taxpayers, and in the partial relaxation of import restrictions. The position of the Jewish community remained stable, with good relations prevailing between Jews and all other sections of the population.

Political Developments

Political tensions during the year under review focused mainly on legislation affecting non-Europeans (non-whites) and trade unions. Too extensive for review in the compass of this article, the various enactments aimed at the extension of the government's apartheid (segregation) policies (see surveys in the American Jewish Year Book, vols. 51-55), in the fields of labor, education, and domicile, and drew many protests, particularly from church quarters.

The government made two further attempts to overcome constitutional barriers to its plan to transfer colored (mulatto) voters in the Cape Province from the common roll to a restricted communal register (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 396-99); both attempts failed to secure the requisite two-thirds majority at joint sittings of the two houses of parliament.

Under the Suppression of Communism Act (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 388, and 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 398-99) Minister of Justice Charles Robberts Swart ordered several trade union officials to resign their positions and abstain from attending meetings. Draft legislation was announced in parliament on May 12, 1954, by Minister of Labor Ben Schoeman to subject trade unions to certain restraints and controls, and bar them from participating in politics.

The British Trade Union Congress (TUC) sent two delegates, James Crawford and Ernest Bell, to South Africa to study the situation. They made their investigation during the period November 11-December 18, 1953,

and in a 12,000-word report to the British TUC General Council (made public on March 25, 1954), declared that: "After examining the recent legislative enactments and the effect they have had and are likely to have upon the trade union movement, there is no doubt in our minds that today the South African trade unions are facing a direct and serious challenge to their existence as free, democratic and self-determining agencies." The report also criticized the internal divisions of South African trade unionism.

At a conference in Capetown on May 5-7, 1954, South African trade unionists established a Unity Committee to make representations to the minister of labor and to achieve united resistance to the proposed legislation. The government, however, pressed its bill, with only minor modifications, through a second reading in the House of Assembly on June 2, 1954, deferring the third reading to 1955. The trade unions were due to review the situation at a conference scheduled for October 9-10, 1954.

Elections to the provincial councils, which took place on August 18, 1954, showed increased support for the government. It captured forty-five seats in the Transvaal, against the United Party's twenty-three; thirty seats in the Cape, against the United Party's twenty-four; and all twenty-five seats in the Orange Free State. (Previously, the Nationalists had held thirty-six seats in the Transvaal, twenty-six in the Cape, and twenty-four in the Free State.)

Twelve Jews were among the candidates elected in the Transvaal—Alfred Einstein, Nathan Eppel, Boris Wilson, Reuben Sive, Samuel Emdin, Ephraim Leonard Fisher, Hyman Miller, Ephraim Benjamin Woolf, Alexander Leopald Kowarsky (in Johannesburg seats), and Morris Nestadt (Benoni), Mrs. Emily Myer (Boksburg), and Leonard Barnett Taurog (Springs). Five Jews were among the candidates elected in the Cape—Aaron Zalman Berman, Abraham Maurice Jackson, and Mrs. Sophie Lang in Capetown, Charles Barnett (Cape Flats), and David Lazarus (East London). All the elected Jews were United Party candidates: the Nationalist, Liberal, and Labor parties each had one Jewish candidate in the elections, but these were defeated.

Civic honors conferred on Jewish citizens during the year included the election of Gustav Haberfeld as mayor of Kimberley (October 1953), and Abraham Addleson as deputy mayor of East London (December 1953).

Jewish Population

On May 12, 1954, the Union Director of Census and Statistics gave the South African Jewish Board of Deputies the following tabulation, abstracted from the Union Census of 1951, covering the number of Jews in the principal urban areas of the Union. The figure for the total Jewish community was not yet available; unofficial estimates put it at 108,000-110,000 Jews, out of a European (white) population of 2,588,933 and a total population (all races) of 12,437,227 (1951 census). The 1946 census had showed a figure of 104.156.

TABLE 1

Jewish Population in Main South African Urban Centers,
Census of 1951, 1946

Place	Males		Females		Total	
	1951	1946	1951	1946	1951	1946
Cape Town		9,827	10,298	9,762	20,446	19,589
East London	560	491	555	473	1,115 586	607
Kimberley	314	328	272	279	2,866	2,530
Port Elizabeth	1,431	1,310	1,435	1,220		4,132
Durban	2,335	2,158 195	2,147	1,974	4,482	330
Pietermaritzburg		1,833	1,548	1,594	3,228	3,427
Pretoria	1,680	25,494	26,905	24,877	53,423	50,371
Johannesburg	26,518	697	727	653	1,446	1,350
Germiston	629	657	608	587	1,237	1,244
Beleshung		271	226	285	481	556
Boksburg	536	505	466	433	1,002	938
Nigel	151	161	142	126	293	287
Potchefstroom	243	101	177		420	
Randfontein	230	206	216	174	446	380
Roodepoort-Maraisburg	198	204	173	172	371	376
Springs	618	541	610	508	1,228	1,049
Vereeniging-Vanderbijlpark	387		317		704	
Brakpan		443	426	385	877	828
Bloemfontein	636	653	604	632	1,240	1,285
Paarl	258		249		507	
Uitenhage	107		89		196	
Kroonstad	157		126		283	

Civic and Political Status

The civic and political status of the Union's Jewish community remained unchanged, with Jews enjoying equal rights and opportunities with all other white citizens. A statement by Mr. and Mrs. Gardner Cowles, publishers of Look magazine in the United States, made in an American television interview during March 1954 (after a brief visit to South Africa) that: "The Afrikanders have won the last election and are now adopting racial policies with a good deal of anti-Semitism thrown in, exactly like Hitler's Germany," was condemned as false by the South African Jewish press (week ending March 26, 1954), and repudiated in parliament on April 8, 1954, by Morris Kentridge, veteran Jewish member of parliament. Earlier (August 11, 1953) the prime minister repudiated as a fabrication a report in the Toronto Globe and Mail that he had expressed himself in anti-Semitic terms to a Canadian visitor, Mrs. Kate Aitken, in an interview she claimed to have had with him.

A minor parliamentary incident caused some concern at the time. During April 1954 a sharp attack on Minister of Finance Nicolas C. Havenga by

Bernard Friedman (United Party) was met by M. D. C. de Wet Nel (Nationalist) with a warning that such speeches by a Jewish member of parliament could stir up anti-Semitic feeling. Morris Kentridge (United Party) asked the prime minister to repudiate this threat. G. H. Strydom (Nationalist) said that he and his colleagues had no quarrel with the Jewish community, but objected to some Jewish members of the opposition vilifying them as Nazis. Abraham Jonker (Independent United Party) said that while he agreed with some of Strydom's criticism, he deplored the racial reference. The members concerned were in parliament as representatives of their constituencies, not of a particular community. This point was also stressed by Edel Jacob Horwitz, chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, at a meeting of deputies in Johannesburg on May 16, 1954.

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitic propaganda during the period under review was of comparatively small proportions and largely confined to the persons and organizations cited in preceding issues of the YEAR BOOK. Some of the material emanated from Einar Aberg of Sweden, and some came from Britain and America. Foreign material included a booklet printed in London, Hidden Government by Lieut.-Col. J. Creagh Scott, a repetition of the charges in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Representations regarding this anti-Semitic material were made to the government by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.

During the year *Die Republikein*, which had formerly been the organ of the Ossewa Brandwag, and which from time to time had published pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic material, went out of existence. Its last issue appeared on January 27, 1954.

Communal Organization

Communal organization proceeded along the pattern of preceding years, marking time rather than registering any definitive advance.

The central role in servicing communities was played by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. The Board of Deputies was the central representative organization of South African Jewry. It had been formed in 1912 "to watch and take action with reference to all matters affecting the welfare of South African Jews as a community," had as its affiliates all of South Africa's Hebrew congregations, and most of the cultural, philanthropic, and fraternal societies, and was recognized by the government of the Union of South Africa.

Chairman Edel Jacob Horwitz led a delegation from the Board of Deputies to the Conference of Commonwealth Jewish Organizations, held in London at the end of June 1954. Max Greenstein represented South African Jewry at the session of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CJMCAG) and at the meeting of the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations, held in New York during March-April 1954. Simon Kuper,

chairman of the South African Zionist Federation and Abel Shaban, honorary president of the South African ORT-OSE and chairman of the World OSE executive, represented South African Jewry at the earlier session of the CJMCAG (February 1954).

FUND RAISING

The 1953-54 fund-raising period was mainly devoted to the United Communal Fund, which made budgetary allocations to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies; the South African Board of Jewish Education; the Cape Board of Jewish Education; the South African Council for Progressive Jewish Education; the South African ORT-OSE; the Union of Jewish Women of South Africa; the Federation of Synagogues of the Transvaal; the South African Jewish Ministers' Association; the Mizrachi Yeshiva Ketana; the Yiddish Cultural Federation; and special funds instituted by the Board of Deputies to assist small rural Jewish communities and provide pensions for Hebrew teachers. The campaign (still in progress at the time of writing, July 1954) was as yet considerably short of the target figure of £500,000 (\$1,400,000).

The 1952-53 Israeli United Appeal campaign for 1953 also showed lower

totals than those achieved in the preceding year.

Social Services

Social welfare agencies registered substantial increases in expenditure without a proportionate rise in revenue, and the need for increased funds for their work was stressed at annual meetings of the South African Jewish Orphanage (Johannesburg), the Chevra Kadisha of Johannesburg (which handled the largest relief budget in the community), the Jewish Women's Benevolent and Welfare Society (Johannesburg), the Jewish Board of Guardians (Cape Town), the Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home (Johannesburg), and Our Parents Home (Johannesburg), major South African Jewish social agencies.

The expenditure of the Johannesburg Chevra Kadisha during the fiscal year 1953-54 topped £100,000 (\$280,000), the largest figure in its history, mostly spent on relief and rehabilitation services. The Chevra Kadisha re-

ported a deficit of £14,000 (\$39,200).

Building operations commenced in April 1954 on the new premises of the Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home, scheduled for completion in three years at a cost of £500,000 (\$1,400,000).

Religious Life

Jewish religious life showed signs of greater cohesion and less disharmony than in the period 1950-53. Attempting to realize hitherto unsuccessful plans to establish a national union of Orthodox congregations, regional confer-

ences took place to promote the formation of provincial federations, with the ultimate aim of combining them into a country-wide organization. The Transvaal Federation of Synagogues, headed by Chief Rabbi Louis Isaac Rabinowitz, played a leading part in this regard, and strengthened itself considerably. At its annual general meeting on May 2, 1954, it listed a membership of 44 affiliated Hebrew Congregations, with over 10,000 members.

The Transvaal Federation organized a Kashruth Week in March 1954, launched with a personal visit by Chief Rabbi Isar Unterman of Tel Aviv. The campaign included an exhibition of kosher products at the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg, lectures by various rabbis, and a broad-based propaganda drive. In Cape Province the South African Jewish Ecclesiastical Association (Omer), headed by Chief Rabbi Israel Abrahams, held a Kashruth Month.

Five new synagogues were opened during 1953-54 in Johannesburg: Etz Chayim; Valley-Observatory; Parkview-Greenside (all Orthodox); Port Elizabeth (Reform); and Graaff-Reinet (Orthodox). New communal centers, which included halls and Talmud Torah classrooms and could also be used for religious purposes, were opened at Bloemfontein, Benoni, Summerstrand, and Odendaalsrus. New synagogues were planned in a number of centers.

The Jewish Reform movement, headed by Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler, reported increased membership at the annual conference of its South African Union for Progressive Judaism (Durban, November 1953). Plans were completed to add a third constituent, Temple Emanuel, to the United Jewish Reform Congregation in Johannesburg, during 1954. The Reform movement had 8,000 members, in congregations in Johannesburg, Capetown, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Springs, and Germiston.

Jewish Education

The silver jubilee conference of the South African Board of Jewish Education, which met in Johannesburg May 29-31, 1954, was attended by some 200 delegates. It reviewed twenty-five years of endeavor in the Jewish educational field and endorsed the board's program for new institutions, including the establishment of the King David High School in Johannesburg (extending facilities already afforded by the King David Jewish Day School), and the establishment of a hostel for students of the Rabbi J. L. Zlotnik Seminary for the training of Hebrew teachers.

Reports disclosed that during 1953-54 the King David Jewish Day School, which had started in 1948 with 6 pupils, now had 600 pupils and a long waiting list; and that the Rabbi Zlotnik Seminary had produced 52 teachers since its inception ten years before. Eighty-eight Hebrew schools and 32 Hebrew nursery schools throughout the Union and Rhodesia were reported affiliated to the Board of Jewish Education.

The silver jubilee conference rejected pressure for stricter religious observance by teachers and pupils, and supported the board's "middle course" policy of "broadly national traditional" Jewish education.

A financial deficit continued to hamper the work of the board, as well as that of its Cape Province counterpart, the Cape Board of Jewish Education. The latter, in June 1954, projected the building of new premises for the Herzlia Hebrew Day School in Cape Town, to accommodate 500 pupils, and a hostel for 150 pupils. The Herzlia Day School, established in 1940, now had 400 pupils.

Sixteen students were graduated as Hebrew teachers from the Rabbi Zlot-

nik Seminary in Johannesburg in October 1953.

The Jewish Reform movement ran its own Hebrew schools in the seven South African cities where it had established congregations; these were supervised by its South African Council for Progressive Jewish Education.

YOUTH WORK

At the invitation of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Rabbi Louis Milgrom, Hillel Director of the University of Minnesota in the United States, conducted a fact-finding investigation into the position and needs of South African Jewish youth from June to August of 1953 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1953 [Vol. 55], p. 335-36). Rabbi Milgrom's report, submitted in July 1954, pin-pointed the lack of trained personnel and scientifically devised programs in this field, the tendency towards over-concentration on Zionist youth effort, and the lack of attention to youth needs outside the Zionist field. It recommended the engagement of professionally trained Jewish youth counselors at the main South African universities; campus facilities for Jewish students; the engagement of one or more professional group workers to deal with youth needs throughout the entire Jewish community; and "as the top priority recommendation, an over-all committee for Jewish youth, with representatives from the Jewish Board of Education, synagogue leadership, sporting clubs, the Zionist Federation, and the Jewish Board of Deputies." At the time of writing (July 1954), the Milgrom Report was being considered by the major Jewish organizations concerned.

Rabbi Milgrom's visit to Cape Town in August 1953 was responsible for stimulating the establishment in that city of a university students' hostel,

Hillel House, with a program based largely on his recommendations.

Zionist Activities and Relations with Israel

The visit to Israel of Prime Minister Malan and a party of Dutch Reformed Church clergymen in June 1953 (see AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 327, 331) left echoes for several months in appreciative statements and press articles, and formed the basis for much intergroup goodwill work.

Israel sent an eight-man trade delegation to South Africa in April 1954 for the Rand Easter Show (the chief annual South African trade fair), at which Israel manufacturers exhibited for the first time. The delegation was welcomed on behalf of the Union government by Johannes N. Theron, Undersecretary for Commerce and Industries, at the official opening of the Israel exhibit on April 5, 1954.

Zionist work during the period under review was mainly concentrated on economic aid to Israel, consolidation of the South African housing and settlement project at Ashkelon, propaganda, and the encouragement of aliyah (emigration to Israel). The problem of stimulating aliyah from South Africa formed a dominant theme at the twenty-fourth biennial South African Zionist conference held in Johannesburg July 8-12, 1954, and attended by some 500 delegates from all over the Union and Rhodesia. It was reported that while some 1,000 South African Jews had settled in Israel since the establishment of the state, the number of South African emigrants showed a tendency to decline, the latest figures being 87 in 1952, 74 in 1953, and 35 for the first half of 1954. The conference decided on the constitution of a Professional and Technical Workers Aliya (PATWA) structure in South Africa, similar to that operating in Britain and the United States.

Simon M. Kuper, chairman of the South African Zionist Federation, visited Canada in February 1954 to enlist Canadian Zionist partnership with South African Zionists in the Ashkelon project. The proposal was still under consideration in Canada at the time of writing. The Ashkelon project was a scheme whereby South African Jewry, operating through the South African Jewish Appeal, had taken the main responsibility for the upbuilding of the town of Ashkelon in Israel. The South African Jewish Appeal had already established, in cooperation with South African companies in Israel, a housing

project and various civic amenities.

In October 1953 the Israeli Herut leader, Menachem Beigin, arrived on a propaganda tour of South Africa under the auspices of the Revisionist Party. An attack on him in the *Zionist Record*, official organ of the South African Zionist Federation, in December 1953 led to a Revisionist protest withdrawal from the councils of the federation until June 1954.

In January 1954 the South African Zionist Federation announced a plan to build a Zionist center in Johannesburg to house the offices of the federa-

tion and include halls, committee rooms, and library.

Cultural Activities

Cultural activities during the period under review included an exhibition of Jewish religious art and ceremonial objects arranged by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. The interest which this exhibition evoked among non-Jews as well as Jews, when it took place in Johannesburg from February 15-21, 1954, led the Board of Deputies to send it on tour to other main South African centers. Ten thousand persons visited the exhibition in Johannesburg and 20,000 in other centers.

Cultural programs included continuation of the Peoples' College adult education scheme, and seminars and lectures arranged by various organizations. Exhibitions of the works of visiting painters Itzhak Frenkel (Israel) and Rafael Mandelzweig (Argentina), and a season of stage presentations by Maurice Schwartz and his Yiddish Art Theatre from New York attracted

keen interest.

Books by South African Jews published during the year included: Wonderful Words by Ben Morrison (Hebrew semantics); Morris Alexander by Enid Alexander (biography); Be-Magloth Ha-Chinuch by A. H. Levin (autobiography); A Sociological Survey of an African Labor Force by Ellen Hellmann (sociology); The Lying Days by Nadine Gordimer (novel); The Crooked Rain by Gerald Gordon (novel); Our Shadchan by David Dainow (humor); Gezang fun a Boben by Rachel Levin-Brainin (Yiddish poems).

Personalia

Losses through death during the year included: Siegfried Raphaely, Rand pioneer and former president of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (October 22, 1953); Alexander Ovedoff, former South African Jewish editor and prominent communal official (September 14, 1953); Dr. Jack Baynash, senior physician at the Johannesburg General Hospital and prominent communal worker (November 18, 1953); Louis Emanuel Joseph, past president of the Johannesburg United Jewish Reform Congregation.

EDGAR BERNSTEIN

Population

The population of the State of Israel at the end of June 1954 was 1,687,886. Of these, 188,936 (about 11 per cent) were non-Jews. The table below shows the growth of the population of Israel since May 1948.

TABLE 1

Jewish Population of Israel, May 1948-July 1954

Year	Jews	Non-Jews	Total
1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 (July)	758,000 1,013,000 1,203,000 1,404,000 1,450,000 1,483,505 1,498,950	160,000 167,000 173,000 179,000 185,892 188,936	1,173,000 1,370,000 1,577,000 1,629,000 1,669,397 1,687,886

The total yearly population increase fell from 17 per cent in 1950 to 15 per cent in 1951, 3.3 per cent in 1952, and 2.3 per cent in 1953, due to a decrease in the number of immigrants. Since the first half of 1952 the natural increase had exceeded the net migration. During the first half of 1953 the number of emigrants exceeded the number of immigrants, but during the latter half of the year, immigration was again somewhat greater than emigration. During 1953 there were 11,800 immigrants and 8,650 emigrants in all. During the first six months of 1954, 4,128 new immigrants came to Israel.

TABLE 2

GROWTH OF JEWISH POPULATION IN ISRAEL
(in thousands)

Year	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954 (JanMarch)
Net migration	235 20 255	160 29 189	167 35 202	10 35 45	2 35 37	9.5 10.5

VITAL STATISTICS

The net birth rate (the number of live births per 1,000 residents) was 30.8 during the first months of 1954, as compared with 32 in 1953 and 33 in 1952. The Jewish birth rate was 28.4 early in 1954, as against 30 in 1953, 31.5 in 1952, and 29.9 in 1949.

The Jewish death rate was 7.0 per thousand during the first three months

of 1954, as against 6.3 in 1953 and 6.8 in 1952.

The Jewish infant mortality rate fell to 35 during the first three months of

1954, from 35.8 in 1953, 38.7 in 1952, and 46.2 in 1950.

The registered Jewish marriage rate fell to 9 per thousand during the first three months of 1954, as against 9.4 in 1953, 11.3 in 1952, and 14.5 in 1950. The registered non-Jewish marriage rate was 8 per thousand in 1954, 7.6 in 1953, and 8.8 in 1952. The registered Jewish divorce rate was 1.56 in 1953, 1.6 in 1952, and 1.8 in 1951. The birth rate of the non-Jewish population was 48.41 in 1953 (as compared with 32.11 among the Jews), and 45.5 in 1952—among the highest in the world.

Fifty-six per cent of the Jewish population was between nineteen and sixty-four years of age on December 31, 1953, 39 per cent was below nine-

teen, and less than 5 per cent was older than 64.

There were 759,000 Jewish males and 733,000 Jewish females in May 1954.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

In 1948 only 16 per cent of Israel's Jewish population lived in rural areas, while 84 per cent lived in the cities. By 1952 the respective percentages were 23 and 77, and by the end of 1953 the percentage of Jews living in rural settlements had reached 31 (26.5, excluding maabarot, transition camps).

A comparison with past years showed that the three big cities (Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem) accounted for 60 per cent of the population in 1948 but only 43 per cent in 1953, while the smaller cities and urban villages rose from 24 per cent in 1948 to 33 per cent in 1953. Collectives (hibbutzim and hvutzot) decreased from 8 per cent in 1948 to 4.8 per cent in 1952, and rose again to 5 per cent in 1953, while moshave ovdim (smallholders settlements) constituted the largest single group among the rural settlements, with 79,000 inhabitants (5.3 per cent).

IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION

Jewish immigration to Israel from July 1, 1953 to June 30, 1954, totalled 9,192 as compared with 14,822 during the previous year. (January 1954 was the month with the fewest immigrants, 328, since the founding of the state.) From May 15, 1948, to May 15, 1954, 720,000 Jews entered Israel.

The reasons for the decline of immigration have been given in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1953 [Vol. 54], p. 427, and 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 357. The general economic situation made planned immigration a necessity, and though a more liberal immigration policy was adopted in the winter of 1953–54, im-

migration (mainly from North Africa) was not likely greatly to exceed the present rate.

The Government-Jewish Agency Coordination Committee decided in February 1954 that emigrants from Israel who were not citizens would be brought back to Israel by the Jewish Agency if they notified the government of their desire to return within three months. It was expected that this move would affect 2,000 to 3,000 of the 40,000 emigrants who had left Israel since 1948, including 700 emigrants to North Africa and those who had returned to India. Demonstrations by emigrants seeking to return to Israel were staged in São Paulo, Brazil, in January 1954. Three proposals by Jewish Agency representatives to relax existing immigration rules were also accepted. Selfsupporting immigrants were to be defined as those up to fifty years of age who had a vocation which they could follow in Israel, or who were able to obtain agricultural work. The previous maximum age of immigrants of this class had been forty-five. Immigrants over forty-five or artisans over fifty would be considered elderly persons. Their entry would be arranged if they had relatives in Israel who could guarantee their support. Immigrants over fortyfive or artisans over fifty would be admitted if they had the sum of \$7,000 (previously \$10,000) to ensure their absorption.

IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

During the year 1953 a total of 10,347 immigrants entered Israel under the auspices of the Jewish Agency Immigration Department. Of this number, 3,990 came from North Africa, 2,793 from Asia, and 1,521 from Western countries, including 774 from North and South America and 747 from Western Europe. A breakdown of the immigration during 1953 according to the countries of origin from which the largest numbers of the immigrants came is on p. 469 below.

EMIGRATION

Emigration had reached its peak in 1952 with 11,128 departures. There were 1,900 departures during the first four months of 1954, compared with 2,400 during the same period in 1953. North Africa, the United States, and Canada headed the list of countries taking emigrants, and there was also some organized emigration to Rumania (affecting 228 persons during the period December 1953–May 1954). A questionnaire drawn up and presented to the 527 applicants for exit visas in January 1954 disclosed that family or other personal reasons prompted the emigration of 56 per cent, while economic causes were mentioned by 29 per cent. Housing difficulties rated low as a reason for leaving Israel. Nearly half of the applicants knew no Hebrew at all, and the rest had only an elementary knowledge.

ABSORPTION AND SETTLEMENT

The number of residents in immigrant camps and maabarot, transitional camps, at the end of 1953 was 180,000. During the year 41,600 immigrants

ISRAEL
TABLE 3

Immigration to Israel, by Countries of Origin, 1953

Area and Country	Number
North Africa Morocco. Tunisia. Libya.	2,945 606 224
Asia IranIndiaIraqTurkey	1,109 655 375 207
Western Europe United Kingdom France Germany	140 117 100
EASTERN EUROPE Bulgaria Hungary Poland Rumania Soviet Union	359 224 225 61 32
North and South America United States. Argentina. Brazil.	129 420 73

were absorbed: 35,000 in towns and villages and 5,300 in agricultural settlements. Some 8,500 permanent housing units were allocated to immigrants during 1953, and 919 during the first three months of 1954.

The Jewish Agency hoped to settle 3,000 maabara dwellers on the land during 1954. More than 1,800 houses were empty in agricultural settlements established after 1948, in which families could be housed immediately. There was, however, considerable reluctance, especially among new immigrants from Oriental countries, to settle on the land, and absorption in rural settlements continued only at a rate of 100 families a month.

Within the framework of the "town to country" movement sponsored by the Histadrut, 3,000 families of city workers and employees had been transferred during the period from January 1953 through June 1954.

By June 1955 it was planned to replace all canvas and aluminum huts with wooden or concrete houses. The last tents in the immigrant camps and settlements were replaced in October 1953. Several hundred families continued to live in tents because they refused to move into houses which had been built for them at sites they did not like.

Domestic Political Developments

On December 7, 1953, President Itzhak Ben Zvi accepted David Ben Gurion's resignation as prime minister and minister of defense, on the

ground that he was suffering from "more than ordinary tiredness" and had no alternative but to leave his post for two years or longer, as he was unable to bear the strain of the work in the government. Ben Gurion

and his wife settled in Sde Boker in the Southern Negev.

On December 12, 1953, Moshe Dayan succeeded Mordechai Makleff as chief of staff of the Israel defense forces. On January 25, 1954, the new prime minister, Moshe Sharett, presented a fifteen-member cabinet to the Knesset after coalition talks which had lasted for more than two months. The new government received a 75-23 vote of confidence with five abstentions (Progressives and Poale Agudat Israel). The negative votes came from Mapam, the Communists, Herut, and Agudat Israel.

Legislation

Among the many laws passed by the Knesset during 1953-54 in a fruitful legislative session, a number deserve special mention. The civil service pension bill provided for pensions reaching a maximum of full salary after twenty-five years' service. The Yad veShem memorial bill established a memorial authority, to be known as Yad veShem, to carry out a memorial program for six million Jews killed by the Nazis. A law separating the judiciary from the executive was enacted on August 20, 1953. The legal code now stated that "there shall be no authority over a judge in judiciary matters other than the authority of the law." The Knesset status bill (the codification of the rules of procedure currently in force) was discussed in November 1953, while the social security bill was put to a final vote in the same month. It provided for a social insurance institute under the auspices of the ministry of labor to deal with old age pensions, workmen's compensation, and maternity payments. The capital punishment for murder was abolished by the Knesset on February 16, 1954, by a 61-33 vote which cut across party lines. The death penalty was kept for those convicted of Nazi crimes and treason. A war invalids compensation bill was adopted in April 1954, and the tenants protection law passed its final reading about the same time. This law, which affected most inhabitants of Israel, formulated new definitions and new rates of rentals. A new labor law, providing an elaborate system for control of safety and hygiene in places of work, presented to the Knesset by the minister of labor, was passed. A major piece of legislation, which had occupied the Knesset for two years but had not yet been passed, was the new internal security law, the "Crimes against the State" section of the new general criminal code. It had been opposed by the Communists, Mapam, Herut, and individual members of the coalition parties.

PARTIES

Few important changes occurred within the political parties and in the relations between them. The main bones of contention between the Orthodox extremists (Agudat Israel) who remained outside the coalition and the

other parties were the questions of women's national service and of unified state education, both of which Agudat Israel opposed. The Revisionist Herut had ceased to be an important factor in the country's political life. Within the General Zionists there was a group which, after Ben Gurion's resignation and on several other occasions, favored breaking up the coalition, but this group remained in a minority. There were minor quarrels within the coalition between the General Zionists and Mapai (on such issues as income tax and general economic problems) but though a "preelection atmosphere" had already been felt since spring 1954, collaboration continued and in view of the deterioration of the foreign political situation, became a virtual necessity. Talks, on the basis of proposals made by Nahum Goldmann for common action and possibly an ultimate merger, took place between the General Zionists and the Progressives in June 1954.

The proposals for electoral reform, replacing the system of absolute proportional representation by some other means assuring a larger measure of stability (but leaving splinter parties without any parliamentary representation at all), were welcomed by most Mapai and General Zionist leaders, but violently opposed by the smaller parties. The disintegration of the pro-Soviet Mapam workers' party continued. A group led by Hannah Lamdan and David Lifshitz joined Mapai, while Moshe Sneh and his small faction, after an abortive attempt to lead a large part of the Mapam rank and file into the Communist camp, had joined the Communists in all but name. Internal strife continued, however. Each of these factions had two representatives in the Knesset, but only a few hundred members. The faction of Hashomer Hatzair led by Jacob Riftin and Eliezer Perry, which shared most but not all the ideological positions of Sneh, recanted only after considerable pressure was exerted by the party leadership. More serious were the separatist tendency of the Kibbutz Meuhad faction (led by Yitzhak Tabenkin and Yigal Alon), which began to publish its own weekly newspaper in opposition to the official party mouthpiece Al Hamishmar in May 1954. There were no palpable changes in Communist activities, nor any noticeable increase or decrease in Communist influence in the Jewish sector. As before, Communist propaganda inside Israel was directed almost exclusively against Mapam and Mapai. Yad Hanna, one of the younger kibbutzim with a Communist majority, had joined the Sneh group, thus becoming the first Communist settlement, after having rejected most of the typical features of kibbutz life as "excessive and sectarian leftism." Ein Harod, the one kibbutz where division between Mapai and Mapam could not be carried out, also continued to be the scene of much friction.

Arabs

There were no major changes in the life of the Arab community. On February 7, 1954, the minister of defense announced the easing of a number of restrictions on movement in Galilee. Many newspapers urged even more far-reaching reforms, such as the total abolition of military government and the formulation of a clear government policy on Arab affairs.

In the Nazareth municipal elections held on April 12, 1954, the Communists obtained six of the council's fifteen seats, while the rest went to various United Western, East Church, and Moslem lists. The results of these elections caused much concern to Israel official circles and stirred public opinion. Though the proportion of Communist votes had dropped from 50 per cent in 1950 to 43 per cent in 1952 and 38 per cent in 1954, the Communists remained the largest single party in Nazareth. Since elections were mainly along religious and ethnic lines, no effective alternative force to the Communists could develop. The Communists had competed with the other parties in anti-Israel and anti-government propaganda during their election campaigns. As no clear majority had emerged, a stalemate ensued, and armed clashes took place in Nazareth between the Communists and their adversaries during the second half of June 1954.

The Maronite Bishop of the Lebanon, Yussef Khouri, came to Israel in April 1954 to discuss with the development authorities at Gush Halav the resettlement of the Maronite inhabitants of the destroyed village of Kfar

Biram on the Lebanese border.

Foreign Policy

The resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union after a break of five months was announced on July 20, 1953, when an exchange of notes between the foreign ministries of Israel and the Soviet Union was released. On August 2, 1953, Shmuel Elyashiv, who had been minister to Moscow when Soviet Russia broke off relations, was reappointed. Alexander N. Abramov was named Soviet minister to Israel. In June 1954 the Israel mission in Moscow and the Soviet mission in Israel were raised to the status of embassies. In contradistinction to his predecessor, the new Soviet minister who arrived December 2, 1953, was very active and paid frequent visits to Israeli leaders, institutions of learning, settlements, and cities. The new line in Soviet foreign policy was expressed in closer trade relations, including a barter agreement by which the Soviet Union sent Israel crude oil in exchange for citrus and bananas. Very little progress was, however, achieved in cultural relations, which was frequently stressed by Soviet representatives as desirable.

However, Soviet representatives continued to take an anti-Israel line on several occasions in the United Nations (UN) Security Council, where the Soviet Union supported Arab interests against Israel. Thus, the Soviet Union backed Syria's stand on the Jordan project (December 21, 1953) and vetoed the Western resolution on this question (January 21, 1954). The same attitude towards Israel emerged even more clearly when the Soviet Union cast its fifty-ninth veto in the Security Council on March 29, 1954, to block passage of a resolution calling on Egypt to lift restrictions on Israel-bound shipping through the Suez Canal. Most of the Israel press interpreted the Soviet move as intended to deprive the UN and the West of influence in the Middle East and promote general conditions of instability and anarchy,

favorable to Soviet interests in this vital area.

The expectations of a real and lasting improvement in relations with the Soviet Union, which had been given credence by large segments of official and public opinion (mainly after the Malenkov speech of August 1953),

had largely though not entirely vanished by midsummer of 1954.

On November 2, 1953, it was officially announced that Shimon Orenstein and Mordecai Oren, the Mapam leader, had been sentenced in Prague three months earlier to life and fifteen years imprisonment respectively. No Israeli diplomatic representative had been allowed to take part in this trial, which came as a shock to Israel public opinion. It had been assumed that Orenstein and Oren would be released under an amnesty. General feeling was epitomized in a leading article in Al Hamishmar, the mouthpiece of the pro-Soviet Mapam party, of which Oren had been a leading member: "The shocking news . . . will have repercussions among Jews everywhere. Oren should be acquitted."

In October 1953 the first news of mass trials of Jewish leaders in Rumania was received. A memorandum of protest was sent to Bucharest by the Rumanian Immigrants Association in Tel Aviv on October 10. Subsequently, during the winter and spring of 1953-54, more arrests became known and the protest movement grew. A country-wide five-day hunger strike was declared on May 23, 1954, by immigrants from Rumania, and on the next day the Knesset passed a formal vote of protest against the sentences imposed on Rumanian Zionist leaders. The Israel press was very sharply critical of an official Rumanian protest against the "hostile propaganda carried out by certain sections of the press and organizations in Israel against Rumania" delivered in June 1954 to the Israel legation in Bucharest.

RELATIONS WITH THE WEST

Israel relations with the West, and above all with the United States, underwent considerable strain during 1953-54 and, on the whole, deteriorated. American official announcements that "much more money would be spent for arming Arabs than Israel" (July 19, 1953) and on many occasions thereafter, caused much concern in Israel, where it was assumed that arms supplied to countries avowedly hostile to the Jewish state would be used to attack Israel on an early occasion. In May 1954 the contents of an Israel note, delivered to Secretary Dulles several weeks earlier by Abba Eban, the Israel ambassador in Washington, were made known. The note stated that the provision of arms to Iraq was not consistent with the Tripartite Declaration of May 1950, and that Israel did not believe any "assurances" would prevent the use of such arms against Israel. A foreign ministry spokesman in Jerusalem called the grant of arms to Iraq "prejudicial to peace" (April 24, 1954), while Eban two days later reiterated his government's "unconditional opposition" in a meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Henry Byroade.

Previously, at the time of the major border incidents (October 19, 1953), the charges against Israel voiced by American and other Western representatives in the UN Security Council, unaccompanied by a similar censure against Jordan, were widely resented in Israel and considered typical of a new line of "appeasing the Arab League governments by antagonizing Israel." Eban warned in a speech on June 10, 1954, that "Israel's security was being imperiled by the policies of the Eisenhower Administration in the Middle East," thus reflecting the concern of both official and public opinion in Israel. At the same time (April 1954) it was announced in Washington that although American authorities were inclined to allot to Israel a substantial part of the Middle East grant-in-aid program, this would be

considerably less than the previous year (1954). Assistant Secretary of State Henry Byroade, in a speech on May 1, 1954, called on Israel to limit immigration as a means of contributing to a solution of the Middle East problem. He had already declared on April 9, 1954, that Israel citizens should look upon themselves as inhabitants of a Middle Eastern state rather than as the headquarters or nucleus of a world-wide grouping of peoples of a particular faith who must have special rights and obligations within the State of Israel. These speeches aroused a wave of indignation in Israel and provoked numerous official and semi-official protests, declarations, and editorials. The more violent sections of the press argued that the United States State Department had decided to "sell out" Israel in a futile attempt to gain the sympathy and active help of the Arab League governments in the cold war. More sober speakers and writers maintained that the new American policy was based on mistaken notions as to the willingness and abilities of the Arab states to collaborate with the West, but that patient explanations as well as the inevitable negative experiences with these governments would in due time cause the American government to change its erroneous course.

Among the attempts to lessen the tension between Israel and the Arab states, the visits of Eric Johnston, as personal representative of President Dwight D. Eisenhower in connection with Middle Eastern water development, should be mentioned. The first visit (October-November 1953) failed because of Arab opposition, while the second visit (June 1954) appeared to have been crowned with a modicum of success.¹

Israel-Arab Relations

Relations between Israel and the neighboring Arab states deteriorated considerably during June 1953 and the summer of 1954 as the result of major attacks launched by Arab military and paramilitary forces and Israel retaliatory action on a much larger scale than before. These reached a climax during October 1953; but there had been major incidents before that date, such as the murder of three Israeli soldiers in a Jordan ambush near Bet Govrin (August 8, 1953) and the murder of five Israeli civilians in the Negev (August 27, 1953). The steep increase in border violence during the first half of October culminated in the murder of a settler at Kibbutz Neve Ilan (October 10, 1953) and of a mother and two infants in Moshav Yahud (October 13, 1953). All these attacks had been characterized

¹ For a full discussion of these trips, see p. 288.

by military planning and the absence of such motives as theft and robbery which had been typical of the sporadic infiltration of earlier years. On October 14 a paramilitary Israel force crossed into Jordan territory, and in the words of a resolution of the UN armistice commission "using automatic weapons and explosives blew up forty-one dwellings, resulting in the cold-blooded murder of forty-two persons, including men, women, and children, and the wounding of fifteen more." The Big Three foreign ministers on October 18 noted the incidents with grave concern. In a protest note the day before Great Britain told Israel of its "horror," and that it took a most serious view of the incident; in a similar note the United States expressed its deepest sympathy for the families of the Arabs who had lost their lives, and demanded that those who were responsible for the loss of life and property should be brought to account. A resolution in a similar spirit was adopted by the UN Security Council on November 24, 1953. While much of the population of Israel disassociated itself from the Kibya action and the resulting loss of life of innocent Arab citizens, general press comment was that the sharp reaction by the Western powers (and the Security Council) was "one-sided" and "hypocritical," in view of the fact that no such denunciations had been made public when Arab acts of violence had occurred previously. (According to an official Israel statement on October 17, 1953, 421 Israeli citizens had been killed or wounded, and there had been 866 armed attacks and 3,263 cases of theft since May 1950, when the three Western powers had guaranteed the present armistice lines.)

After Kibya there was a decline in border violence, which lasted for several months. But on March 17, 1954, a civilian bus was attacked at the Scorpion Ascent in the Negev 80 kilometers south of Beersheba, and eleven persons were killed. The Israel resolution condemning Jordan was voted down in the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission, its president, Commander Elmo H. Hutchison, abstaining on the grounds that the evidence was inconclusive. The Israel delegation then boycotted the commission for the remainder of the period under review. In an Israel retaliatory action at Nahalin on March 28, 1954, Israeli spokesmen reported that nine persons were killed, including two Arab Legionaires, one officer, and six National Guardsmen. In view of the fact that the victims of this action were not civilians, there was little criticism of this action.

Further serious incidents occurred during the second half of June 1954, when three members of Kibbutz Mevoot Betar were killed by Jordanians and (on June 30) three Jews and five Arabs were killed and many wounded on both sides in a shooting affray in Jerusalem. The shooting in Jerusalem lasted for three days and brought about the intervention of the UN Secretary General Dag Hammerskjold, as well as of the Western powers.

Incidents and armed clashes on a lesser scale took place on the Israel-Egyptian border in November 1953 and April 1954, and on Lake Tiberias, where Syrian forces disputed the exclusive right of movement given to fishermen and policemen by the armistice agreement. In these recurring attacks a number of policemen and soldiers were killed on both sides. The

last major attack occurred on June 29, 1954, when two Israeli policemen on a vessel were killed.

On the diplomatic front the main developments were: Israel demands for free passage through Suez and for direct peace talks with Jordan under article 12 of the Rhodes armistice agreement; the quarrel with Syria over hydroelectric development schemes in the north of Israel; and numerous complaints and counter-complaints by Israel and the Arab countries to the United Nations Security Council. Following a Syrian complaint against Israel and a prolonged debate in the UN Security Council, Israel on October 28, 1953, decided to suspend temporarily the work in the demilitarized zone in the north which had been started on September 2. On the same date President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced that the United States had decided to resume economic aid to Israel. (Nine days earlier Secretary of State Dulles had declared that the United States had suspended the program of mutual security aid for Israel because the Israel government was defying a United Nation's ruling.) The UN Security Council debate on the Israel-Syrian dispute continued during the winter of 1953-54, and a Western draft resolution in January 1954 was received with mixed feelings in Israel. A Soviet veto, however, put an end to the attempts to reach an agreed solution within the UN, and the whole problem was again the subject of high-level discussions during Eric Johnston's second visit to the Middle East in May and June 1954 (see p. 288).

On November 23, 1953, Israel invoked article 12 of the Israel-Jordan armistice agreement to force Jordan into direct talks on border problems. In a letter to Hammerskjold, the Israel chief delegate to the UN used Israel's privilege under this agreement to call for an immediate Israel-Jordan conference. According to the wording of the agreements, "participation in such a conference should be obligatory." This move was described as a "political maneuver" by Jordan and the other Arab states, and the Amman government refused three invitations sent out by Hammerskjold to participate in such a conference in Jerusalem under his chairmanship. The whole scheme was shelved late in March 1954, after also meeting opposition from the local armistice supervision staff headed by General Vagn Bennike.

On February 2, 1954, the UN Security Council took up an Israel complaint against the Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Elath, after the blockade had been intensified by the Egyptian authorities in January 1954. An Egyptian counter-complaint alleged Israel violation of the Auja demilitarized zone by establishment of a new military settlement within the zone. The UN Security Council debate lasted for almost two months and was deadlocked in the end by a Soviet veto on March 29, 1954.

Fruitless discussions on procedure continued in the UN Security Council during April 1954, in connection with Israel-Jordan border tension. On May 4 a Brazilian-Colombian motion for discussion of the situation as a whole was adopted, and a Lebanese-Soviet motion for separate discussion of Jordan's charge that Israel was responsible for the attack on Nahalin was rejected. This debate also was deadlocked, however, after Israel had demanded that Jordan should undertake to accept the obligations of a pacific settle-

ment provided in the UN charter. On May 25, 1954, the Jordan government decided to withdraw its representative from the UN and to refrain from participating in any UN Security Council discussions on the Israel-Arab dispute, rather than commit Jordan to a peaceful settlement as required under Article 35 of the charter.

In Israel the demand for a "strong" policy gained with the increase of attacks from over the border. This was believed in Israel to be the natural result of the new Western, particularly the American, policy of "appeasing the Arab governments" and supplying arms to them, while not giving arms to Israel under the same conditions. American policy was believed by influential circles in Israel to make a new attack by the Arab League countries inevitable. Another school of thinking continued to advocate a rapprochement with the Arab states, notwithstanding Arab official hostility and the frequent changes in the Arab governments.

JEWISH AGENCY

The activities of the Jewish Agency were reviewed at a meeting of the Zionist General Council which opened in Jerusalem on December 24, 1953. A budget of I£116,000,000 was approved for the year 1953-54. Over 60 per cent of this sum was scheduled for agricultural settlement, mainly the consolidation of existing villages. Concern was expressed at the decline of immigration in recent years and an appeal was made to the government to give priority to a proposal in the Knesset for the encouragement of capital investment, including the establishment of an immigrant investment center. A resolution was adopted for the establishment of a territorial Zionist organization in every country where such a framework did not exist. The council also called for the affiliation to the territorial Zionist organization of local groups that accepted the Zionist program. The twenty-fourth Zionist Congress was set for the summer of 1954, and the question of the system of the congress elections, including the double shekel (hitherto every voter living in Israel had two votes), was referred to the next session of the Zionist General Council. The combined Jewish Agency executive meeting elected three new members to the executive after the council adjourned. In the American section Louis Segal replaced the late Hayim Greenberg. In Israel Meir Grossmann succeeded Emanuel Neuman, and Shlomo Zalman Shragai filled the vacancy left by the resignation of Izhaq (Werfel) Raphael. The discussion about the tasks and the future of the Zionist movement continued. Ben Gurion's views, stated in a series of articles, that a Zionist who did not come to Israel could not be regarded as such, was disputed by other leaders, notably Nahum Goldmann.

Economic Development

Price stability was the major aim of government economic policy during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954). The Bernstein plan, first outlined in August 1953, was intended to avoid any further price increases, and to prevent a further rise in the cost of living index. This endeavor was crowned with partial success. There was a considerable change for the better in the supply position, and progress was also made in reducing the very large adverse balance of trade. But little if any headway was made with regard to the one major prerequisite for normalizing Israel's economic position: a reduction of the standard of living based on foreign aid and presents from abroad. More was produced for export and more goods that had hitherto been imported were produced locally. But net agricultural output rose only by 10 per cent in 1953, and industrial capacity was far from being fully utilized. Another aim of government policy, where some but not enough progress was made, was the reduction of costs of production. The debate on whether foreign currency transactions should be decontrolled continued. The gradual introduction of a single exchange rate and the 800 pruta premium on the dollar put the Israel pound on a realistic basis, and, according to some observers, even deliberately undervalued it in order to attract investments. But investment fell by 20 per cent in 1953 in comparison with 1952, and the restrictions on credit and money in circulation, announced in the spring of 1954 as part of the government economic policy, created a difficult situation for both industry and agriculture. Nevertheless unemployment, which had threatened during the winter months of 1953-54 to reach dangerous proportions, was brought under control. By the end of May 1954 there were only 13,000 unemployed, of whom 10,000 were unskilled laborers and 2,000 were women. A labor shortage was reported from most agricultural areas. Also on the credit side was the export situation. Export proceeds were expected to reach \$70,000,000 in 1954 (in comparison with \$47,000,000 in 1952).

The total contribution of exports to Israel's balance of payments was expected to be about \$30,000,000-\$40,000,000, or about 20 per cent of the foreign currency needed for Israel's current consumption at the current standard of living. The value of Israel's imports for the period of January-April 1954 was \$44,000,000, an increase of \$14,000,000 over the correspond-

ing period in 1953.

Details of a seven-year development program were revealed at the Second Economic Conference in Jerusalem in October 1953. The plan called for the establishment of 200 new villages by 1960, cutting the net deficit for food from \$70,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The investment required for the realization of this plan would be \$201,000,000 (I £422,000,000). To develop industry in such a way as to exert a substantial influence on the balance of trade, \$150,000,000 (I £270,000,000) were needed, and the total needed for the development scheme (including power, quarries to exploit natural resources, improvement of communications, etc. was \$765,000,000. It was expected that reparations would contribute \$420,000,000 toward the total sum, private investments \$23,000,000, the next two or three grants-in-aid \$185,000,000. A deficit of \$775,000,000 would be left for the next five years.

In May 1954 it was stated that foreign loans amounted to \$280,000,000 at the end of 1953, as compared with \$257,000,000 at the end of 1952. This increase was due to Independence Bond receipts, which rose from I £105,-

000,000 to I£131,000,000 in 1952; during 1953 Israel received \$38,400,000 from the bond drive in the United States. The debt to the Export-Import Bank decreased from \$125,000,000 to \$123,200,000. Short-term American loans remained unchanged at \$24,600,000. During the 1954–55 fiscal year Israel had to pay I£42,000,000 as principal and I£19,500,000 as interest to the Export-Import Bank and Independence Loan accounts. Internal loans of the government reached I£134,000,000 at the end of 1953.

POWER

Israel's annual electricity requirements were expected to reach 1,650 million kilowatt hours (kws) by 1957. An additional generator at Reading station gave 50,000 more kws in the spring of 1954, and a power station under construction south of Tel Aviv would supply 90,000 kws during its first stage and 140,000 ultimately. The high tension cable from the coast to Jerusalem, capable of carrying unlimited current to the capital, was completed in the winter of 1953–54. These developments effected a saving of about 15 per cent in fuel and caused a slight cut in the price of electricity in the summer of 1954. The government acquired controlling interest in the Palestine Electric Company in the spring of 1954.

MINERAL DEVELOPMENT

It was planned to invest I £ 35,000,000 in the development of the Negev during the period 1954–57. The Dead Sea works were expected to produce about 130,000 tons of potash in 1954, and 300,000 after 1957. The production of bromine was resumed in 1954. Plans included the mining of 6,000 tons of copper and 60,000 tons of iron in the Negev during 1954–55, and the establishment of a plant to enrich the phosphorous content of artificial fertilizers to 34 per cent. Construction of homes for Dead Sea works employees at and near Demona (Kurnub) was begun in the winter of 1953–54. Oil prospectors commenced drilling in the Negev in August 1953. Iron ore was found in Lower Galilee.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Milestones in industrial development included the opening in December 1953 of a paper mill in Hadera capable of producing Israel's essential consumption of 15,000 tons a year; the opening of a sulphuric acid plant in Haifa bay (in operation since October 1953) due to produce 80,000 tons of acid a year; the new Taro Pharmaceutical plant in Haifa bay; the Alliance tire company working at full capacity by September 1953; and a new brewery (with a capacity of 40,000,000 liters) in Natanya.

Turkey accepted a tender for NATO installations by Solel Boneh, the construction firm owned by Histadruth. Solel Boneh also worked on the

construction of a steel mill at Haifa bay.

Israel's industrial exports in 1953 were 91 per cent higher than in 1952: 36 per cent went to Turkey, 20 per cent to Finland, 14 per cent to Britain,

and 6 per cent to the United States. Industrial exports comprised 38 per cent of total exports in 1953, compared with 31 per cent during the previous year. Kaiser-Frazer's assembly plant took first place among the exporting industrial enterprises, while the export of tires and pharmaceutical products was also substantial, and diamond exports to the United States reached \$9,000,000 a year.

COMMUNICATIONS

A five-year plan to modernize Israel's railroads was initiated in 1953. This plan was to utilize equipment bought largely through reparations payments and would cost about \$16,000,000.

ZIM ships carried 60 per cent of the 50,000 passengers who passed through Haifa in 1953, as well as a total of 706,000 tons of cargo, as compared with

298,000 carried during 1952.

A new 422-meter pier was opened in Haifa harbor in February 1954. After many months of negotiation, agreement was reached in February 1954 between the ministry of communications and the bus cooperatives on an average price rise of 16 per cent.

A new road to Elath, started in 1952, was completed in May 1954. It opened up the central Negev to tourists and facilitated the exploration of

the mineral resources of Wadi Ramon.

GERMAN REPARATIONS

German reparations continued to be the single most important outside factor in the development of the Israel economy during the period under review. An analysis of the DM 250,000,000 (\$59,000,000) worth of reparations goods to be purchased during 1954–55 showed that DM 43,000,000 (\$10,200,000) were to be used for iron and steel, nonferrous metals, and steel strip for irrigation pipes; DM 40,000,000 (\$9,500,000) for heavy industrial equipment; DM 47,000,000 (\$11,200,000) for chemical and other industrial goods, including pharmaceutical products, mining goods, and precision instruments; DM 30,000,000 (\$7,100,000) for agricultural products, including cattle for breeding, seeds, and raw materials for agricultural industries; DM 15,000,000 (\$3,600,000) for administration and service, including transport, insurance, etc. DM 75,000,000 (\$17,900,000) were set aside for oil purchases from Great Britain. The first reparation goods arrived in Israel in August 1953.

United States Grant-in-Aid

An exchange of letters preliminary to the release of a \$26,000,000 grant-in-aid for the first six months of the fiscal year was published in December 1953. The first grant of \$70,000,000 had provided 35 per cent of Israel's total foreign income in 1951; the second grant of \$53,000,000 had been 25 per cent of the foreign income in 1952. The purchase of food and fodder used up about 67 per cent of the first, and 40 per cent of the second

grant. In the third grant, however, the main items were fuel (25 per cent), raw materials for export, industries (20 per cent), and agricultural and irrigation investment (17 per cent).

AGRICULTURE

For the first time since 1948 the markets of Israel were saturated with vegetables, and there was even a seasonal glut of tomatoes and milk during 1953–54. Eggs, carrots, and bananas were exported to Europe. In 1954 there were 650,000 dunams of barley and 200,000 of wheat sown in Jewish settlements, and 200,000 of barley and 250,000 of wheat in Arab settlements. Maize and sorghum were sown on 250,000 dunams of unirrigated land, and 3,100 dunams of cotton were reported developing satisfactorily. Sugar beet on 3,500 dunams of irrigated land was picked in May 1954, and the first attempt was made to manufacture syrup for industry from the sugar beet crop. Twenty-six thousand dunams of new orchards were to be planted in 1954–55, as compared with 20,000 in 1953–54 and 12,700 in 1952–53.

The total cultivated area in Israel increased by 3 per cent during the period under review, but there was a 30 per cent increase in the irrigated area, from 600,000 to 800,000 dunams. Since the establishment of the state in May 1945, agricultural production had risen by 84 per cent (based on the 1948–49 price level). Progress had been made especially in the cultivation of potatoes and vegetables (145 per cent), field crops and fodder

(126 per cent), fishing (117 per cent), milk (68 per cent).

The citrus season was the most successful for many years. The total crop was 10,800,000 crates, as compared with 8,000,000 crates in 1952–53, and 7,500,000 crates were exported, as against 5,000,000 in 1952–53. The prices obtained were 10 per cent higher than in 1952–53, and citrus exports brought Israel about \$33,000,000 gross (\$25,000,000–\$26,000,000 net) as compared with \$20,000,000 gross in 1952–53. However, the success of Israel's citrus industry during this season, especially the higher prices achieved, was at least partly

explained by the frost and resulting crop damage in Spain.

The trebling of the irrigated area and the doubling of the agricultural population of Israel during 1954–61 were the over-all targets of a new development plan made public in November 1953. Another highlight was the publication of the report of the chief of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization's mission in Israel, Albert Gain Black, in December 1953. This became the basis of a discussion of the future of Israel agriculture. Dr. Black and other observers had criticized the establishment of excessively small agricultural units (such as those established by the Jewish Agency, of 25 dunams to a family), and had suggested a far higher minimum size for the average unit. Other observers had criticized the structure of Israel agriculture, pointing to the prevalence of a "rich man's agriculture," like poultry breeding and the production of green fodder for cattle, and recommended the growing of more wheat and maize and concentrating on cheaper meat production (sheep).

Education

By 39 votes to 16, the Knesset on August 12, 1953, passed the state education bill combining the four officially recognized school trends and independent schools into a state-controlled network with a separate division for religious schools. During the school year 1953–54 there were 200,000 children attending primary schools, of whom about 150,000 were in general state schools, about 36,000 in religious state schools, and about 14,000 in the separate Agudat Israel schools outside of state education. The number of schools totalled 820, including 270 religious schools, and the number of classes 6,622. There was overcrowding, and 22 per cent of all classes had over forty pupils. Some 1,600 inadequately trained teachers were dismissed, but 800 of them were reinstated later. Of the 34,000 five-year-olds, 29,000 were attending kindergartens, although these were no longer free. About half of the primary schools taught agriculture, but there was a serious shortage of workshops to teach handicrafts.

A total of 111 schools for the Arab population had been built in 111 of the 117 Arab settlements. They were attended by about 24,500 children. The Arab schools were modeled on the Jewish ones, and there were seven complete secondary schools for Arab children—three in the "small triangle," two in Galilee, one in Nazareth, and one in Kfar Yasif in Western Galilee.

The situation in secondary education continued to be highly unsatisfactory. About 75 per cent of the youth between fourteen and eighteen received no education whatsoever. The state spent only I£500,000 on secondary education, or 0.11 per cent of the budget. High tuition fees were the main reason for the small (and dwindling) numbers of pupils in the secondary schools.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Similar financial difficulties were faced by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Haifa Technion, resulting in the temporary closing of the Technion and student strikes against the increase of tuition fees. The government was prepared to contribute only I£1,100,000 of the I£2,700,000 requested to help cover the I£5,500,000 budget of the university, and to make a contribution of I£750,000 towards the Technion's budget of I£2,400,000.

A total of 482 students received degrees—a record for the Hebrew University—at the twenty-fourth graduation ceremony in April 1954. During the scholastic year 1953–54 a new faculty was added to the university, the Eliezer Kaplan School of Social Science, bringing the number of faculties to six. Semitic and Indo-European philology was added as a major subject, and the faculties of science and agriculture were enlarged. Agricultural engineering was introduced as a new subject. The new dental school was inaugurated on November 6, 1953. The new campus of the Hebrew University between Rehavia and Bet Hakerem was dedicated on June 2, 1954.

The campus was planned to accommodate 10,000 students, the current number of students exceeding 3,000, and was expected to take five or six years to complete. Since the War of Independence and the internationalization of the old site of the university on Mount Scopus, the various faculties and departments of the university had been dispersed over many buildings throughout Jerusalem.

The foundation stone for the Bar Ilan University, conceived and developed by the Mizrachi Organization of America to combine the higher forms of religious and secular studies, was laid at Ramat Gan on July 26, 1953.

Another institution of higher learning in Tel Aviv was due to open in the academic year (1954–55), with 100 students, and would be housed in the Natural Science Institute at Abu Kebir. The budget for the Institute of Humanities amounted to 1,250,000, and lecturers would include tutors from the Hebrew University. The Natural Science Institute, part of the same institution, was opened on December 1, 1953. A new department of experimental biology was dedicated on November 3, 1953, at the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot. On the same occasion the cornerstone was laid for the Institute of Physics building.

The Haifa Technion gave 182 diplomas to members of the 1953 graduating class, while 372 new students were accepted for 1954. The degree of bachelor of science was awarded for the first time. The student body totaled

nearly 1,400.

The Rabbi Kook Foundation building was dedicated in Jerusalem in November 1953. The foundation had published 500 books on religious subjects during the sixteen years of its existence. The new building comprised a spacious hall, a synagogue, rooms for permanent exhibitions of ancient books and handwritten texts, a 15,000-volume religious scientific library, and archives of religious Zionism.

The first astronomical observatory in Israel was opened in Jerusalem on September 7, 1953, under the auspices of the Jerusalem Amateur Astronomers Association. It was equipped with a 4½ inch Zeiss telescope, and included reading and working rooms. Seismological observatories were estab-

lished in Jerusalem and Safad.

Cultural Developments

The second annual award of Israel prizes was made in Jerusalem on May 6, 1954, Israel's Independence Day. The prize for belles lettres was shared by the poet David Shimoni and the author Shmuel Yosef Agnon. The award for music was given to Oedoen Partos for his Symphonic Fantasy Ein Gev. Professor Hugo Bergmann received the humanities award for his work, Introduction to the Study of Logic. In the field of Jewish studies the award went to Professor Moshe Zvi Segal for The Complete Ben Sira. The technology and agriculture award went to Professor Shimon (Friedrich) Bodenheimer for his Israel Fauna. Prof. Michael Zohary received the natural sciences award for a series of research papers on the flora and vegetation of Israel and the neighboring countries. Dr. Abraham (Bergman) Biran

received the prize for educational research, while the exact science award went to Dr. P. Ollendorf for his work Calculation of the Magnetic Fields. Gad Tedeschi received the social sciences and law award for his volume, Studies in the Law of Israel.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

In the Negev Nelson Glueck discovered evidence of a flourishing sedentary population dating back 5,000 years and especially to the Nabataean period 2,000 years ago. The expedition headed by him unearthed fifty settlements of the Nabataean period as well as a Roman highway.

The Israel Exploration Society opened a tel near Bet Mazmil (Jerusalem) which gave all the signs of having been a "high place" for sacrificial rites

in the time of the Judean kings.

A number of inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek were brought to light at Beth Shearim in the Valley of Jezreel. Three catacombs and the tomb of "Aidessios, head of the council of Elders at Antioch" were revealed.

The government department of antiquities completed the excavations at Bet Yerah and investigation of the fortifications, and a water and sewage scheme of the early and middle bronze period were uncovered. The excavations of the thermae of ancient Tiberias were resumed. Tombs of the Hellenistic period were discovered near Acre and burial grounds of the early bronze age near Ein Hanatziv.

INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS

The Seventh International Congress of the History of Science opened in Jerusalem in the presence of more than eighty delegates and guests on August 4, 1953. Prof. Shimon (Friedrich) Bodenheimer of the Hebrew University acted as the congress president.

The international Conquest of the Desert exhibition in September-October 1953 was visited by more than 550,000 visitors during the three weeks it was open to the public. The government decided to convert the Israel

pavilion at the exhibition into a permanent display.

The twenty-eighth world festival of contemporary music opened in Haifa on May 20, 1954. On this occasion the world premiere of Darius Milhaud's opera David (in oratoric form) took place in Jerusalem. The composer's prize of the festival went to André Jolivet for his Symphonie, the Italian prize to the Japanese composer Matsudeira, and the South African prize to the Israeli composer Joseph Tal.

The fourth Maccabia was opened in Ramat Gan Stadium with 573 participants from 23 foreign countries, and 279 representing Israel, on Sep-

tember 20, 1953.

SCHOLARSHIP AND LITERATURE

One of the major publishing events during the period under review was the appearance of the fourteenth volume of Ben Yehuda's Thesaurus of the Ancient and Modern Hebrew Language, edited by Professor Naphtali Hertz

(Torczyner) Tur-Sinai, president of the Va'ad Halashon. Volume II of the Biblical Encyclopedia, Volume V of the Talmudic Encyclopedia, and a new

Hebrew-English Bible were also published.

Twelve hundred Hebrew books were published during 1952–53. As a result of the agreement between Israel and the United States under the Mutual Security program, American books and magazines to the value of \$3,000,000 were imported (of these, technical and scientific works formed 44 per cent, periodicals 27 per cent, and paper bound books 16 per cent. Israel headed the list of all countries in per capita purchase of American books and magazines, and was fourth in total imports.

THEATER AND MOTION PICTURE

The first full-length Israel feature film, A Stone for Every Mile, was com-

pleted in May 1954.

Among the more successful plays staged in 1953-54 were the Joseph Milo (of the Chamber Theatre) production of Shaw's Saint Joan, and the adaptation of Henry James's The Heiress. The outstanding new production of the Habima Theater was Cry, the Beloved Country. The Ohel Theater, apart from its perennial success The Good Soldier Schweik, brought to the stage Jules Romains' Dr. Knock and Sartre's Respectful Prostitute. Some 1,200,000 people saw the productions of the four major theaters of the country during 1953. Local Israel plays performed included Nights of Storm by Josef Shamir (Habimah) and Ephraim Kishon's His Name Goes Before Him and This City. Habimah was invited to perform in July 1954 at the Sarah Bernhardt theater in Paris.

Music

One of the main events in the musical life of the country was the world premiere of Darius Milhaud's Sacred Service conducted by Heinz Freudenthal with the Kol Yisrael Orchestra and the vocal group of Kol Zion Lagola. Other first performances of music by contemporary composers by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra included works by Igor Stravinsky, Bela Bartok, Frank Martin, Serge Prokofieff, Robert Starer, and Bohuslav Martinu. The only major new work of an Israel composer to be performed by this orchestra during the 1953–54 season was Paul Ben Haim's suite Israel Scenes. Kurt Weill's music to Cry, the Beloved Country (Habimah) was also among the highlights of 1953–54; there were, as in former years, many visitors, soloists, and conductors of world renown, although many of the leading Israel musicians had to go abroad "in order to secure recognition in their homeland" (Jerusalem Post, September 1953). Perhaps the most important news, however, was the report that the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, in the nineteenth year of its existence, was at last receiving a concert hall of its own.

RADIO

Kol Yisrael was broadcasting thirteen hours a day on the average over a 50-kw transmitting station, and with 7.5 kws on the short-wave band,

which could be picked up throughout Europe. Kol Zion Lagola, the radio station of the Jewish Agency, broadcast for several hours in the evening, as did the army broadcasting station. The Kol Israel First Program included a regular Hebrew program, an Arabic program (including news), and a Turkish program. The Second Program included English, French, Ladino, and Yiddish news, as well as programs for the immigrants.

ART

Israel painters and sculptors were represented with seventy-five art works at the biennial exhibition in Venice, and several won prizes. At the annual exhibition of Israel art in Tel Aviv (April 1954) 210 artists were represented, each by two works.

Personalia

Rabbi Benzion Meir Hai Uziel, Sephardic chief rabbi of Israel, died in Jerusalem on September 4, 1953; Moshe Smilanski, veteran farmer and author, founder of the farmers' federation and a pioneer of Rishon le Zion, Hadera, and Rehovot, died on October 6, 1953; Prof. Simha Assaf, outstanding rabbinical authority and Israel Supreme Court judge, died in Jerusalem on October 18, 1953; David Werner Senator, executive vice president of the Hebrew University and a Zionist leader, died in Atlanta, Ga., in the United States on November 2, 1953; Georg Landauer, the Zionist leader and former member of the Jewish Agency executive, died in New York on February 6, 1954; Michael Amir, Israel Minister to Holland, died at The Hague on June 16, 1954.

Other important individuals who died during the period under review

were:

Rabbi Abraham Karelitz, widely known as Hazon Ish, noted Talmudical authority (October 25, 1953); Rabbi Iser Zalman Meltzer, Talmudist and chairman of the Council of Religious Scholars (November 11, 1953); Michel Polah, "the pioneer of heavy industry in Israel" (March 25, 1954); Professor Eliezer Rieger, director general of the ministry of education and culture (May 1954); and Menahem Mendel Rosenbaum, veteran social revolutionary and writer (April 11, 1954).

W. Z. LAQUEUR

Middle East

THE period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954) was one of

L continuing internal upheavals and crisis in the Arab world.

Internal dissension in Egypt, which had previously led to the dissolution of the Moslem Brotherhood (January 1954) and a widespread purge of the old set of politicians, brought about an open tug of war among the members of the Cairo junta during February-March 1954, and the deposition of General Mohammed Naguib as prime minister. Naguib remained President of the state, but real power seemed to have passed to Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser and his followers. The Moslem Brotherhood was again permitted in July 1954, but all the other parties remained dissolved, and many of their leaders were brought to court. There were no signs of the early elections and the return to parliamentary regime promised by the new rulers. In Syria the regime of Colonel Adib Shishekli was overthrown following a military coup d'état in February 1954. Shishekli was replaced by a party government headed by Sabri al Assali, which in its turn made way in June 1954 for a caretaker government to supervise general elections. The post-Shishekli regime in Syria was supported by some of the large political parties, but not by the left-wing, strongly nationalist, and neutralist Republican Socialist party.

Elections in Iraq in May 1954 left Nuri es-Said's Constitutional Union party in power, though with a reduced majority; there were no major outward developments in Lebanese politics. In another election held in September 1954 Nuri es-Said obtained a comfortable majority. Most of the seats went uncontested after the political parties had been dissolved. Nevertheless, the political situation in these two countries was considered unstable. Iraq was troubled by agrarian unrest and the antagonism of both the workers and the urban intelligentsia to the ultra-conservative ruling class. There was much dissension on both national and social lines in Lebanon, which suffered from general weakness and foreign dependence. Only in Jordan was the year under review comparatively uneventful, except for a cabinet crisis in June-July 1954. New elections were due to take place the second part of October 1954.

The Arab countries collaborated in their foreign policy only on a common stand in the United Nations (UN). Both in their relations with each other and their attitude to the West-East conflict the existing rift was again palpably felt. In Arab League politics this meant above all Iraqi opposition to Egyptian domination, and Jordan and Saudi Arabian opposition to all plans for a Hashemite Union and/or the merger of Syria and Iraq (which again became an issue after Shishekli's downfall). Complaining about the lack of assistance given by the other Arab countries in its struggle for Suez, Egypt favored neutralism in the cold war (a policy which had the support of public

opinion in all Arab countries). Iraq, the country most exposed to the Soviet threat, signed an agreement in April 1953 with the United States for arms supplies. Counterbalancing this, Egypt and Saudi Arabia signed a military

mutual assistance pact in May 1954.

On one issue a large measure of unanimity was preserved—namely, the Arab League attitude toward Israel. The Arab governments took a common stand on this issue at the UN in the winter of 1953–54, when the border tension reached a climax and the Security Council dealt with various complaints. Though Shishekli, who had been the most extreme public anti-Israeli Arab leader, had been overthrown, there was no growing readiness to make peace with Israel. On the contrary, numerous bellicose statements were made, the most publicized being that of King Saud, of Saudi Arabia, who declared on January 9, 1954: "Israel, to the Arab world, is like a cancer to the human body, and the only way of remedy is to uproot it just like a cancer. . . . We Arabs total about 50,000,000. Why don't we sacrifice 10,000,000 of our number to live in pride and self-respect?"

Jews in the Middle East

Some of the Arab countries, notably Egypt, did not introduce any official anti-Jewish legislation. This is to be explained both in terms of the more liberal tradition in these countries and the fear of creating an unfavorable impression abroad. However, the Arab League as such, and various Arab governments individually, did not hesitate to tie the Israel issue to the problem of Jewish minorities in the Arab countries. A declaration characteristic of this school of thinking was made by the Moslem Brotherhood leader Said Ramadan on a visit to Arab Jerusalem: "A Jew remains a Jew wherever he is, in Egypt, Iraq, and so on, and he works for Zionism" (A Difa'a, Arab Jerusalem, April 13, 1953). The Egyptian government dissociated itself from such doctrines, and from the proposal to introduce capital punishment for all "collaborators with Zionism." (This demand, which was to be raised at the pan-Moslem conference to be held in Jerusalem at the end of 1954, was meant to be an exclusive "Jewish" law, because laws providing for the heaviest penalties for collaboration with Israel already existed in all Arab states.) In May 1954 Mahmoud Fawzi, the Egyptian foreign minister, told the Pakistani Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan that his country would not oppose a pan-Moslem conference to deal with the Palestine border incidents; but Egypt did not want this conference to become a Moslem religious crusade against the Jewish religion. In the view of the Egyptian government, the Arab movement was a national and not a religious one, and the propagation of religious hatred would cause much damage to the Arab cause and antagonize the rest of the world (Radio Ramallah, May 16, 1954).

The Jordanian spokesman took an opposed line, the Jordanian foreign minister, Hussein Khalidi, calling the very existence of Jews in the Arab countries a very extraordinary revelation of Arab magnanimity (in a press conference in Arab Jerusalem, May 1954). The Arab League tried to introduce new restrictions affecting the life of the Jews in the Arab countries in

addition to those already in force. Thus, the judicial commission of the Arab League proposed at the Cairo session of the League (held in June 1954) that special passports for Arabs only should be introduced ([London] Jewish Chron-

icle, June 25, 1954).

Before the Israel War of Independence Jews had actively participated in the political life of the Arab countries: they had been members of most Egyptian parties (including the Wafd), of Michel Aflaq's left-wing Socialist Revival Party in Syria and of Kamel Chaderchi's reformist National Democratic Party in Iraq. The Socialist Revivalists emerged as the second strongest in the Syrian elections of September 1954. The National Democrats were dissolved by the Iraqi authorities in September 1954. Some of the Arab governments, notably the Iraqi one, occasionally accused the Communists of "pro-Israeli" or "pro-Zionist" activities (e.g., Arab News Agency, October 11, 1953). This was ironic, in view of the efforts made by the Communists in all the Arab countries to stress their anti-Israel stand. (In the summer of 1954 the Israeli Communists carried out a "plebiscite" in favor of peace with the Arab countries; but the Arab Communist parties had never done so, preferring to speak in ominous tones of the impending "liquidation" of the Palestine problem cf. resolutions of the Communist-sponsored Congress for the Defence of the Peoples of the Middle East in Beirut, reported in Pravda, Moscow, December 23, 1953]). The heads of Communist-sponsored "anti-imperialist fronts" were frequently politicians who had had outspoken pro-Fascist sympathies up to the end of World War II, some of them being Nazi agents and rabid anti-Semites-like Ma-aruf Dualibi in Syria, the leaders of the Istiqlal party in Iraq, the leaders of the Egyptian Socialist party, and the more extreme wing of the Nationalists in the same country. The common denominator of rightwing extremism, religious fanaticism, and Communism in the Middle East was anti-Westernism and xenophobia. The Jews in the Arab countries, individually and collectively, were among the main victims of this trend, which was given fresh impetus, but not caused by, Jewish-Arab strife over Israel. Jews in the more highly developed Arab countries (like Egypt and Lebanon) were undoubtedly better treated than in Iraq and Syria. But their situation was precarious in all the Arab countries, and there could hardly be any doubt that Middle Eastern Jews would continue to suffer from the political instability which was prevalent throughout the Middle East.

EGYPT

The changes in the Egyptian government early in 1954 did not affect the life of the 35,000-40,000 remaining Jews in that country, though the demonstrations of good will towards Egyptian Jews in which General Naguib had excelled were discontinued. The Egyptian leaders were preoccupied with the domestic tension, and in June and July 1954 violent anti-Jewish attacks were again resumed in part of the Egyptian press, notably those journals supported by the nationalist extremists and the Moslem Brotherhood (e.g. Al Ikhwan al Muslimun).

Jewish Population

At the annual meeting of the Cairo Jewish community in March 1954, President Salvatore Cicurel reviewed the situation of the Egyptian Jews and called the decrease in their number following emigration and economic crisis

the two most prominent features in community life.

The main cause of the continuing Jewish emigration was that in recent years many Jews had lost their source of livelihood as a consequence of the cotton slump and the closing of the Alexandria bourse. Others were compelled to leave as the result of anti-foreign legislation. Five hundred stateless Jews remained in Cairo; negotiations to make them Egyptian citizens went on during the summer of 1953, but by August 1953 the failure of these talks was imminent. Of the 75,000 Jews who had lived in Egypt in 1948, 40,000 had been stateless; most of these had left for Israel on a special laissez passer sans retour. According to unofficial figures, 250 Jewish families left Egypt during 1953. Eighteen hundred Jewish children remained in Cairo in 1953–54, as compared with the 4,500 who had been there in 1948.

ARRESTS

In April 1954 it was reported that seven young Jews had been sentenced to prison by a military court in Alexandria. Originally charged with "contact with leftist elements in Israel," the accusation against the defendants was later changed to "Communist activities" ([London] Jewish Chronicle, April 2, 1954). Albert Azulay, Robert Grunspan, and Albert Gabai were each given terms of seven years, André Cohen, Jack Hason, and Albert Sulam received three years, while Miss Rosi Dayan was acquitted. In June 1954 the arrest of the last Jew in a leading position in the Egyptian press was reported. This was Salvator Adjiman, a member of the Cairo Jewish community council, and the head of the publicity department of Al Ahram. Along with his brother-in-law, Leon Grunspan, Adjiman was arrested on the charge of smuggling capital abroad. Adjiman was provisionally released on bail given by the president of the Israelite Association of Heliopolis ([London] Jewish Chronicle, July 2, 1954). At the same time another trial of alleged members of an unnamed Jewish youth movement began (Cairo Radio, July 1, 1954), and the Egyptian press accused Maccabi of Zionist activities. (Up to 1948 Maccabi had been a boy scouts and sports organization, but since 1949 boy scout activities had been prohibited.) The Egyptian police raided 120 Jewish homes in Cairo during the first half of July 1954, arresting a number of young men who were accused of having broken a pledge to the ministry of interior that they would abstain from learning Hebrew and from preparing at a hachshara training farm to emigrate to Israel. The young men were released with a warning. These raids, in conjunction with the detention of eleven young Jews in Alexandria for several months without trial (on charges of Zionism and Communism), were said to have evoked great uneasiness in the Egyptian Jewish community ([London] Jewish Chronicle, July 16, 1954). For there was a strong suspicion that individual Jews were being singled out in an attempt to link the entire Egyptian community with Communism and Zionism. Though the government had also arrested many Egyptians and Greeks on charges of Communist activity, most of the Jews arrested were neither Communists nor Zionists, but simply Jews, while the Egyptians and Greeks arrested were all Communists.

Social Services

The Jewish hospital in Cairo had a deficit of £11,000 (\$19,800) in 1953, and the education commission of the community a deficit of £12,000 (\$21,600) (Jewish Chronicle, April 2, 1954). The Jewish schools in Egypt had been partly destroyed and burned during the riots in January 1952, but were later rebuilt. There were 700 pupils in Cairo's four Jewish schools, 700 in Alexandria's four schools, 100 in Port Said's two schools, and 150 in Tantas's two schools ([London] Jewish Chronicle, April 10, 1953).

Religious and Cultural Activities

There were practically no Jewish religious activities in Egypt. There were not enough rabbis in Egypt, but Egyptian law forbade the employment of foreign rabbis. When Naguib came to power, prominent Egyptian Jews expressed confidence that the law would be modified. However, notwithstanding vague promises by the government, nothing had been done to ameliorate the situation. Cultural relations with Jews abroad had ceased altogether. At the fourth Sephardic world congress in Jerusalem in May 1954, Egyptian Jewry was not represented, though the chief rabbi had sent the conference a cable via London. A number of Egyptian Jews took part in the 1954 Passover services arranged by the British army rabbis at Lake Timsah near Suez ([London] Jewish Chronicle, April 30, 1954).

The publication of most of the Egyptian Jewish periodicals had ceased at the time of the war with Israel in 1948; Menorah, the last of them, ceased

publication in May 1953.

SYRIA

During 1953-54 the Syrian Jews lived under a regime of terror mitigated only by inefficiency and corruption. Following the overthrow of the Shishekli government in February 1954, there was a slight improvement in their status as far as the official attitude was concerned. Under Shishekli the Syrian Jews had not dared to complain to the government about the wrongs done to them. But in May 1954, after Shishekli's downfall, a delegation consisting of the head of the Haleb (Aleppo) Jewish community and several other Jewish leaders was received by Sabri al Assali, the new prime minister. The delegation asked Assali to give them a status equal to Syrian citizens of the Moslem faith, because "the Syrian Jews have denounced the existence of a Jewish home in Palestine and a Jewish state in Israel." The members of the delega-

tion requested the abolition of the anti-Jewish legislation which had been introduced under Shishekli. The Syrian prime minister promised that their complaints would be studied and remedied individually (Radio Beirut May 20, 1954; Arab News Agency, May 23, 1954).

Civic Status

Among the anti-Jewish laws in force the following deserve mention: the ban on selling property (1948); the freezing of all Jewish bank accounts; the restriction of Syrian citizenship to Arabs (1953); the distribution of Jewish property, including synagogues, among Arab refugees and Syrian citizens; and the restriction of movement of Syrian Jews. Shishekli had even attempted to extend the anti-Jewish legislation to citizens of European countries and the United States.

Other victims of the anti-Jewish persecutions were the Jews of the border province Al Gesira (in the northeast of the country, most of them Iraqi citizens); and Jewish peasants whose land, crops, and tools were seized by the

Shishekli government.

The Arabization policy of the Shishekli regime, directed against all national minorities, affected the Jews even more than the others. Under a law promulgated in April 1953, non-Arab names were forbidden and the use of any language other than Arabic in public meetings banned. At least half of the members of the executive of every public association had to be Moslem Arabs. Schoolteachers had to be Syrian Arabs, appointed by the state.

On the other hand, part of the Day of Atonement service in the Damascus synagogue was broadcast by the Syrian radio station in a Hebrew-language hour for Israel consumption, as a token of the full religious freedom enjoyed

by Jews in Syria.

There was no official government institution dealing with Jewish questions, and the two main authorities were the police officer in charge of the Jewish quarter and the administrator of Jewish property. Legally, Jews were not forbidden to leave Damascus, but in practice they could not move freely in Syria, and were usually arrested when found outside their place of domicile. Zabri Laniado, the head of the Jewish community of Damascus, asked the Syrian authorities in 1953 not to permit any more emigration for the time being. Laniado argued that he could agree to an emigration of the whole community, but if the remainder of the young generation were to leave. leaving only the old and welfare cases behind, he could not take responsibility for the management of community affairs.

Anti-Jewish Agitation

In addition to legal discrimination, there were instances of "unofficial" persecution, beginning with the attempted bombing of the Damascus synagogue in May 1949 in which eleven Jews were killed. Under the Shishekli regime, attacks against Jews had become more frequent in streets, markets, and public places, and there had been many cases of stoning of synagogues. Many Jews had been periodically arrested, charged with espionage, Zionist activities, etc., released, and after some time rearrested. Some Syrian Jews succeeded in escaping from the country to Lebanon and the Lebanese government had been, during the period of Shishekli's rule, under considerable pressure to extradite them.

Jewish Population and Community Organization

The number of Syrian Jews did not exceed 2,500 to 3,000 in 1954, the old and very young being predominant. In view of the fact that most of the leaders of the Syrian community and the younger generation had left the country, and broadly speaking only the rich and very poor had remained, but no middle class, the leadership in the communities frequently fell into the hands of men without public record.

The Alliance school in Damascus was attended by 500 pupils during 1953-54

and the Talmud Torah by 170 students.

IRAQ

Of the 130,000 Jews in Iraq in 1948, not more than about 6,000 out of a general population of 4,800,000 remained after the mass exodus of 1950-52.

The Jewish community lost not only its parliamentary representation but most of its property, as well. There were, at the time of writing (July 1954), only one Jewish school and one hospital in Baghdad. Many of the Jews who remained did so apparently because they could not sell their property (frequently real estate). The Beirut paper Zeman reported on July 4, 1954, that 5,221 Arab refugees had been housed in abandoned Jewish homes in Iraq. Ahmed es Shalgi was appointed secretary general of the administration of Jewish "frozen property" in November 1953. A few days later Jewish real estate was sold at public auction (As Sha'ab, Baghdad, December 15, 1953).

Civic Status

On July 8, 1953, ten Iraqi Jews who had been under arrest since 1948 for "Zionist and Communist activities" were deported. In August 1953 the arrest of several "re-emigrants" from Israel was reported. During the same month a list of Jews who had lost Iraqi citizenship was published in the Baghdad press. In September 1953 there were riots in the prison, and the government alleged that two Jewish Communists were heading the inmates of the Kut camp who had been trying to prevent the authorities from removing the Jewish prisoners to another place of detention.

The prolonged detention of three Israeli passengers of a BOAC plane which made a forced landing at Baghdad on its way from Iran attracted considerable attention. They were arrested on January 3, 1954; a fortnight later the Israel representative in the UN asked the intervention of the UN Sec-

retary General in view of this flagrant violation of international practice. The Israelis had been arrested on the basis of a law which had been in effect since 1950 by which every Jew (regardless of nationality) was obliged to ask for a special visa in order to land at Baghdad airport—even during transit flights. Britain had protested against this law in 1950 and again in 1954 without receiving a reply; the matter was also raised again in the British House of Commons on June 3, 1954, by Barnett Janner. The Iraqi government argued that the passengers had been arrested as "hostages" for several Iraqi officers who had been captured by Israel in 1948 but had not been returned. Israel suggested that an international commission of enquiry investigate this allegation, but Iraq ignored this proposal. The three hostages were released after spending 117 days in prison.

Communal Organization

Rabbi Sassoon Khadouri was appointed acting head of the Baghdad Jewish community on November 1, 1953, by decree of the Iraqi minister of the interior. Rabbi Khadouri had three deputies: one was a representative of the ministry of the interior (a non-Jew), and the two others were from among the elders of the local community. The official reasons given for this anomalous situation were that Khadouri's predecessor, Yeheskel Shemtov, had held office illegally since the liquidation of the community, and that there had been prolonged quarrels among the members of the community (As Sha'ab, Baghdad, November 1, 1953).

Cultural Life

Jewish cultural life had come to a standstill during 1950–52. Jewish periodicals were banned by the Baghdad authorities (Arab News Agency, Baghdad, June 2, 1954). Iraq also demanded that the Iranian government ban the weekly *The Jewish World* published by the Jewish Agency in Teheran. According to Radio Ramallah (Jordan, June 3, 1954), the Iranian government acceded to this demand, for which action the Iraqi authorities expressed their gratitude.

LEBANON

The only official announcement during the period under review on the attitude of the Lebanese government towards the Jews in that country was made in Argentina—at the time of the state visit to South America by the Lebanese President, Camille Chamoun. Addressing a Jewish delegation of emigrants from Syria and Lebanon headed by Esra Tuval, President Chamoun declared that he regarded Lebanese Jews as good citizens in the democratic tradition (Jewish Telegraphic Agency [JTA], June 2, 1954).

About 6,000 Jews lived in Lebanon at the time of writing (July 1954), most of them in Beirut. Several hundred Syrian Jews fled to Beirut during the

period under review and at a certain period (June 1953) the Lebanese authorities showed willingness unofficially to grant them political asylum. In several cases the Lebanese police prevented attempts of Syrian emissaries to kidnap emigré Syrian Jews, following the intervention of the heads of the Beirut Jewish community with the prime minister. Most of the Syrian Jews intended to emigrate to the Americas.

Civic Status

There were, however, a number of new restrictions, mainly, though not perhaps exclusively, as the result of Syrian pressure. In September 1953 the emigration of Jews from Lebanon without a permit from the ministry of foreign affairs was banned. The reason was the possibility that "such emigrants would come in contact abroad with Israeli citizens and would reveal economic or military secrets detrimental to the Lebanon and other Arab countries." The leading Lebanese newspaper Al Hayat (September 16, 1953) supported this step, and wrote that Lebanese Jews leaving the country were taking their capital with them and were thus aggravating the current economic crisis. An even more far-reaching anti-Jewish proposal was advanced in the Lebanese parliament by the "Socialist" deputy Emil Bustani (a millionaire and owner of the largest bus company in the country), who demanded that all the property of the Lebanese Jews should be seized and handed over to the state for administration (Near East Arab Broadcasting Station, December 3, 1953).

Internal Jewish activities were extremely restricted. Jews were not represented in the parliament; however, it was alleged at the time of the last elections that one of the Maronite leaders, the Phalange head, Jusef Shader, had been elected with the assistance of Jewish votes in Beirut (Al Hiat, Beirut, July 13, 1953). The Beirut Jewish community again received legal status in 1952, but it had jurisdiction only in inheritance cases.

Joseph Atieh was the head of the community council and his deputy was Joseph Sa'adia. There were one communal school and several schools spon-

sored by the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

According to a government announcement on October 9, 1953, both Maccabi, the sports organization, and a Jewish scouts club were dissolved (Al Garida, Beirut, October 10, 1953).

LIBYA

The Jewish population of Libya was estimated at 3,000-3,500, out of a general population of 1,100,000. Thirty-two thousand Libyan Jews had left the country from 1950 to 1952 to settle in Israel. The attitude of the Libyan government towards the local Jews since Libya became independent in 1952-53 had been affected by Arab League and Egyptian pressure. A law published in May 1952 prohibited both Jews and non-Jews of Libyan nationality from visiting Israel, but permitted the emigration of Jews to Israel in accordance with instructions given to the Libyan migration services (Tara-

blous el Rarb, Tripoli, January 6, 1952). In January 1953 the local (Tripoli) office of the Jewish Agency was closed at the government's demand and its officials compelled to leave. In January 1953 postal service to Israel was discontinued, and Libya joined the Arab League countries in the boycott of Israel products (Arab News Agency, January 15, 1953). There were occasional anti-Jewish items in the Libyan press during 1953-54, and in December 1953 the Tripoli branch of Maccabi was closed by the government. This followed attacks on the government in the Libyan parliament and press for its failure to "take drastic action" after the "illegal visit" of a member of the Israel parliament to the Maccabi branch on November 22, 1953. On that day, Shalom Zisman, a member of the Knesset and a passenger on a Norwegian vessel which passed Tripoli harbor in transit, visited the Maccabi branch; he was arrested by the local police two hours later. The district commissioner ordered an investigation as to why Zisman had been released by the police before having been "punished for illegal entry" (Times, London, December 4, 1953). In an official statement Maccabi was charged with "Zionist" activity in violation of the law. "Libya, as a member of the Arab League, could not deviate from the common stand taken towards Israel" (Corriere di Tripoli, December 10, 1953).

Libyan Jews were reported to be practicing their religion freely, and the two main synagogues in Tripoli were well attended on the Sabbath and other special occasions. There were, however, no Jewish leaders available to interest themselves in the affairs of the community, whose president, Musci Nahum, was unable to continue in office because of ill health (reported in the [Lon-

don] Jewish Chronicle, April 30, 1954).

W. Z. LAQUEUR N. ROGEL <u>***</u>

Latin America

ARGENTINA*

ALL ATTEMPTS at a census of the Jewish population of Argentina had been unsuccessful. Estimates of the Jewish population of Argentina ranged from 300,000 to 500,000, though there was reason to believe that there were about 300,000 Jews in Buenos Aires alone whose Kehilla (organized community) had more than 50,000 member families. Estimating an average of four members per family, at least 200,000 persons were probably associated with the Kehilla. Adding the Sephardic Jews and the German-speaking Jews who did not belong to the Kehilla yielded an estimate for the Jewish population of Buenos Aires of close to 300,000. In addition, Jews resided in more than one hundred places in the provinces of Argentina. The Vaad Hakehillot (council of kehillot) was in contact with almost fifty such kehillot.

Economic Activity

In 1889 the first Jewish colonists from Podolya (Russia) arrived in Argentina. They settled in Moisesville, on lands bought by funds allocated by Baron Maurice de Hirsch. The agricultural colonies which developed in the course of the next sixty-five years became an important element in the economic and social life of the Jews in Argentina.

AGRICULTURAL COLONIES

These colonies were organized along collective lines, cooperatively selling their products (agricultural, cattle, and dairy) and cooperatively purchasing their consumers' needs.

A table showing the development and growth of the six Jewish cooperative colonies follows on page 498.

There had been recent attempts to increase the number of Jewish colonists. The organization of the colonists had begun an educational campaign with the goal of inducing a number of new families to settle on the land. So far the campaign had been unsuccessful. Indeed, a number of factors had combined to cause Jewish families to leave the colonies. These families did not sell out, but often hired laborers to work the land, and themselves became absentee landlords, gradually moving to the cities.

^{*} Prepared with the assistance of Mordecai Bernstein.

TABLE 1

Development of Agricultural Cooperatives in Argentina, 1949–53

Name of Cooperative	Location	Date Organ.	Member- ship	Sale of Products 1939–53 (pesos)	Purchase of Consumers' Needs
Fondo Comunal	Domíngues, Entre Ríos Moísesville, Santa Fe Rivera Bernasconi Rivera Alcaraz, Entre Ríos	1904 1908 1924 1929 1933 1936	718 904 402 218 318 138 2,698	63,728,246 30,159,036 22,535,732 19,073,908 5,510,697 5,735,320 146,742,939	20,650,660 22,509,567 13,098,350 5,434,985 — 3,118,634 64,812,196

CREDIT INSTITUTIONS

There was a continued growth in the number and importance of Jewish lending banks (see American Jewish Year Book, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 384). These had been established in many sections of Buenos Aires by a number of landsmannschaften (fraternal societies), and operated by social institutions. The loan banks were conducted along cooperative lines. Their purpose was to make small loans at low interest. They were particularly important for small businessmen and workers. There were now more than fifty such banks, and they were assuming a mass character. Some already had thousands of patrons.

BUILDING ACTIVITY

During the year under review many institutions acquired their own buildings, both in the capital and the provincial communities.

In Buenos Aires twelve Jewish educational institutions acquired their own buildings, some of them laying the foundations for new buildings. These included the Israel-Argentine Culture Institute; a number of Zionist youth organizations, like the Hashomer Hatzair, the Poale Zion, and the Noar Zioni; the Jewish Socialist Bund; and the Jewish People's Bank. The Buenos Aires Jewish community now possessed some five hundred buildings and quarters of its own.

The provinces were also in the midst of institutional construction. Rosario was putting up many new buildings for its institutions. Beside building a new temple and a youth house, Córdoba laid the foundations for a new home for Hebraica, a youth organization.

Community Organization and Activity

The chief problems of the Jewish community in Argentina were two. The first was to coordinate the activities of the three segments of the Jewish population—the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim from Eastern Europe, the German-speaking Jews from Central Europe, and the Sephardic Jews who had come from the Mediterranean area; the second problem was to establish rapport with the separate and far-off smaller communities and to draw them into a nation-wide Jewish activity in Argentina. To the latter end a Vaad Hakehillot (council of communities) had been set up in September 1952 to coordinate the activities of the Jewish communities throughout Argentina. As of the time of writing (July 1954), close ties had been achieved with fortyeight places in every province of Argentina. A beginning had been made in the organization of cultural tours, lectures by Jewish writers, and artists, and artistic programs in the provinces. Cultural emissaries sent by the Vaad Hakehillot from Buenos Aires had visited dozens of small places.

On September 21-23, 1954, the second national congress of the Vaad Ha-

kehillot took place, having been preceded by five regional meetings.

ASHKENAZIC Kehillot

In 1894 a Chevra Keduscha Ashkenazi had been established in Buenos Aires. This developed into the present Ashkenazic Kehilla, the Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina de Buenos Aires, the only one of its kind in the world. In July 1954 the Kehilla numbered more than 50,000 member families, and was self-governing. The original Chevra Keduscha had had the single function of providing a Jewish burial for its members; the Kehilla's activities embraced all fields of Jewish communal life: cultural, educational, social aid, religious, liaison with the non-Jewish Argentinian community, and with the Jewish communities abroad.

The second largest Jewish community was the Ashkenazic community of Rosario, established in 1904. In 1954, the Rosario Jewish community had a membership of 2,451 families, including almost the whole local Jewish population.

GERMAN-SPEAKING JEWS

Most of the German-speaking Jews had come to Argentina from Central Europe in the wake of Nazism in the 1930's. The number of German Jews was estimated with some accuracy at between 45,000 and 50,000. A very small proportion of this group resided in the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) colonies which were established in 1937, the largest of which was Avigdor, located in Entre Ríos.

The most important institution of the Central European Jews was the Asociacion Filantropica Israelita, a roof organization which included a women's aid society, a children's home, an old folks' home, a clothing warehouse, a

library, and a monthly journal. In addition, the Asociacion maintained a

rest home for children, called Kinderland.

A second Central European Jewish institution, the Jüdische Kultur Gemeinschaft, was involved in cultural and educational activities. The Kultur Gemeinschaft had departments in the fields of literature, music, and sports, and conducted educational courses for adults and young people. A network of societies and institutions of a philanthropic character completed the activity of the Kultur Gemeinschaft.

Still a third group of Central European Jews was completely independent of both the Asociacion and the Kultur Gemeinschaft. This was the Kehilla Achdut Israel, a strictly Orthodox community with its own organization, synagogue, and its own rabbi, Joseph Oppenheimer, brought over from Am-

sterdam in September 1953.

These various organizations of Jews hailing from Central Europe maintained a network of lesser institutions, societies, and clubs (often on a regional basis). Their links with the larger Ashkenazic Eastern European Jewish community were relatively closer than those of the Sephardic Jews. There were frequent meetings between these two segments of the Jewish population for Jewish activities of general interest.

SEPHARDIC COMMUNITY

Argentinian Sephardic Jewry had intimate ties with Sephardic communities throughout the world. The Sephardic Jews in Argentina were members of various smaller independent communities, and their relations with the dominant Ashkenazic sector of Argentinian Jewry were consequently all the more restricted.

The Sephardic Jews resided in a number of places in Argentina. Their chief center was Buenos Aires, where there were five distinct over-all Sephardic organizations, each with its own temple, and some with separate cemeteries. Each of these organizations maintained its own philanthropic institutions, educational institutions, and clubs. In May 1948 a Sephardic central committee had been set up at a convention of all the Sephardic communities in Argentina to aid the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). In addition, the Sephardic Jews maintained an institution called Delegacion de Entidades Sefaradies Argentinas (DESA), consisting of the delegates of Sephardic groups in Argentina, whose function was to coordinate the activities of the Sephardic Jews throughout Argentina.

However, DESA itself was divided functionally. One department of DESA concerned itself solely with the religious interests of the Sephardic groups and another department with their secular interests; the connection between the two departments was very loose. This exclusiveness was a clear reflection of the social organization of Sephardic Jews in Argentina, who limited their social lives to their own regional and family groups, frowning on intermarriage with other Sephardic groups. The liaison between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews in Argentina was limited to meager cooperation in Zionist activities.

Educational Activities

There were two central Jewish educational organizations in the Ashkenazic community in Argentina—the Vaad Hachinuch of the Buenos Aires Kehilla, which supervised the schools in the capital, and the Vaad Hachinuch Harashi, which supervised the schools in the provinces.

During 1954 there were 53 five-day-a-week elementary schools, 5 middle schools, and 37 kindergartens in Buenos Aires. There were 355 teachers, of whom 200 were in the elementary schools, 32 in the middle schools, 74 were kindergarten teachers, and 49 were kindergarten assistants. Table 2 below is a breakdown of the enrollment in 1953 and 1954 in the Jewish schools in Buenos Aires.

TABLE 2

Enrollment in Jewish Schools, Buenos Aires, 1953, 1954

Type of School	1953	1954	Increase
Folk Schools			
Elementary schools	5,580	6,264	684
Kindergartens	2,648	3,097	449
Total	8,228	9,361	1,133
Middle Schools	r02	683	100
Teachers' Seminaries	583		111
College for Jewish Studies	54	65	35
School for Women Teachers		95	
Normal School		92	28
Sholom Aleichem School	78	101	23
Total	839	1,036	197
Special Courses			
Technical ORT Schools	56	30	-26
Central European Community		230	-56
Histadrut Ivrit		450	210
Sholom Aleichem Teachers Courses		42	3
Total	621	752	131
GRAND TOTAL		11,149	1,461

At the beginning of 1954 the Vaad Hachinuch Harashi conducted 67 schools and 22 kindergartens in the provinces, with more than 3,500 students and 130 teachers.

In educational work the Sephardim lagged far behind their Ashkenazic and Central European brethren. Their four schools were quite poor, the curriculum limited to the teaching of a few religious concepts, benedictions, laws, and very little Hebrew.

Religious Life

Religious institutions continued to be concentrated in the capital. There was only one rabbi in all of the provinces (Rabbi Jacob Lerner of Córdoba). In Buenos Aires three rabbis attended to the religious needs of the entire Jewish community: the rabbis were Amram Blum, Jacob S. Glücksberg, and Najman Zigman. Curiously enough, there was not a single kosher restaurant in all of Buenos Aires. There was only one Orthodox school, Heichal Hatorah, and two Talmudic academies. Some 250 children were students in the Heichal Hatorah, and some 50 young people attended the Talmudic academies.

Of the twenty-seven most important provincial communities, twenty-six reported having houses of worship; twenty-one had cemeteries; fourteen had ritual slaughterers; seven had cantors. However, in only one community was there a rabbi, and even there he was not attached to any congregation.

Zionist Activity

The Zionist movement was centralized in the Federacion Sionista Argentina, which included all Zionist shades of opinion in Argentina. Each member organization had its own office or building and educational institutions. Most of the fifty-three schools supervised by the Vaad Hachinuch were conducted under the aegis of various Zionist groups. The chief activity of the Zionist movement as a whole was conducting a fund-raising campaign for Israel that encompassed the entire community. Each of the Zionist organizations had its own youth movement, and maintained hachsharah training farms to prepare young people to emigrate to Israel. During the period under review, 120 emigrants to Israel were sent out by the Zionist organizations.

There were also several women's Zionist organizations, the largest of which were Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) and the Organization Sionista Femenina Argentina Pioneer Women.

The Sephardic community maintained a series of Zionist clubs, Zionist youth organizations, *chalutz* groups and other organizations, cooperating to a minor extent with the Ashkenazic Zionist groups.

Cultural Activity

Argentina was now the leading Yiddish publication center in the world. The Farlag fun Poylishen Yidntum, which concentrated on publishing literature dealing with the destruction of the European Jewish communities under Hitler and their renaissance, as well as belles lettres produced by Jewish refugees, published its hundredth book during the period under review. At the time of writing (July 1954) five new books were being prepared for publication by 1955.

It is noteworthy that very few of the authors of these hundred books

were Argentinians. More than thirty of them resided in the United States, some fifteen in Israel, and the rest lived in France, Canada, Australia, and other places. A new publishing house, YKUF, under the auspices of the Poale Zion-Hitachdut, had published three books; a second series of three books was in the course of publication.

The publishing house Yiddishes Buch, which was distinguished for its publication of serious literature, raised its output to ten books during the period under review. Again, the authors of these books resided in the United States,

Israel, Switzerland, and Australia,

Editorial Israel, the oldest Jewish publishing house to publish books in Spanish, was a nonprofit organization resembling the Jewish Publication Society of the United States. Two new publishing houses, Candelabro and Acervo Cultural, also published books of Jewish interest in Spanish. Among the books published in Spanish during the year under review were Psicoandlisis del Antisemitismo, a translation of the Studies in Prejudice published in English under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee, and Breviario del Odio, a translation of Leon Poliakov's French work Bréviaire de la haine.

During the year some twenty Jewish books, almanacs, and communal records were published under various auspices.

JOURNALISM

A number of Jewish periodicals were published in Argentina. In Yiddish there were two dailies, three weeklies, six bimonthlies, ten monthlies, and eighteen quarterlies and irregular publications. In Spanish there were one weekly, one bimonthly, twenty monthlies, and five publications which appeared at irregular intervals. In Hebrew there was one monthly; two other Hebrew magazines appeared irregularly. There were also one German weekly, one German monthly, and one Hungarian weekly.

Among the new periodicals in Spanish mention should be made of the quarterly Comentario, which began appearing in the fall of 1953, under the sponsorship of the Instituto Judío Argentino de Cultura e Informacion.

The institutional courses, lectures, Oneg Shabbat (Sabbath eve celebrations) and similar enterprises, had grown tremendously. Every week during the cultural season an average of more than fifty lectures were presented

under the auspices of the various societies.

Art exhibitions by Jewish artists had become a permanent fixture. The most important were those given by the Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO, at whose headquarters nine exhibitions by painters and sculptors took place; in addition, the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina had a permanent gallery, which presented new exhibits monthly of paintings, drawings, sculptures, and photographs.

VISITORS

In addition, mention should be made of the visits to Argentina during the period under review of some hundred emissaries and visitors from Jewish

organizations throughout the world. Emissaries from Israel arrived for the fund-raising campaign; artists, singers, and painters came from the United States and Israel. All these visits, generally in connection with public meetings, strongly influenced the social and cultural life of the Jewish community in Argentina.

BRAZIL

Two important national events took place in Brazil during the period under review (July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954): the celebrations which began on January 25, 1954, of the 400th anniversary of the founding of the city of São Paulo, and the intense Congressional election campaign. The local Jewish population did not participate as an organized group in the various celebrations; however, it did attempt to influence the elections. At the beginning of 1954 special election committees were organized to encourage the participation of Jewish citizens in the general elections, in order to secure the election of candidates within the various parties who would defend the interests of Brazilian Jews. The Confederation of Jewish Institutions of São Paulo even went so far as to organize a census of all São Paulo Jews, with the aim of discovering and registering eligible voters. However, the supreme Brazilian election tribunal interpreted the Brazilian constitution as enjoining naturalized citizens from holding office. Hence, it was doubtful whether the naturalized Jewish citizens would be able to hold office, even if elected.

Jewish Population

The Jewish population of Brazil consisted of approximately 70.000 individuals, out of a total population of 52,000.000, according to the Brazilian national census of 1950. The Brazilian census did not inquire into ethnic identification; the figures on Jews had been derived from the category on religious adherence. The Jewish community estimated that there were about 120,000 Jews in Brazil. The actual figure lay somewhere between these official statistics and the communal estimate.

IMMIGRATION

On August 7, 1953, Vicente Ráo, the newly appointed minister of foreign affairs, published a special order to the diplomatic representatives and consulates of Brazil not to refuse visas on the basis of race or color. The order also provided that prospective immigrants were not to be asked their ethnic origin. This order was based on Federal law No. 1,390 (July 1951), which punished with imprisonment and fine every act of discrimination because of race or color (see American Jewish Year Book, 1952 [Vol. 53], p. 257). This ministerial order was evoked by reports that an old secret circular from the ministry of foreign affairs to all its consulates, ordering

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them to deny visas to Jews, was still in force. The new ministerial order somewhat eased the difficulties of prospective Jewish immigrants, and there was some increase in Jewish immigration. But new difficulties arose. A few hundred immigrants, mostly Jews, who arrived in Brazil during the first few months of 1954 with valid entry visas were prevented by the immigration authorities from landing, on the ground that they were stateless and therefore lacked the necessary legal means of validating their entry visas. The immigrant groups appealed to the courts of Brazil for writs of habeas corpus. But the judges rendered varying decisions, so that some of the groups of stateless persons were successful in remaining in Brazil, while others were forbidden to do so. The question was still before the courts on appeal. Several of the leading newspapers of Brazil protested against the undefined situation of the stateless immigrants, who had received valid visas in the Brazilian consulates abroad, but found that these visas were not recognized by the immigration authorities in Brazil (e.g., O. Estado de S. Paulo, May 28, 1954, and August 4, 1954).

Jewish public opinion divided into two camps on the question of emigrants to Israel who came back from that country at their own expense or through the assistance of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS). Their number was estimated at more than 1,200 persons, or 500 families. The United Zionist Organization demanded 1 that this category of immigrants not receive public assistance to help them get settled in Brazil. There was also friction between the Confederation of Jewish Institutions of São Paulo, where almost all the immigrants from Israel arrived, and JDC and HIAS over the funds which each had agreed to give in order to support these immigrants. Later the influx of returnees halted. Most of the arrivals settled down, while there was a perceptible tendency among others to return to Israel, because they were disappointed in their hopes of immediately finding easy conditions

of life in Brazil.

Anti-Semitism

During the period under review a few anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist comments appeared in the more important publications, which were on the whole liberally disposed towards the Jews. In February 1954, anti-Semitic or anti-Semitically colored articles and commentaries appeared in various periodicals, including the liberal O Globo, Correio da Manhã, and Tribuna da Imprensa, in connection with a discussion of Jewish immigrant organizations. A sharp attack on the naturalization of Jews was published on July 1, 1953, in the widely read Rio de Janeiro evening paper, Diário da Noite. Naturalized Jews who were candidates for the Brazilian national Congress were attacked in letters from readers, sometimes supported by editorial comment, which maintained that the right to office ought to be confined to native-born Brazilians. These attacks were answered not only by those directly under attack, but also by respected Brazilian journalists. Reports from

¹ Yiddishe Presse, January 1, 1954, Rio de Janeiro.

Arab sources were published to the effect that the State of Israel was persecuting Christians. The respected periodical *Jornal do Brasil* on November 22, 1953, printed an article charging that Catholic churches had been dynamited in Israel. But on December 1, 1953, the same paper printed a denial by the diplomatic representative of Israel in Rio de Janeiro.

Community Organization and Activity

The Confederation of Jewish Societies of Brazil, which comprised more than one hundred communal institutions distributed throughout the country, was the central representative body of religious Jewry. Since its establishment in 1951, it had been making efforts to become the actual representative body of Brazilian Jewry, particularly in external affairs. At a session held in October 1953, the executive committee of the Confederation decided to ask the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (CJMCAG) for \$2,750,000 for the cultural and material rehabilitation of Jewish victims of Nazism residing in Brazil. The CJMCAG had requested that Brazilian Jewry present its claims on behalf of Nazi victims resident in Brazil, in accordance with the agreement reached in Luxembourg on the indemnification of Nazi victims outside of Israel. The Confederation published a notice in the Brazilian Jewish press to all Nazi victims in Brazil to present their claims with the proper documentation.

The Confederation busied itself mostly with external affairs. The direction of the cultural, religious, and ideological aspects of Jewish internal communal life remained in the hands of the Confederations of Jewish Insti-

tutions in the larger cities of Brazil.

Jewish Education

In the capital of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, there were in 1954 ten Jewish institutions of learning, attended by more than 1,500 students. The educational system was under the supervision of the education department of the United Zionist Organization of Rio de Janeiro.

In São Paulo, the second most important city in Brazil, and its suburbs, there were as of 1954 thirteen Jewish institutions of learning attended by 1,433 students, of whom 342 attended the kindergartens, 1,000 the elementary classes, and 91 the middle-school classes. All thirteen of the institutions of learning were controlled and financially supported by the Vaad Hachinuch, which functioned under the supervision of the Confederation of Jewish Institutions of São Paulo.

These school systems had for the past few years been under the control of educators sent from the State of Israel by the Jewish Agency, and consequently Zionist in approach. Both in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo the non-Zionist elements had separate schools. There were also a small number of schools in the larger towns of Brazil. Many Jewish schools were located in their own buildings. The general subjects were taught in Portuguese and

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followed the official curriculum of Brazilian schools: two or three hours a day were devoted to Yiddish and Hebrew studies. All of the Jewish schools had kindergartens and elementary schools. Two of the institutions in Rio de Janeiro and two in São Paulo had middle schools as well. Since 1945 the ORT technical school had been functioning in Rio de Janeiro, in a building of its own, with sixty-six students; in São Paulo one of the thirteen schools was a Teachers' Seminary attended by fifty students.

Zionist and Pro-Israel Activities

Almost the entire educational system, and the largest part of the Jewish communal and cultural work in Brazil, was closely tied with Zionism and the State of Israel. During the period under review there were national congresses of the organizations of the Poale Zion-Hitachdut (June 1953), the Revisionists-Betar (July 1953), and the Hashomer Hatzair (October 1953). In October 1953, a national conference on national-religious education took place under the auspices of the Department of Religious Education of the Jewish Agency, and with the participation of the rabbis of São Paulo and Rio.

Of the 2,000 young people who were members of the various Zionist youth organizations, several groups emigrated to Israel during the period under review, each group consisting of some dozen young people. Some hun-

dred young people emigrated in all.

Zionist activities in Brazil were strongly stimulated by shelichim (emissaries) from Israel, as well as by visits of deputies from the Israel Knesset and occasional government ministers. Important visitors who came to Brazil from Israel during the period under review included: Minister of Posts Joseph Burg (March 1953), Deputy Chaim Landau (July 1953), Deputy Jacob Chasan (May 1954), Minister of Communications Joseph Serlin (May 1954), and Mrs. Vera Weizmann (June 1954).

An Israel-Brazilian cultural institute was inaugurated in the palace of the Brazilian Foreign Minister Vicente Ráo, under his chairmanship, on April 28, 1954. The institute began its activities by establishing scholarships for Brazilian students who wished to study in the State of Israel; the institute aimed to popularize the literatures of both countries through trans-

lation.

Cultural Life

During the period under review there were no important developments in the cultural life of Brazilian Jewry. Isolated cultural activities were improvised for various occasions. The most popular such undertakings were those which were arranged in connection with the visits of such foreign figures as Jacob Shatzky and the poet Abraham Sutzkever in August 1953.

The Yiddish-Portuguese weekly Jornal Israelita celebrated its tenth anniversary; celebrations began in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Yiddishe Presse, the weekly founded by the late Aron Bergman and presently

edited by David Markus.

The Confederation of Jewish Institutions in Rio de Janeiro sponsored a free course in Jewish scholarship for the third successive year.

Personalia

Important Jewish individuals who contributed to Brazilian life during the period under review were: Deputy Horacio Lafer, former foreign minister, and an important industrialist; Col. Arthur Levy, president of Petrobras; Levi Neves, president of the city Board of Aldermen of Rio de Janeiro; and Wolf Klabin, leading industrialist.

ELIAS LIPINER

URUGUAY

The Republic of Uruguay was still the strongest democratic bastion on the South American continent. A constitutional amendment adopted in 1952 had abolished the office of president and substituted a nine-member national governmental council. This governmental council was composed of six members of the Colorado (Liberal) Party, which had been in power for more than fifty years, and three members from the Blanco (Conservative) Party, which had been the constant contender for power. The nine members selected a chairman from their own number, and constituted the cabinet. The laws of Uruguay did not discriminate against any group because of race or religion, nor did they distinguish between native and naturalized citizens.

Jewish Population

The Jewish population of Uruguay was estimated at approximately 40,000. Some 28,000 were Yiddish-speaking Jews whose countries of origin were in Eastern Europe, some 6,000 were German-speaking Jews from Central Europe,

and 6,000 were Sephardic Jews from the Mediterranean countries.

The Jewish population was growing by natural increase. There was a mortality of one-half per cent and a birth rate of approximately one per cent. Only 140 Jews had immigrated into Uruguay during the period 1952–54. More than half of these immigrants originally came to Uruguay as tourists, and brought in some capital. Some 95 per cent of the Jewish population lived in Montevideo, a city whose total population was 1,200,000. The period 1952–54 saw a marked movement of Jews from the provinces to the capital.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The period 1952–54 had been a period of stagnation in the economic life of the Jewish population of Uruguay. This change in the economic situation was partly a consequence of a general economic contraction in Uruguay. The expansion of the war and postwar years had halted, and there was a surplus of goods, a shortage of foreign exchange, and a rise in the cost of living.

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The Jews of Uruguay were particularly active in such industrial and commercial fields as furniture, furs, men's and women's clothing, oil, and factoring. Since 1952 these industries had grown considerably. Approximately 10 per cent of the Jewish industries in Uruguay had been developed during 1952–54.

Uruguayan Jewry had a significant professional element serving non-Jews as well as Jews. There were about 200 Jewish professionals (physicians, law-yers, notaries, engineers, chemists, pharmacists, teachers, and professors). Some of them occupied responsible positions in the government and high communal offices.

Civic Status

The Jews of Uruguay were accorded the same civic duties and rights as other residents. Officially there was no discrimination, and there had been no anti-Semitic outbreaks. Nevertheless, the autonomous local administration of the city of Canalanes, in a district where the Jewish cemeteries of Uruguay were located, had passed a law under which Jews had to pay for the privilege of burying their dead in their own private cemeteries at the rate of 100 pesos per body, approximately fifty times more than the fee for burying non-Jewish bodies.¹

Communal Organization

Communally the Uruguayan Jews were organized in three *kehillot*. The Ashkenazic sector included about 6,000 families, and there were approximately 2,500 German-speaking Jewish families and about 2,000 Sephardic families. All three *kehillot* were affiliated with the Jewish Central Committee, which represented them in external matters. The Central Committee had a subcommittee which devoted itself to defense against anti-Semitism, disseminating information about Jews, and safeguarding Jewish rights. It served as the link between Uruguayan Jewry and other Jewish communities.

Religious Life

The largest kehillah in Uruguay was the Ashkenazic, which was organized along both national and religious lines. Five Orthodox rabbis served the Ashkenazic group. With the aid of their respective religious councils they supervised every aspect of local religious life: kashruth, marriage, circumcision, divorce, burial, etc.

In addition, the German-speaking *kehillah* had its own rabbi and the Sephardic *kehillah* its own *haham*. The petty ambitions of the rabbis and the rivalry among them made it impossible to select a chief rabbi who would bridge the division in the religious life of Uruguayan Jewry.

¹On November 16, 1954, the district of Canalanes published a decree completing revoking the decree described above, which had originally been published on January 28, 1954.

Iewish Education

The Ashkenazic kehillah was responsible for the Jewish education of youth and children of its membership. Under its auspices a Vaad Hachinuch supervised nine schools in Montevideo and three in the provinces. These schools were attended by 1,300 children, divided into four grades. Almost every school had a kindergarten. Forty teachers and one school inspector constituted the professional staff. The school budget was 140,000 pesos (\$73,600) per year, of which 50,000 pesos (\$26,300) was contributed by the kehillah; the fund-raising campaign for Israel gave the Vaad Hachinuch approximately 40,000 pesos (\$21,000), and tuition fees and community donations covered the balance. All the schools were supplementary schools, giving two and a half hours of instruction daily for ten months a year. Yiddish, Hebrew, tradition, history, and literature were the subjects of instruction. There were three kinds of schools: Orthodox, national-religious, and national-secular. During the 1953–54 school year one school began to conduct one class on a full-time basis. At the time of writing (July 1, 1954), there were fifteen students in this class.

In addition, the German-speaking community maintained a one-day-a-week religious school, and the Sephardim one school where Hebrew was taught for two hours daily.

For older children there were evening courses in Hebrew and literature. The Zionists conducted classes for their *hachsharah* training farms for their youth organizations, and classes for adults.

Zionist Organization and Activities

The Zionist activity of Uruguayan Jewry was organized by a central Zionist council representing all the Zionist parties: General Zionist, Labor Zionist, Mapai, Revisionist, Orthodox Mizrachi, and leftwing Mapam. The Central Council was the only representative of the Jewish Agency in Uruguay. The council developed a lively program of Zionist propaganda and a vigorous cultural activity, in addition to its involvement in Jewish education. The council set up an annual United Israel fund-raising Campaign.

The United Israel Campaign represented the physical link between Uruguayan Jewry and the State of Israel. The contribution of Uruguayan Jewry to the State of Israel was 750,000 pesos (\$395,000) in 1951; 850,000 pesos (\$447,000) in 1952; and 800,000 pesos (\$421,000) in 1953. In 1954 it was hoped to collect 1,000,000 pesos (about \$526,000). During 1953 Uruguayan Jews bought Israel bonds to the amount of 300,000 pesos (\$158,000).

The Federation of Zionist Youth included Hanoar Hazioni, Hatechiah, Maccabi-Hakoah, Hashomer Hatzair, Bnei Akiva, Betar, and Dror. The organization maintained three hachsharah farms where young chalutzim who wished to settle on Israel collective farms were trained. During 1952–54 fifty-six young people emigrated to Israel to settle there permanently.

On August 14, 1954, the Maccabi Hakoah sport organization celebrated

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the laying of the cornerstone for its own sports place. The Montevideo municipality donated the field. The Zionist women had their own organizations, the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) and Pioneer Women, which were very active. WIZO had some 4,000 members, and had collected 100,000 pesos (\$50,000) for Israel during 1953 to support the educational institution in that country which WIZO sponsored (Beth Uruguay). The Pioneer Women had a membership of 2,500.

ISRAEL REPRESENTATION

Arieh Kubovy was the official representative of the State of Israel in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and Paraguay, with his permanent residence in Argentina. The Israel Legation in Uruguay was headed by the Israeli diplomat Levi Aryeh Alon. Alon had succeeded in establishing close ties of friendship between his country and Uruguay.

Social Welfare

In June 1953 the Ashkenazic kehillah in Montevideo opened a modern medical cooperative institute to serve indigent patients. The medical institute had 3,000 members. The Ashkenazic kehillah had been rendering large financial aid to the medical institute, which also offered medical aid to members of the kehillah.

In addition, there were a number of traditional philanthropic agencies in the metropolitan places of Uruguay: a ladies aid society, dowry society, old age home, orphanage, and a relief fund.

Cultural Activity

Uruguayan Jewry had a significant cultural life. The older generation sustained Yiddish and Hebrew cultural activities. Beside two daily newspapers in Yiddish which were imported from nearby Argentina, there were two dailies one weekly, and a number of bulletins. During 1953–54 two Spanish-language publications to serve the younger people made their appearance: Gazetta Israelita and Semana Hebrea. These publications appeared every Friday and reflected the whole cultural life of the Uruguayan Jews, carrying news of Israel and Uruguayan and Jewish youth activities. Some 10,000 copies of each paper were circulated.

There were several permanent Jewish cultural organizations in Uruguay: the cultural section of the *kehillah*, YIVO, the Joseph Mendelsohn Culture League, Kadimah, and the cultural department of the Central Zionist Council. All these organizations maintained public libraries, of which YIVO's had

the largest readership.

From time to time visitors from Israel, the United States, and Argentina came to Uruguay to address conferences and give readings on Jewish themes.

In February 1953 a new society called Hebraica was established in Montevideo. This society had far-ranging ambitions for the development of Jewish culture among its members. It had already accumulated a capital of several hundred thousand pesos and had bought a large site on one of the main streets of Montevideo on which to build a large cultural center for Jewish families who wanted to spend their free time in a Jewish cultural mileu. Beside the cultural activities of these organizations, the Zionist Council Central Committee and the Ashkenazic kehillah sponsored national and cultural activities. A large number of persons attended these meetings.

There were also radio cultural programs in Montevideo. A Jewish radio troupe devoted a popular weekly program to Jewish scholars, artists, writers, and authors. A daily Jewish radio hour brought its listeners Jewish songs and

folklore, and was well received.

LEON HALPERN

DIRECTORIES LISTS NECROLOGY



List of Abbreviations

acadacademy	govgovernor, governing
actactive	govtgovernment
ADLAnti-Defamation League	gorta a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a
adminadministrative, administration	HebHebrew
advadvisory	HIASHebrew Sheltering and Immigrant
affilaffiliated	Aid Society
agragriculture	histhistorical, history
agricagriculturist, agricultural	honhonorary
AmAmerica, American	hosphospital
ambambassador	HUCHebrew Union College
apptdappointed	HungHungarian
assocassociate, association	
asstassistant	inclincluding
attyattorney	indindependent
auauthor	instinstitute
	instninstitution
bborn	instrinstructor
bdboard	internatinternational
BibBible	ItalItalian
bibliog bibliography, bibliographer	TD4
bibliogbibliography, bibliographer BklynBrooklyn BurBureau	JDAJoint Defense Appeal
BurBureau	JDCAmerican Jewish Joint Distribution
CanCanada	Committee
CCARCentral Conference of American	JNFJewish National Fund
Rabbis	JTSJewish Theological Seminary of
chmnchairman	America
CIFWF Council of Jewish Federations and	jurispjurisprudence JWBNational Jewish Welfare Board JWVJewish War Veterans of America
CJFWFCouncil of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds	TWV Tewish War Veterans of America
collcollector, collective, college	langlanguage
collcollector, collective, college ColoColorado	leglegal, legislation
comcommittee	litliterature, literary
commcommission	Activities and activities activities and activities activities activities and activities activities activities activities and activities activi
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rabb......rabbinate, rabbinical recd.....received reorg....reorganize ret.....retired Rum.....Rumania Russ.....Russian

sch.....school sci.....scientific sec.....secretary sect.....section sem....seminary

sec. society
Sp. Spanish
spec. special, specialist
subj. subject
supt. superintendent

tchr....teacher
theol...theological
tr...translator, translate trav.... travel, traveler

treas..... treasurer

UAHC..... Union of American Hebrew Con-

gregations
UIA United Israel Appeal
UJA United Jewish Appeal
UN United Nations

UN. United Nations
univ. university
UNRRA. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UPA. United Palestine Appeal
USO. United Service Organizations, Inc.

vol.....volume v.p....vice president

west......western
WPA.....Works Progress Administration

ZOA.....Zionist Organization of America

National Jewish Organizations¹

UNITED STATES

COMMUNITY RELATIONS, POLITICAL

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, INC. (1943). 201 E. 57 St., N. Y. C., 22. Pres. Lessing J. Rosenwald; Exec. Dir. Elmer Berger. Seeks to advance the universal principles of a Judaism free of nationalism, and the national, civic, cultural, and social integration of Americans of Lewish faith. Council News. of Jewish faith. Council News.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (1906). 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Irving M. Engel; Exec. V. P. John Slawson. Seeks to prevent infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world and to secure equality of economic, social, and educational opportunity through education and civic action. Seeks to broaden understanding of the basic nature of prejudice and to improve techniques for combating it. Promotes a philosophy of Jewish integration by projecting a balanced view with respect to full participation in American life and retention of Jewish identity. AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK; Commentary; Committee Reporter; Report of Annual Meeting; "This Is Our Home."

Ambrican Jewish Congress (1917; reorg. 1922, 1938). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N. Y. C., 28. Pres. Israel Goldstein; Exec. Dir. David Petegorsky. Seeks to protect the rights of Jews in all lands; to strengthen the bonds between American Jewry and Israel; to proport the december of the strength of the mote the democratic organization of Jewish communal life in the United States; to foster the affirmation of Jewish religious, cultural, and historic identity, and to contribute to the preservation and extension of the democratic way of life. Balance Sheet on Group Relations (co. ed. Nat. Assoc. for Advancement of Colored Peoples); Congress Record; Congress Weekly; Judaism; Program Notes and Leads.

WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1933).
Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84
St., N. Y. C., 28. Pres. Justine Wise
Polier; Dir. Mrs. Naomi Levine. Program Notes and Leads; World Tourists' Handbook.

* AMERICAN JEWISH LEAGUE AGAINST COMMUNISM, INC. (1948). 220 W. 42

St., N. Y. C., 18.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH (1913). 212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10. Nat. Chm. Henry E. Schultz; Nat. Dir. Benjamin R. Epstein. Seeks to eliminate defamation of Jews, counteract un-American and anti-democratic propaganda, and promote better group relations. ADL Bulletin; ADL Christian Friends' Bulletin; Facts: "Freedom Pamphlets."

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RE-LATIONS WORKERS (1950). 9 East 38 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. S. Andhil Fineberg; Sec. Walter A. Lurie. Aims to encourage cooperation between Jewish community relations workers and communal workers; to encourage among Jewish community relations workers the fullest pos-sible understanding of Jewish life and values.

CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL OF JEWISH OR-GANIZATIONS (1946), 61 Broadway, N. Y. C., 6. Co-chmn. Irving M. Engel (American Jewish Committee), Ewen E. (American Jewish Committee), Ewen 2.

S. Montagu (Anglo-Jewish Association),
René Cassin (Alliance Israélite Universelle); V. Chmn. Marcel Franco; Sec.-Gen.
Moses Moskowitz. Cooperates and consults
with, advises and renders assistance to, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on all problems relating to human rights and economic, social, cultural, educational, and related matters pertaining to Jews. Occasional monographs.

COORDINATING BOARD OF JEWISH ORGAN-IZATIONS (1947). 1003 K St., N.W., Washington 1, D. C. Co-chmn. Philip M.

¹ Includes national Jewish organizations in existence for at least one year prior to June 30, 1954, based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors. Inclusion in this list does not necessarily imply approval of the organizations by the publishers, nor can they assume responsibility for the accuracy of the data. An *) indicates that no reply was received and that the information, which includes title of organization, year of founding, and address, is reprinted from the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 1954 (Volume 55).

Klutznick (B'nai B'rith), Barnett Janner (Board of Deputies of British Jews), Bernard Arthur Ettlinger (South African Jewish Board of Deputies); Secs. Gen. Maurice Bisgyer (U.S.), A. G. Brotman (U.K.), J. M. Rich (S.A.). As an organization in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, represents the three constituents (B'nai B'rith, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies) in the appropriate United Nations bodies with respect to advancing and protecting the status, rights, and interests of Jews as well as related matters bearing upon the human rights of all peoples.

JEWISH LABOR BUND (1897). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Sec. Emanuel Nowogrudsky, Emanuel Scherer. Strives to enhance and develop Jewish nationhood without Jewish statehood; believes in furthering secular Yiddish culture and the Yiddish language.

Unser Tsait; Bund Bulletin.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (1933). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Nat. Chmn. Adolph Held; Exec. Sec., Jacob Pat. Aids Jewish and non-Jewish labor institutions overseas; aids victims of oppression and persecution; seeks to combat anti-Semitism and racial and religious intolerance abroad and in the U.S. in cooperation with organized labor and other groups. Facts and Opinions; Labor Reports; Jewish Labor Outlook.

, WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1947). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Nat. Chmn. Eleanor Schachner; Exec. Sec. Betty Kaye. Supports the general activities of the Jewish Labor Committee; maintains child welfare and adoption program in Europe and Israel. Newsletter.

, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE DIVISION OF (1940). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. S. Silverberg; Exec. Sec. Zelman J. Lichtenstein. Promotes aims of and raises funds for the Jewish Labor Committee among the Workmen's Circle branches. Bulletin.

JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND OF AMERICA (1921). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 2. Chmn. Exec. Com. Max Gaft; Nat. Sec. I. Levin-Shatzkes. Promotes and propagandizes the ideals of social democracy among the Jewish working people. Der Wecker.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INC. (1896). 1710 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. Nat. Comdr. Harry T. Madison; Exec. Dir. Ben Kaufman. Patriotic; public relations; fraternal; educational. Jewish Veteran.

, NATIONAL LADIES AUXILIARY (1928). 50 W. 77 St., N. Y. C. 24. JOINT DEFENSE APPEAL OF THE AMERI-

JOINT DEFENSE APPEAL OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AND ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
(1941). 220 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36.
Exec. Dir. Victor Larner. Raises funds for
the activities of the constituent organizations. Alert; National Council Briefs; New
York Campaign Briefs.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL (1944). 9 E. 38 St., N. Y. C., 16. Chmn. Bernard H. Trager; Exec. Dir. Isaiah M. Minkoff. Aims: To study, analyze and evaluate the policies and activities of the national and local agencies; to ascertain the problem areas from time to time; to ascertain the areas of activities of these organizations and to conduct a continuous inventory of their projects; to serve as a coordinating and clearance agency for projects and policies, to eliminate duplication and conflict of activities, and to recommend further projects to member agencies; to seek agreement on and formulate policies. Legislative Information Bulletin.

WORLD COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF BUNDIST AND AFFILIATED JEWISH SO-CIALISTS, AMERICAN OFFICE (1897). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Sec. Emanuel Nowogrudsky, Emanuel Scherer. Coordinates activities of the Bund organizations throughout the world and represents them in the Socialist International. Unser Tsait (U.S.); Unser Stimme (France); Faroys (Mexico); Unser Gedank (Argentina, Australia); Lebens Fragn (Isracl).

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS (1936; org. in U.S. 1939). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N. Y. C., 28. Pres. Nahum Goldmann; Admin. Dir. Abraham S. Hyman. Seeks to secure and safeguard the rights, status and interests of Jews and Jewish communities throughout the world; represents its affiliated organizations before the United Nations, governmental, inter-governmental, and other international authorities on matters which are of con-cern to the Jewish people as a whole; promotes Jewish cultural activity and represents Jewish cultural interests before UNESCO; organizes Jewish communal life in countries of recent settlement; prepares and publishes surveys on contemporary Jewish problems. Congress Digest; Cur-rent Events in Jewish Life; Folk un Velt; Information Series; Information Sheets; Institute of Jewish Affairs Reports; Jewish Cultural Affairs; Periodical Reports.

CULTURAL

ALEXANDER KOHUT MEMORIAL FOUNDA-TION (1915). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Harry A. Wolfson; Sec. Shalom Spiegel. Publishes works mainly in the fields of Talmudic lore, lexicography, and

archeology.

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RE-SEARCH, INC. (1920). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Louis Finkelstein; Sec. A. S. Halkin. Encourages research by aiding scholars in need and by giving grants for the publication of scholarly works. Proceedings.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH JEW-ISH NEWSPAPERS (1943). P.O. Box 2973, Miami, Fla. Pres. Fred K. Shocher; Rec. Sec. Adolph Rosenberg. Seeks to raise and maintain the standards of professional Jewish journalism and to create instru-ments of information for American Jewry; maintains news service. American Jewish

AMERICAN BIBLICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA SO-CIETY, INC. TORAH SHELEMAH (1939). 114 Liberty St., N. Y. C., 6. Pres. Louis Goldstein; Sec. William Mazer. Aims to spread knowledge of the Bible through publication of the Talmudic-Midrashic

Biblical Encyclopedia.

American Jewish Historical Society (1892). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Salo W. Baron; Librarian, Ed. Isidore S. Meyer. Collects and publishes material on the history of the Jews in America. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society; Studies in American Jewish History; American Jewish Community History Series.

AMERICAN JEWISH INSTITUTE, INC. (1947). 103 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Bernard G. Richards; Hon. Sec. Herman W. Bernstein. Seeks the advancement of Jewish knowledge and culture through the dissemination of data on Jews and Judaism, publication of essential literature, speakers and library services, etc. Current

Jewish Thought.

, JEWISH INFORMATION BUREAU (1932). 103 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Chmn. Bernard G. Richards; Hon. Sec. Herman W. Bernstein. Serves as clearing house of information on Jewish subjects.

The Index.

AMBRICAN JEWISH TERCENTENARY COM-MITTEE (1952). 3 E. 65 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. Ralph E. Samuel; Exec. Dir. David Bernstein. Seeks to organize cele-brations in 1954-55 of the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United

States. Monthly Newsletter "300."

AMERICAN MEMORIAL TO SIX MILLION
JEWS OF EUROPE, INC. (1947). 165 W.
46 St., N. Y. C., 36. Chmn. Exec. Com.
William F. Rosenblum; Exec. V. P., A. R. Lerner. Seeks to erect a memorial in New York City to six million Jews slain by the Nazis and to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto battle.

YIDDISH CULTURE ORGANIZA-CENTRAL TION (CYCO), INC. (1938). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. N. Chanin; Exec. Sec. Chaim Pupko. Seeks to stimulate, promote, and develop Jewish cultural

life. Zukunft.

COL. DAVID MARCUS MEMORIAL FOUNDA-TION, INC. (1948). 19 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Arthur H. Schwartz; Sec. Mrs. Emma Marcus. Dignifies and properly recognizes only worthwhile projects formed in memory of David Marcus.

CONFERENCE OF JEWISH RELATIONS, INC. (1935). 1841 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Salo W. Baron; Sec. Bernard H. Goldstein. Engages in and supervises scientific studies and factual research with respect to sociological problems involving contemporary Jewish life. Jewish Social Studies.

CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE, INC. (1948). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. World Council S. Niger; Exec. Sec. H. B. Bass. Seeks to centralize and promote Jewish culture and cultural activities throughout the world and to unify fund raising for these activities. Bletter far Yiddisher Dertsiung; Bulletin fun Kultur Kongres; Zukunft.

* DAVID IGNATOFF LITERATURE FOUNDA-TION, INC. (1946). c/o Congress for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C.,

19.

HISTADRUTH IVRITH OF AMERICA (1916; re-org. 1922). 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Samuel M. Blumenfield, Samuel K. Mirsky, Morris B. Newman; Exec. Sec. Zahava D. Shen. Seeks to promote Hebrew language and literature in the United States and to strengthen the cultural relations between the United States and Israel. Hadoar; Hadoar Lanoar; Ma-bua; Musaf Lakore Hatzair; Shvilei Hachinuch; Ogen publications.

, HEBREW ARTS FOUNDATION (1939), 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 36. Chmn. Wolfe Kelman; Exec. Sec. Miss Tiby Fradin. Spreads knowledge and seeks to gain appreciation of the Hebrew language and Hebrew arts in the American

Jewish community.

JEWISH ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, INC. (1927). 46 W. 83 St., N. Y. C., 24. Pres. Leo Jung; Sec. Abraham Burstein. Honors Jews distinguished in the arts and professions; encourages and publishes Jewish achievement in scholarship and the arts. Bulletin.

JEWISH BOOK COUNCIL OF AMERICA (1940) (sponsored by National Jewish Welfare Board). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Ely E. Pilchik; Exec. Sec. Philip Goodman. Seeks to spread knowledge of Jewish books. In Jewish Bookland; Jewish Book Annual.

JEWISH LIBRARIANS ASSOCIATION (1946). 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 23. Pres. I. Edward Kiev; Corr. Sec. Harry J. Alderman. Advances the interests of Jewish libraries and the professional status of Jewish librarians; promotes publications of Jewish bibliographical interest.

 JEWISH LITHUANIAN CULTURAL SOCIETY "LITE," INC. (1945). 485 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn 26, N. Y.
 JEWISH MUSEUM (1947) (under the aus-

JEWISH MUSEUM (1947) (under the auspices of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America), 1109 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 28. Curator and director of exhibits Stephen S. Kayser. Displays Jewish art treasures and temporary exhibits of Jewish artists; conducts educational activities in connection with exhibits.

JEWISH MUSIC FORUM—SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JEWISH MUSICAL CULTURE (1939). 39-40 Greenpoint Ave., Long Island City 4, N. Y. Pres. Reuven Kosakoff; Sec. Leah M. Jaffa. Presents, evaluates, promotes, and advances Jewish music; gives young composers and performers the opportunity of being heard.

JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMBRICA (1888). 222 N. 15 St., Philadelphia 2, Pa. Pres. Edwin Wolf; Exec. Sec. Lesser Zussman. Publishes and disseminates books of Jewish interest on history, religion, and literature for the purpose of preserving the Jewish heritage and culture. AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK; Annual Catalogue; JPS Bookmark.

LOUIS LAMED LITERARY FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HEBREW AND YIDDISH LITERATURE (1939). 6405 Michigan Ave., Detroit 10, Mich. Fdr. Louis LaMed; Pres. S. Niger (Charney). Seeks to bring about cooperation between Yiddish and Hebrew writers and readers.

MENORAH ASSOCIATION, INC. (1929). 20
E. 69 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chanc. Henry Hurwitz; Sec. Harry Starr. Seeks to advance Jewish culture and ideals. Menorah lournal.

NATIONAL HAYM SALOMON MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, INC. (1950). 140 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 17. Exec. Dir. Gabriel A. Wechsler. Carries out provisions of Joint Resolution of 74th Congress authorizing construction of memorial in Washington, D. C., to Haym Salomon; educates public to contributions of American Jewry.

NATIONAL JEWISH MUSIC COUNCIL (1944) (sponsored by National Jewish Welfare Board). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Chmn. Emanuel Green; Exec. Sec. Leah M. Jaffa. Promotes Jewish music activities nationally and encourages participation on a community basis. Jewish Music Notes.

OFFICE FOR JEWISH POPULATION RESEARCH (1949). 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Salo W. Baron; Sec.-Treas. Morris Fine. Aims to gather population and other statistical data on the Jews of U.S.; to provide such data to Jewish agencies and the general public and to stimulate national interest in Jewish pop-

ulation research through publications and other media.

UNITED FUND FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1950). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. B. Tabachinsky; Exec. Sec. H. Bass. Centralizes fund raising of the constituent organizations (Congress for Jewish Culture, Yiddish Encyclopedia, CYCO, and Zukunít), which are devoted mainly to the promotion of Yiddish culture, education, and literature.

WORLD BUREAU FOR JEWISH EDUCATION OF THE CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1948). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 21. Secretariat H. B. Bass and L. Spizman. Promotes and coordinates the work of the Yiddish and Hebrew-Yiddish schools in the United States and abroad. Bletter far Yiddisher Dertsiung; Bulletin fun Veltsenter far der Yiddisher Shul.

YIDDISH SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE — YIVO (1925). 535 W. 123 St., N. Y. C., 27. Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Louis H. Sobel; Exec. Sec. Mark Uveeler. Engages in Jewish social research; collects and preserves documentary and archival material pertaining to Jewish life, and publishes the results of its finding in books and periodicals. Yedies fun YIVO—News of the YIVO; Yidishe Shprakh; YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science: YIVO Bleter.

Yeasthe Shprakh, YIVO Annua of Jeusin Social Science; YIVO Bleter.

YIDDISHER KULTUR FARBAND — YKUF (1937). 189 Second Ave., N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Kalman Marmor; Gen. Sec. Zion Weinper. Advances Jewish culture through publishing books of contemporary and classical Jewish writers, conducting cultural forums, and exhibiting works of contemporary Jewish artists. Yiddishe Kultur.

OVERSEAS AID

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR RELIEF OF YEMENITE JEWS (1939). 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10. Chmn. Jerry Benward; Sec. Celia Gluska. Provides funds for health services, educational and cultural activities of Yemenite Jews in Israel.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF OSE. INC. (1940). 24 W. 40 St., N. Y. C., 18. Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Israel S. Wechsler; Exec. Dir. Leon Wulman. Aims to improve the health of the Jewish people by means of health education and popularization of hygiene; and by implementation of medical and public health programs among Jews, with particular emphasis on children, youth, and migrants. American OSE Review; OSE News.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ALLIANCE IS-RAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE, INC. (1946). 61 Broadway, N. Y. C., 6. Pres. Marcel Franco; Exec. Dir. Saadiah Cherniak. Serves as liaison between Jews in America and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Alliance Review; Revista de la Alliance. AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTER, INC.-JDC (1914). 270 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Chmn. Ed-ward M. M. Warburg; Exec. Vice-Chmn. and Sec. Moses A. Leavitt. Organizes and administers programs and distributes funds for relief and rehabilitation in behalf of Jews overseas. JDC Annual Report; JDC Digest.

AMERICAN ORT FEDERATION, INC.-ORGANIZATION FOR REHABILITATION THROUGH TRAINING (1924). 212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10. Pres. William Haber; Exec. Sec. Paul Bernick. Trains Jewish men and women in the technical trades and agriculture; organizes and maintains vocational training schools throughout the

world. ORT Bulletin.

AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN FRIENDS OF ORT (1941). 318 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 19. Pres. A. C. Litton. Promotes the ORT idea among Americans of European extraction; supports the ORT Trade School.

AMERICAN LABOR ORT (1937). 212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10. Chmn. Adolph Held; Exec. Sec. Samuel Milman. Promotes ORT idea among labor unions, AFL, CIO, and the Workmen's Circle.

NATIONAL ORT LEAGUE (1941).
212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10. Chmn. Herman Hoffman; Exec. Dir. Chaim Weintraub. Promotes ORT idea among Jewish fraternal landsmannschaften, national and local organizations, congregations; helps to equip ORT installations and Jewish artisans abroad, especially in Israel.

(1922). 212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Ludwig Karber. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Ludwig Kaphan; Exec. Dir. Nathan Gould. Promotes and sup-

ports ORT program. Highlights; Women's American ORT News.

, YOUNG MEN'S AND WOMEN'S ORT (1937). 212 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10. Pres. Nathaniel Roven; Treas. Frieda Sandler. Promotes the work of ORT and disseminates knowledge of its program.

A.R.I.F.—Association Pour LA RECON-STRUCTION DES INSTITUTIONS ET OEUV-RES ISRAÉLITES EN FRANCE (1943). 119 E. 95 St., N. Y. C., 28. Pres. René B. Sacerdote; Sec. Simon Langer. Helps Jewish social, religious, and cultural insti-

tutions in France.

ONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY, INC. (1951). 270 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 16. CONFERENCE ON Pres. Nahum Goldmann; Sec. Saul Kagan. Receives funds from the Government of the German Federal Republic under the terms of the agreement between the Conference and the Federal Republic, and utilizes these funds for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of needy victims of Nazi persecution residing outside of Israel on the basis of urgency of need.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC SETTLEMENT AS-SOCIATION, INC. (1939). 270 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Maurice B. Hexter; Sec.-Treas. Bernhard Kahn. Aids settlement of Jewish and non-Jewish refugees.

FREELAND LEAGUE (1937; in U.S. 1941). 310 W. 86 St., N. Y. C., 24. Gen. Sec. I. N. Steinberg. Plans large-scale colonization in some unoccupied territory for those who seek a home and cannot or will not go to Israel. Freeland; Oifn Shvel.

HIAS-HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMI-GRANT AID SOCIETY (1884). See UNITED

HIAS SERVICE.

JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, INC. (1947). 1841 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Salo W. Baron; Sec. Hannah Arendt. Takes title to heirless and unidentifiable Jewish cultural properties in Germany, and distributes them to Jewish institutions

throughout the world.

JEWISH RESTITUTION SUCCESSOR ORGANI-ZATION (1947). 270 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Monroe Goldwater; Exec. Sec. Saul Kagan. Acts to discover, claim, receive, and assist in the recovery of Jewish heirless or unclaimed property; to utilize such assets or to provide for their utilization for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of surviving victims of Nazi persecution.

TOMCHE TORAH SOCIETY, INC. (1927). 303 W. 91 St., N. Y. C., 24. Pres. Isi-dore Grossman; Exec. Sec. A. Feldman. Supports religious high schools in Israel.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC. (1939). 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 36. Gen. Chmn. Edward M. M. Warburg; Exec. V. Chmn. Joseph J. Schwartz. National fund-raising instrument for American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, United Israel Appeal, United Service for New Americans, and New York Association for New Americans. Report to Members.

VAAD HATZALA REHABILITATION COM-MITTEE, INC. (1939). 132 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Eliezer Silver; Exec. Sec, Jacob Karlinsky. Sends food parcels scrip to Israel; supplies religious books to yeshivot, kibbutzim, and rabbis

in Israel and Morocco.

RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL

AGUDAS ISRAEL WORLD ORGANIZATION (1912). 2521 Broadway, N. Y. C., 25. Chmn. Exec. Com. American Section Isaac Lewin; Sec. Salomon Goldsmith. International organization representing the in-

terests of Orthodox Jews.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR POSTWAR PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS JEWRY (1941). 2521 Broadway, N. Y. C., 25. Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Salomon Goldsmith; Sec. M. Levine. Engages in research and

publishes studies concerning the situation of religious Jewry and its problems all

over the world.

AGUDATH ISRABL OF AMERICA, INC. (1912). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Admin. Pres. Michael G. Tress; Exec. V.P. Morris Sherer. Seeks to organize religious Jewry in the Orthodox spirit, and in that spirit to solve all problems facing Jewry in Israel and the world over. Jewish Opinion-Dos Yiddishe Vort.

, CHILDREN'S DIVISION—PIRCHEI
AGUDATH ISRAEL (1925). 5 Beekman
St., N. Y. C., 38. Chmn. Fishel Sochaschewsky, Admin. Joshua
Educates Orthodox Jewish children according to the traditional Jewish way.

Darkeinu; Inter Talmud Torah Boys;

Leaders Guide.

——, GIRLS' DIVISION-BNOS AGUDATH ISRAEL. 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Miriam Wechsler. Aims to lead Jewish youth to the realization of the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah; to strengthen their devotion to and understanding of the Torah; and to train them to help solve all the problems of the Jewish people in Israel in the spirit of the Torah. Kol Bnos.

WOMEN'S DIVISION - N'SHEI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1941). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Mrs. E. Knobel. Assists refugee children in Israel; performs social and cultural work in Israel and the

United States.

-, YOUTH DIVISION-ZEIREI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. M. I. Friedman; Exec. Dir. B. Borchardt. Aims to lead Jewish youth to the realization of the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah; to strengthen their devotion to and understanding of the Torah; and to train them to help solve all the problems of the Jewish people in Israel in the spirit of the Torah. Agudah Youth; Leaders Guide.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH ED-UCATION (1939). 1776 Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Harry Starr; Exec. Dir. Judah Pilch. Coordinates, guides, and services Jewish education through a community program. Adult Jewish Leadership; Audio-Visual Review; Jewish Education Newsletter; Pedogogic Reporter; Program in Action; Trends and Developments.

AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CERTIFIED CANTORS (1953). 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Walter A. Davidson; Exec. Sec. Wolf Hecker. Devotes itself to the highest ideals of the cantorate, enhancing status and security of individual cantors. American Conference of Certified Cantors Bulletin.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CHAPLAINS OF THE ARMED FORCES (1946). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. David Max

Richhorn: Sec. Samson M. Goldstein, Seeks to promote fellowship among and advance the common interests of all chaplains in

and out of the service. Jewish Chaplain.

B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATIONS, INC.
(1923). 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 36.
Chmn. Nat. Hillel Comm. Abram L.
Sachar, Nat. Dir. Arthur J. Lelyveld. Provides cultural, religious, and counseling service to Jewish students in colleges and universities in the United States, Canada, England, and Israel. Clearing House; Hillel Newsletter.

NAI B'RITH YOUTH ORGANIZATION (1944). 1761 R St., N. W., Washington 9, D. C. Chmn. Jacob J. Lieberman; Nat. B'NAI B'RITH Dir. Max F. Baer. Strives to create in young people a synthesis of the best in the Jewish and American heritage through a program of cultural, religious, interfaith, community service, social, and athletic activities. Shofar; Advising Jewish Youth

Groups.

YOUTH FOUNDATION, BRANDEIS (1941). P. O. Box 1401, Beverly Hills, Calif. Pres. Abraham Goodman; Sec. and Exec. Dir. Shlomo Bardin. Maintains summer camp institute to carry out its program of instilling an appreciation of Jewish cultural heritage and to create a desire for active leadership in the American Jewish community; also conducts a vear-round institute that offers postgraduate training in specialized fields of Jewish culture and serves as a laboratory for developing patterns for Jewish life in America. Brandeis Bulletin.

CANTORS ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA (1947). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Charles Sudock; Exec. V. P. David J. Putterman. Seeks to elevate the general status and standards of the cantorial profession. Annual Convention Proceedings; Cantors Voice.

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN CENTRAL RABBIS (1889). 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Barnett R. Brickner; Exec. V.P. Sidney L. Regner. Seeks to conserve and promote Liberal Judaism and learning. Conference Journal; Yearbook.

College of Jewish Studdes (1924). 72
E. 11 St., Chicago 5, Ill. Pres. Samuel

M. Blumenfield; Registrar Louis Katzoff. Offers courses in history, language, literature, and religion of the Jews; provides professional training for Hebrew school teachers, Sunday School teachers, cantors, and Jewish club and group workers. Alon;

Annual; Register.

COMMISSION ON STATUS OF JEWISH WAR ORPHANS IN EUROPE, AMERICAN SECTION (1945), 120 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. and Hon. Sec. Moses Schonfeld; Treas. Arthur I. LeVine. Seeks to restore Jewish orphans to their former families and to the Jewish faith and environment. Status of Jewish War Orphans in Europe.

DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING (1907). Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia 32, Pa. Pres. Abraham A. Neuman; Exec. V.P. Samuel B. Finkel. A nonsectarian institution under Jewish auspices; trains scholars in higher Jewish and Semitic learning; offers only postgraduate degrees. Jewish Quarterly

ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (1925). Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia 32, Pa. Pres. Frank Zimmermann; Sec.-Treas. Joseph Reider. Fosters the interests of Dropsie College. Newsletter.

FEDERATION OF JEWISH STUDENT ORGAN-IZATIONS (1937). 3010 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Rena Feuerstein; Sec. Norman Wilner. Advances knowledge and appreciation of Judaism among students at American colleges and universities; en-courages student participation in Jewish life; promotes the advancement of a nonpartisan Jewish student movement.

* HAICHEL HATORAH (1945). 298 How-

ard Ave., Brooklyn 33, N. Y. HEBREW TEACHERS COLLEGE (1921). 43 Hawes St., Brookline 46, Mass, Pres. Benjamin A. Trustman; Sec. Manuel K. Berman. Offers higher Jewish learning; trains Hebrew teachers and community workers.

Bulletin; Eyal.

HEBREW TEACHERS FEDERATION OF AMER-ICA (1944). 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Shemeon Pollack; Exec. Dir. Zevi Glatstein. Aims to improve the professional status of Hebrew teachers in the United States, to intensify the study of Hebrew language and literature in Jewish schools, and to organize Hebrew teachers nationally in affiliated groups and associations.

HEBREW TEACHERS UNION (1911). 111 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Kalman Bachrach; Exec. Dir. Eliahu Zuta. Promotes the welfare and professional standards of Hebrew teachers. Sheviley Hachi-

nuch.

HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (1922). 3448 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, 23, Ill. Pres. Oscar Z. Fasman; Admin. Officer Melvin Goodman. Offers studies in higher Jewish learning along traditional lines; trains rabbis, teachers, and religious functionaries. Journal; Scribe.
, TEACHERS' INSTITUTE OF (1927).

3448 Douglas Blvd., Chicago 23, Ill. Pres. Oscar Z. Fasman; Dean Joseph Babad. Trains teachers for Hebrew schools; offers traditional Jewish education. Catalogue.

—, YESHIVA WOMEN (1949). 3448
Douglas Blvd., Chicago 23, Ill. Pres. Mrs.
Morton L. Fink; Treas. Mrs. Samuel Kaplan. Sponsors scholarship and welfare funds for students of Hebrew Theological College; clearing house for traditional synagogue sisterhoods. Yeshiva Women Bulletin.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTI-TUTE OF RELIGION of Cincinnati and New York (1875, 1922; merged 1950). Clifton Ave., Cincinnati 20, Ohio, and 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Nelson Glueck: Asst. to Pres. Richard N. Bluestein. Prepares students for rabbinate, cantorate, religious school teaching, community service; promotes Jewish studies; assembles, classifies, and preserves Jewish Americana. HUC-JIR Bulletin; Hebrew Union College Annual.

, ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF THE (1884; merged 1949), 11 Eton St., Springfield 8, Mass. Pres. Jacob P. Rudin; Sec.-Treas. Herman E. Snyder. Aims to promote the welfare of Judaism, of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, and of its graduates. Annual

Report.

, HEBREW UNION SCHOOL OF EDU-CATION AND SACRED MUSIC (1947). 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 23. Dean Abraham N. Franzblau, Exec. Off. Wolf Hecker. Trains cantor-educators for all congregations, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform; trains musical personnel for all congregations; trains principals and teachers for Reform religious schools.

* IRGUN BETH RIVKAH SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS (1940). 558 Riverdale Ave., Bklyn. 7, N. Y.
WISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY, INC.

WISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY, INC. (1893). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Harold W. Dubinsky; Exec. Dir. JEWISH Sylvan Lebow. (Sponsored by National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods.) Disseminates authoritative knowledge about Jews and Judaism to universities and colleges in the U.S. and Canada and to Christian church summer camps and institutes. American Judaism.

JEWISH MINISTERS CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1898). 236 Second Ave., N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Murray Erstling; Sec. H. Marchbein. Administers institute for cantors, home for aged cantors, library; sponsors lectures. Cantors Bulletin.

JEWISH RECONSTRUCTIONIST FOUNDATION, INC. (1940). 15 W. 86 St., N. Y. C., 24. Pres. Maurice Linder; Exec. Dir. Herbert Parzen. Dedicated to the advancement of Judaism as a religious civilization, to the upbuilding of Eretz Yisrael, and to the reconstruction of Jewish life everywhere. The Reconstructionist.

JEWISH SABBATH ALLIANCE OF AMERICA, INC. (1905). 302 E. 14 St., N. Y. C., 3. Exec. Sec. William Rosenberg. Promotes the observance of the Seventh Day Sab-

bath and seeks to protect such observers.

JEWISH TEACHERS' SEMINARY AND PEO-PLE'S UNIVERSITY (1918). 154 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. M. L. Brown; Dir. and Dean Philip Friedman. Trains men and women in the light of scientific knowledge and historical Jewish ideals for the Jewish teaching profession, research, and community service. Jewish Review; Seminar Yedioth; Seminarist.

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA (1886; re-org. 1902). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Louis Finkelstein; Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Alan M. Stroock. Maintains a theological seminary for the perpetuation of the tenets of the Jewish religion, the cultivation of Hebrew literature, the pursuit of biblical and archaeological research, the advancement of Jewish scholarship, the maintenance of a library, and the training of rabbis and teachers of religion. Seminary Progress; Seminary Register; You and Judaism.

Seminary Register; You and Judaism.

ETERNAL LIGHT (1944). 3080
Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Ed. Ben Zion
Bokser. Presents weekly national broadcasts of programs of Jewish and general religious interest; produces eight television

programs yearly.

SOCIAL STUDIES (N. Y. C., 1938; Chicago 1944; Boston 1945). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Dir. Louis Finkelstein; Exec. Dir. Jessica Feingold. Aims to serve as a scholarly and scientific fellowship of clergymen and other religious teachers who desire authoritative information regarding some of the basic issues now confronting spiritually minded men.

, Louis M. Rabinowitz Institute for Rabbinic Research (). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Dir. Louis Finkelstein. Prepares scientific editions of early

Rabbinic works.

, UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM (1947).
612 South Ardmore Ave., Los Angeles
5, Calif. Dir. Simon Greenberg; Regr.
Max Vorspan. Trains Jewish community
leadership for religious, educational, recreational, and philanthropic institutions.
University News.

LEAGUE FOR SAFEGUARDING THE FIXITY OF THE SABBATH AGAINST POSSIBLE ENCROACHMENT BY CALENDAR REFORM (1929). 120 W. 76 St., N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Herbert S. Goldstein; Sec. Isaac Rosengarten. Seeks to safeguard the fixity of the Sabbath against introduction of the blank-day device in calendar reform.

MIZRACHI NATIONAL EDUCATION COM-MITTEE (1939; re-org. 1947). 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10. Pres. Harry I. Wohlberg; Exec. Dir. Isidor Margolis. Organizes and supervises yeshivot and talmud torahs; prepares and trains teachers; publishes textbooks and educational material. Gilyonenu; Vaad Bulletin. MORIAH-NATIONAL FEDERATION OF YE-

MORIAH-NATIONAL FEDERATION OF YESHIVA TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS (1950). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Act. Pres. Harold I. Leiman; Exec. Sec. Jacob Weisberg. Educational; mutual aid; co-sponsor of the National Yeshiva

Teachers Board of License. Yeshiva Teacher.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE (1896). Farm School Post Office, Bucks County, Pa. Pres. James Work; Sec. Elsie M. Belfield. Trains young people to become scientific and practical agriculturists. Bulletins; Catalogue.

Farm School Post Office, Bucks County, Pa. Pres. Sidney Brunwasser; Sec.-Treas. David Segal. Furthers the interests of the college and agriculture. Gleanings.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEBREW DAY SCHOOL PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS (1948). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Leon Rubenstein; Nat. Consultant Joseph Kaminetsky. Organizes PTA groups in all-day-school communities; serves as clearing house for PTA programs for local community problems; publishes aids to PTA's for programming, parent education, child guidance, and parent-teacher meetings and conferences. Holiday Programs; Jewish Parents Magazine; Program Aids.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HILLEL DI-RECTORS (1949). Yale Station 265, New Haven, Conn. Pres. Joseph H. Gumbiner; Sec. Alex J. Goldman. Aims to facilitate exchange of experience and opinion among Hillel directors and counselors, develop personnel standards and promote the welfare of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations and their professional per-

sonnel. Beth Hillel.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH DAY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS (1951). Yeshiva University, 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., N. Y. C., 33.

 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSORS OF HEBREW IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING (1950). 80 Wash-

ington Sq. E., N. Y. C., 3.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR JEWISH EDUCA-TION (1926). 1776 Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Pres. David Rudavsky; Sec. Harry L. Woll. Seeks to further the creation of a profession of Jewish education and to improve the quality of Jewish instruction. Jewish Education; Sheviley Habinuch.

prove the quality of Jewish instruction. Jewish Education; Sheviley Hahinuch.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BETH JACOB SCHOOLS, INC. (1943). 150 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 33. Pres. Ira Rosenzweig; Exec. Dir. David Ullmann. Operates traditional all-day schools and a summer camp for

girls. Beth Jacob.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL (1912). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Nat. Pres. Meyer Wiener; Nat. Dir. Samson R. Weiss. Seeks to educate Orthodox youth and adults through youth work and adult Jewish studies; to prove that Judaism and Americanism are compatible; to help in the development of Israel in the spirit of Torah. Armed Forces Viewpoint;

Institute Bulletin; Young Israel Viewpoint; Youth Activities Program Service.

—, ARMED FORCES DIVISION (1939).

3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Chmn. J. David Delman; Dir. David P. Hurwitz. Advises and counsels the inductees into the Armed Forces with regard to Sabbath observance, kashrut and behavior; supplies kosher food packages, religious items, etc., to servicemen; aids veterans in readjusting to civilian life. Armed Forces Viewpoint.

, EMPLOYMENT BUREAU (1914).
3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Chmn. Julius
Horowitz; Dir. David P. Hurwitz. Helps
secure employment with particular emphasis given to Sabbath observers; offers vo-

cational guidance.

, WOMEN'S LEAGUE (1937). 3 W.
16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Pres. Mrs. Samuel
N. Levy, Mrs. Nat Lebowitz. Serves as
coordinating and guiding factor of all

sisterhood branches.

JEWISH STUDIES (1945). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Dir. Samson R. Weiss. Helps form branch adult schools; aids Young Israel synagogues in their adult education program. Institute Bulletins.

W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Chmn. Herbert Perlman; Dir. Aryeh Yormark. Organizes youth groups designed to train future leaders; plans and executes policies for all Young Israel synagogue youth groups.

Program Service.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON JEWISH AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS (1949). 1776 Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Chmn. Albert P. Schoolman; Exec. Sec. Zalmen Slesinger. Offers advice and guidance on and evaluates available Jewish audio-visual materials. Jewish Audio-Visual Review.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (1918). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Mrs. Emanuel Siner; Exec. Dir. Naomi Flax. Seeks to advance traditional Judaism by furthering Jewish education among women and children; services sisterhoods of the Conservative movement. Leagnotes; National Women's League Outlook.

P'EYLIM-AMERICAN YESHIVA STUDENT UNION (1951). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 11. Pres. Shlomo Freifeld; Exec. Sec. Yaakov I. Homnick, Aids and sponsors voluntary pioneer work by American graduate teachers in the camps in Israel; does organizational, counselling, and educational

work. Ha'Chever Ha'torati.

RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA (1944). 141 So. 3 St., Brooklyn 11, N. Y. Pres. Mendel Feldman; Exec. Dir. Chaim U. Lipschitz. Seeks to further traditional Judaism; helps support the Mesivta Rabbinical Seminary and other in-

stitutions of higher learning; seeks to maintain professional competency among members; helps to establish Jewish modern Orthodox communities throughout the United States and supply all Jewish communities with all religious functionaries. Egud Newsletter.

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA (1900). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Harry Halpern; Exec. Sec. Wolfe Kelman. Serves as the professional organization of Conservative rabbis. Pro-

ceedings.

RABBINICAL COLLEGE OF TELSHE (1941).
706 E. 105 St., Cleveland, 8, O. Pres.
E. M. Bloch; Exec. Sec. M. Helfan. College for higher Jewish learning, specializing in Talmudic studies and Rabbinics; offers possibility for ordination to students interested in the active rabbinate.
Pri Etz Chaim—Journal for Talmudic Research; Semiannual News Bulletin.

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC. (1923; reorg. 1935). 331 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Pres. David B. Hollander; Exec. Sec. Israel Klavan. Promotes Orthodox Judaism in the community; supports institutions for study of Torah; stimulates creation of new traditional agencies. Marriage and Home; RCA Quarterly; Rabbinic Registry; Sermon

Manual.

SHOLEM ALEICHEM FOLK INSTITUTE (1918). 22 E. 17 St., N. Y. C., 3. Exec. Sec. Saul Goodman. Aims to imbue children with Jewish values through teaching Yiddish language and literature, Hebrew and the Bible, Jewish history, Jewish life in America and Israel, folk songs and choral singing, celebration of bar mitzvah and Jewish holidays. Kinder Journal; Sholem Aleichem Bulletin.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE TOURO SYNA-GOGUE, INC. (1948). 85 Touro St., Newport, R. I. Pres. B. C. Friedman; Sec. Theodore Lewis. Assists in the maintenance and upkeep of buildings, grounds, personnel of the Touro Synagogue; raises and allocates funds for the printing of articles, booklets, and material concerning the Touro Synagogue for general dissemina-

tion. Brochure.

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA (1926). 110 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Norman Salit; Act. Exec. Dir. Marc H. Tanenbaum. Provides over-all Jewish religious representation in the United States, acting in the interest of Orthodox, Conservative,

and Reform Judaism.

TORAH UMESORAH — NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HEBREW DAY SCHOOLS (1944). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Samuel C. Feuerstein; Educ. Dir. Joseph Kaminetsky. Establishes and services all-day Jewish schools throughout U. S.; conducts teaching seminar and workshops for inservice training of teachers. Annual Report;

Circular Letter on Day Schools to Principals; Olomeinu-Our World; Torah Ume-

sorah News Notes.

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (1873). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Maurice N. Eisendrath; Admin. Sec. Louis I. Egelson. Serves and develops American Liberal synagogues; helps to establish new congregations; promotes Jewish education; maintains the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion. American Judaism; Jewish Messenger; Jewish Teacher; Synagogue Service Bulletin.

COMMISSION OF JEWISH EDUCA-TION OF (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. Solomon B. Freehof; Sec. Maurice N. Eisendrath. Develops courses of study and prepares literature for Jewish education in Reform religious schools throughout the U. S. Annual Catalogue of Publications; Curricula for the Jewish Religious School; Jewish Book Week List; Jewish Teacher.

-, COMMISSION ON SYNAGOGUE AC-TIVITIES OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS AND THE CEN-TRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RAB-BIS (1932). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. Alexander Frieder; Dir. Eugene J. Lipman. Assists congregations in the areas of worship and ceremonies, art and architecture, administration, aspects of adult education, and similar fields. Synagogue Service Bulletin.

, JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL AC-TION OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS AND THE CEN-TRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RAB-BIS (1949). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. I. Cyrus Gordon; Exec. Sec. Albert Vorspan. Assists congregations in studying the moral and religious implications in various social issues such as civil rights, civil liberties, church-state relations; guides congregational social action committees.

Social Action in Review.

, Los Angeles College of Jew-ISH STUDIES OF (1947). 590 No. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles 4, Calif. Dean, Isaiah Zeldin. Trains religious school teachers and principals; prepares pre-rabbinic candidates; gives in-service courses to cantors and organists; offers courses in Judaism, History, Bible, and Hebrew to laymen. Syllabi.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEM-PLE SECRETARIES OF (1941). 7 W. 83 St. N. Y. C., 24. Pres. Max Feder; Sec. Nat Emanuel. Seeks to raise standards of temple administration. Quarterly.

—, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEM-PLE BROTHERHOODS (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Harold W. Du-binsky; Exec. Dir. Sylvan Lebow. Seeks to stimulate greater lay participation in lewish religious life, in worship, studies,

and related activities. American Judaism; NFTB Service Bulletin.

—, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEM-PLB SISTERHOODS (1913). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Mrs. Hugo Dal-sheimer; Exec. Dir. Jane Evans. Seeks to achieve cooperation among sisterhoods in the U.S. and abroad; stimulates spiritual and educational activity in the Reform movement. American Judaism; Current Copy; President's Packet.
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEM-

PLB YOUTH (1939). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Robert Seltzer; Nat. Dir. Samuel Cook. Unites youth of Reform congregations in national youth projects, programs, institutes and camp conferences.

Messenger; Youth Leader.

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (1898). 305 Broadway, N. Y. C., 7. Pres. Max J. Etra; Sec. Joseph Schlang. Services the Orthodox synagogues; serves as authoritative spokesman for Orthodox congregations in the U.S. and Canada. Jewish Action; Jewish Life; (1) Kashruth Directory; Hachayil; P'rakim.

, WOMEN'S BRANCH OF (1923). 305 Broadway, N. Y. C., 7. Pres. Mrs. Wyman Berenson; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Rubin Langfan. Seeks to unite all Orthodox women, girls, and their organizations; publishes educational and cultural material; raises funds, aids Israel. Hachodesh; Man-

ual for Sisterhoods; Newsletter.

Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, Inc. (1902). 132 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Chmn. of Pres. Israel Rosenberg; Exec. Dir. Meyer Cohen, Seeks to foster traditional Judaism, promote higher Torah learning, strengthen authority of Orthodox rabbinate, and disseminate knowledge of traditional Jewish rites and practices among the Jewish masses.

UNION OF SEPHARDIC CONGREGATIONS, INC. (1929). 99 Central Park West, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. David de Sola Pool; Sec. Victor Tarry. Promotes the religious interests

of Sephardic Jews.

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (1913). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Charles Rosengarten; Exec. Dir. Bernard Segal. Services affiliated Conservative congregations and their auxiliaries, in all their religious, educational, cultural, and administrative needs. United Synagogue Review.

TION (c. 1930). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Chmn. Elias Charry; Exec. Dir. Abraham E. Millgram. Aims to promote higher educational standards in Conservative congregational schools and to publish material for the advancement of their educational program. Synagogue School.

, EDUCATORS ASSEMBLY OF (1951). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Henry R. Goldberg; Sec. Treas. Jacob S. Rosen. Promotes, extends and strengthens the program of Jewish education on all levels in the community in consonance with the philosophy of the Conservative movement. Educators Assembly News; Educators Assembly Proceedings First Annual Conven-

, NATIONAL ACADEMY FOR ADULT JEWISH STUDIES (1940). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Dir. Simon Noveck; Admin. Sec. Mrs. Lily Edelman. Promotes programs of adult Jewish education in Conservative congregations. Adult Jewish Education Newsletter.

-, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SYNA-GOGUE ADMINISTRATORS OF (1948). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Abe Schefferman; Sec. David Siegel. Aids congregations affiliated with the United Synagogue of America to further aims of Conservative Judaism through more effective administration and to integrate all activity; conducts placement bureau and administrative surveys. NASA; Proceedings.

, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF JEW-ISH MEN'S CLUBS, INC. (1929). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Albert Kauf-man; Sec. Joseph L. Blum. Seeks to further traditional Judaism by the integration of its members in study, observance, and active participation in Jewish life and culture as propounded by the Conservative movement. Torch.

See NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF. THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE.

, YOUNG PEOPLE'S LEAGUE OF (1921). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Nat. Pres. Max Hausen; Nat. Dir. Morton Siegel. Seeks to bring Jewish youth closer to Conservative Judaism, the synagogue, and the Jewish community. News Chat.

, YOUTH OF (1951), 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Pres. Arthur Podell; Nat. Dir. Morton Siegel. Offers opportunities to the adolescent to continue and strengthen his identification with Judaism and with the synagogue; seeks to develop a program based on the personality development, needs, and interests of the adolescent. News and Views; Program Notes.

WORLD UNION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION, AMERICAN SECTION (1947), 1776 Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Chmn. Azriel Eisenberg; Sec. Judah Lapson. Encourages, guides, and coordinates Jewish educational effort the world over, administers the Jerusalem examinations of competency in He-brew in cooperation with Hebrew University of Jerusalem; conducts lectureship on American Jewish education at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM, U. S. OFFICE (1926). 615 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 23, Pa. Hon. Pres. Leo Baeck; Am. Dir. David H. Wice. Promotes and coordinates world-wide efforts on behalf of Liberal Judaism. Bulletin.

YESHIVA COLLEGE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (1934). 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., N. Y. C., 33. Pres. Milton Kramer; Corr. Sec. Morris Silverman. Furthers the interests of the College of Arts and Science of Yeshiva University. Yeshiva College Alumni Bulletin.

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY (1896). 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., N. Y. C., 33. Pres. Samuel Belkin; Dir. of Development Michael M. Nisselson. Offers undergraduate and graduate work in general and Jewish education; grants rabbinical ordination. Com-mentator; Elchanite; Horeb; Masmid; Nir; Progress Report; Scribta Mathematica; Sura; Talpioth; Y. U. News.

GRADUATE DIVISION ALUMNI OF (1949). 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., N. Y. C., 33. Act. Pres. Bernard Bergman. Graduate Division Newsletter.

-, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ORGAN-IZATIONS FOR (1943). 270 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Nat. Chmn. Louis Levine; Exec. Sec. Samuel A. Doctorow. Advances the program of Yeshiva University through landsmannshaften, benevolent and fraternal organizations.

RABBINIC ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF (1944). 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., N. Y. C., 33. Pres. Morris Berman; Sec. Abraham Besdin. Aims to advance the cause of traditional Judaism and its rabbinate. Rabbinic Alumni Bulletin.

270 Park Ave., Bldg. "A," N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Max J. Etra; Exec. Dir. Max Halpert. Seeks to unify congregations and promote traditional Judaism; maintains Yeshiva University. Annual Journal.

TEACHERS INSTITUTE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF (1942). 270 Park Ave., Bldg. "A," N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Solomon Biederman; Sec. Louis Clark, Aims to advance the cause of the Teachers Institute and its service in the field of Jewish education; to foster Jewish learning and scholarship. Annual Alumni Journal; Horeb.

, WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF (1928). 1860 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Mrs. Walter J. Diamond. Yeshiva Women's Organization Bulletin.

YESHIVATH TORAH VODAATH AND ME-SIVTA RABBINICAL SEMINARY (1918). 141 S. 3 St., Brooklyn 11, N. Y. Pres. Charles A. Saretsky; Treas. Benjamin Feldman. Offers Jewish education leading to rabbinical ordination and post-rabbinical work; maintains a Hebrew Teachers Institute granting a teacher's degree; maintains office for community service; operates nonprofit camp. Annual Journal; Alumni News; Egud News.

SOCIAL, MUTUAL BENEFIT

ALPHA EPSILON PHI (1909). 185 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 1, Ill. Pres. Mrs. Samuel S. Cohen; Exec. Sec. Kaye McLaughlin. Social; philanthropic; cultural. Columns of Alpha Epsilon Phi.

ALPHA EPSILON PI FRATERNITY (1913).

4 N. 8 St., St. Louis 1, Mo. Supreme Master Harry Prager; Exec. Sec. George S. Toll. Educational; fraternal; philan-thropic; cultural. Lion; Newsletter. ALPHA OMEGA FRATERNITY (1907). 41 E.

19 St., N. Y. C., 3. Nat. Pres. Louis I. Galin; Nat. Sec. Jesse Trager. Professional dental fraternity. Alpha Omegan.

* ALPHA ZETA OMEGA (1919). 13159

Cedar Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

* AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF POLISH JEWISH SOCIETIES (formerly AMERICAN FEDERA-

TION FOR POLISH JEWS) (1908). 225
W. 34 St., N. Y. C. 1.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JEWS FROM
CENTRAL EUROPE, INC. (1941). 1674
Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Pres, Max Gruenewald; Exec. V.P. Herman Muller. Seeks to safeguard the rights and interests of Central European Jews now living in the U.S., especially in reference to restitution and

indemnification. Information bulletins.
ASSOCIATION OF YUGOSLAV JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, INC. (1940). 400 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Joseph Levi; Sec. Joseph Gottfried. Furnishes aid to Jews from Yugoslavia; assists Jewish communities in Yugoslavia; assists Yugoslav immigrants in Israel. Bulletin.

BETA SIGMA RHO (1910). 21 E. 40 St., N. Y. C., 16. Grand Chanc, Louis B. Maximon; Exec. Sec. Samuel G. Fredman.

Beta Sigma Rho Newsletter. BNAI ZION—THE AMERICAN FRATERNAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (1910). 225 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Arthur Marke-wich; Nat. Sec. Herman Z. Quittman. Patriotic; Zionist; mutual aid. Bnai Zion Voice.

BRITH ABRAHAM, INDEPENDENT ORDER (1887). 37 E. 7 St., N. Y. C., 3. Grand Master Irving L. Hodes; Grand Sec. Adolph Stern. Zionist; civic defense; mutual aid;

philanthropic. Beacon.

Brith Abraham Foundation (1950). (Sponsored by Independent Order (Sponsored by INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH ABRAHAM.) 37 E. 7 St., N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Irving L. Hodes; Sec. Adolph Stern. Organized for religious, charitable, scientific, literary and educational purposes. Beacon.

BRITH SHOLOM (1905). 506 Pine St., Philadelphia 6, Pa. Nat. Pres. Irving R. Shull; Nat. Sec. Manuel Glass. Devoted to service to community and armed forces, civic welfare, and defense of minority rights. Brith

Sholom News.

CENTRAL SEPHARDIC JEWISH COMMUNITY OF AMERICA, INC. (1940). 225 W. 34 St., N. Y. C., 1. Pres. Eli Elias; Sec. Isaac Molho. Seeks to promote the culture, religion, and welfare of Sephardic Jews. Sephardi.

FARBAND—LABOR ZIONIST ORDER (1912). 45 E. 17 St., N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Meyer L. Brown; Gen. Sec. Louis Segal. Renders fraternal insurance benefits on legal reserve basis and engages in Labor Zionist, Israel, Jewish educational, cultural, and social programs. Farband Newsletter.

FREE SONS OF ISRAEL (1849). 257 W. 93 St., N. Y. C., 25. Grand Master Milton M. Meyer; Grand Sec. Joseph C. Seide.

Benevolent: fraternal. Freeson.

HEBREW VETERANS OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN (1899). 118-14 83rd Ave., Kew Gardens 15, N. Y. Comdr. Bernard Adler; Adj. Isidore Weill. Social and patriotic. Bulletin.

IOTA THETA LAW FRATERNITY, INC. (1914). 375 Pearl St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y. Pres. Arnold Price; Sec. Sol Bromberg.

Professional; interfaith.

JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF AMERICA. See FARBAND-LABOR ZION-

IST ORDER.

JEWISH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (1941). 132 Morningside Drive, N. Y. C., 27. Chmn. Isidor B. Hoffman; Exec. Sec. Harvey Edwards. Seeks to clarify the relationship of Judaism to pacifism; aids conscientious objectors. Tidings.

JEWISH THEATRICAL GUILD OF AMERICA, INC. (1924). 1564 Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Eddie Cantor; Exec. Sec. Dave Ferguson. Seeks to serve as a nonsectarian

theatrical assistance agency.

MAGEN DAVID FEDERATION, INC. (1921). 2025 67 St., Brooklyn 4, N. Y. Act. Pres. Isaac Shalom; Act. Sec. Morris Kassab. Assists needy Syrian Jewish communities in U.S. and abroad; maintains educational and benevolent institutions.

MU SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC. (1906). 140 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Lawrence M. Troy; Sec. Howard Raskin. High

school; cultural; welfare. Lamp.

*NETHERLANDS JEWISH SOCIETY, INC. (1940). 50 Broad St., N. Y. C., 4.
PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC. (1914).
2310 Wichita Ave., Baltimore 15, Md. Pres. Herbert Robinson; Exec. Sec. Alexander Goodman. Phi Alpha Bulletin.

PHI EPSILON PI FRATERNITY (1904). 340 S. 15 St., Philadelphia 2, Pa. Nat. Pres. Milton K. Susman; Exec. Sec. Albert Greenstone. Collegiate. Phi Epsilon Pi Quarterly.

PHI LAMBDA KAPPA FRATERNITY, INC. (1907). 1030 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 15, O. Pres. John Freedman; Sec. Samuel L. Lemel. Medical. Phi Lambda Kappa Quarterly.

PHI SIGMA DELTA FRATERNITY (1909). 47 W. 43 St. N. Y. C., 36 Pres. Laurence J. Sobel; Exec. Sec. Joseph Kruger. Collegiate. Deltan.

PHI SIGMA SIGMA SORORITY (1913). 101-06 67 Drive, Forest Hills 75, N. Y.

PI TAU PI FRATERNITY (incl. HAI RESH) (1913). 200 Marvin Rd., Philadelphia 2, Pa. Pres. Robert Garner. Cultural; religious;

philanthropic; social. Pitaupian.

PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST, GRAND LODGE (1896). 705 Chestnut St., St. Louis 1, Mo. Grand Master Harold E. Friedman; Grand Sec. Morris Shapiro. Benevolent. Progressive Order of the West Bulletin.

SEPHARDIC JEWISH BROTHERHOOD OF AMERICA, INC. (1915). 122 E. 169 St., Bronx 52, N. Y. Pres. Moses M. Cohen; Exec. Sec. Hyman M. Nadjari. Promotes the industrial, social, educational, and religious welfare of its members. El Hermanado.

SIGMA ALPHA MU FRATERNITY (1909). 100 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Nat. Pres. Morris H. Rotenberg, Exec. Sec. James C.

Hammerstein, Collegiate, Octagonian,
SIGMA DELTA TAU SORORITY (1917).
1718 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill. Nat.
Pres. Mrs. Morton Grant; Nat. Sec. Mrs. Leah Kartman. Philanthropic, collegiate; carries out a national philanthropic program with multiple sclerosis, blood research, and various children's schools across the country. Torch.

TAU EPSILON PHI FRATERNITY, INC. (1910). Rm. 1403, 130 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Sol D. Shaman; Exec. Sec. Sidney S. Suntag. Collegiate. Plume.

TAU EPSILON RHO FRATERNITY (1919).
700 Bailey Bldg., 1218 Chestnut St.,
Philadelphia 7, Pa. Pres. Kenneth J.
Marks; Supreme Master of the Rolls, Irvin J. Kopf. Professional; legal. Summons.

UNION OF RUSSIAN JEWS, INC. (1941). Apt. 2A, 352 W. 110 St., N. Y. C., 25. Chmn. Mark Wischnitzer. Cultural; philan-

thropic.

UNITED GALICIAN JEWS OF AMERICA (1937). 175 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. 10. Pres. Herbert B. Sussman; Sec. William Katz. Aids Galician Jews; active in colonization and vocational training in Israel. Our Voice.

UNITED HUNGARIAN JEWS OF AMERICA, INC. (1940). 317 E. 79 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Armand A. Rotman; Exec. Sec. Ernest Lendway. Cooperates with United Jewish Appeal in fund drives; gives assistance to Jews of Hungarian descent.

UNITED ORDER TRUE SISTERS, INC. (1846). 150 W. 85 St., N. Y. C., 24. Pres. Hortense S. Schlesinger; Sec. Alice Simon. Phil-

anthropic; cancer treatment. Echo. UNITED RUMANIAN JEWS OF AMERICA, INC. (1909). 111 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. I. Glickman; Sec. Wolf Sapero, Aids Rumanian Jews in Europe, Israel and elsewhere, financially and politically. Record.
UPSILON LAMBDA PHI FRATERNITY, INC.

(1917). 153 New Alexander St., Wilkes-

Barre, Pa. Pres. Jesse Choper; V. Pres. Mark Perlin. Athletic; welfare. Hour Glass; Manual; Pledge Manual; Roster.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE (1900). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 2. Pres. Jack T. Zukerman; Gen. Sec. Nathan Chanin. Benevolent aid; allied with labor movement; educational, cultural, and humanitarian activities. The Priend; Culture and Education; Kinder Zeitung; Workmen's Circle Call.

(1927). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 2. Chmn. Nat. Org. Com. Daniel E. Ifshin; Nat. Dir. William Stern. Performs social, cultural, and educational activities within the program of a Jewish labor and fraternal organization. New York Circleite.

YOUNG CIRCLE LEAGUE-YOUTH SECTION OF THE (1927). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 2. Dir. Nat. Peskin. Engages children in the program of the Workmen's Circle. Junior Triangle.

WORLD SEPHARDI FEDERATION, AMERICAN Branch (1951). 225 W. 34 St., N. Y. C., 1. World Pres. A. Benroy; Sec. Gen. O. Camhy. Promotes the religious and cultural interests of Sephardic communities the world over. Judaisme Sephardi.

ZETA BETA TAU FRATERNITY (1898). 124
E. 40 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. L. Reyner
Samer; Gen. Sec. L. D. Dover. Social, educational; charitable; collegiate. Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly.

SOCIAL WELFARE

AMERICAN JEWISH SOCIETY FOR SERVICE. INC. (1950). 120 Broadway, N. Y. C., 5. Pres. Henry Kohn; Sec. I. Meyer Pincus. Dedicated to service on a universal basis, to all people regardless of race, creed or color; operates work service camps.

BARON DE HIRSCH FUND, INC. (1891). 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. George W. Naumburg; Mng. Dir. George Bookstaver. Supports the Jewish Agricultural Society; aids Americanization of Jewish immigrants and their instruction in trades and agriculture.

B'NAI B'RITH (1843). 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. Pres. Philip M. Klutznick; Sec. Maurice Bisgyer. Seeks to unite Jews through civic, educational, cultural, philanthropic and patriotic activities.

National Jewish Monthly.

National Jewish Monthly.

VOCATIONAL SERVICE BUREAU

(1938). 1761 R St., N. W., Washington
6, D. C. Chmn. Leon J. Obermayer; CoDir. Robert Shosteck, Virgil Smirnow.
Aids in occupational adjustment of Jewish youth and adults; carries out research in problems of occupational adjustment and discrimination. Career News; Counselors Information Service.

WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL (1940). 203 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 26, Ill. Pres. Mrs. Albert A. Woldman; Nat. Dir. Mrs. Arthur G. Laufman. Seeks to further and coordinate program of youth welfare and education; defends Jewish rights; engages in philanthropies, social action for Americanism, veterans' affairs, adult Jewish education program; organizes aid to Israel. B'nai B'rith Women's World.

CITY OF HOPE—A NATIONAL MEDICAL CENTER UNDER JEWISH AUSPICES. (1913). 208 W. 8 St., Los Angeles 14, Cai. Pres. Victor M. Carter; Exec. V. Pres. Samuel H. Golter. Operates a free national nonsectarian medical center under Jewish auspices for treatment of tuberculosis and allied chest diseases and cancer in all stages; operates a Medical Research Institute in the diseases treated at the medical center; and provides postgraduate medical education in these diseases. Torch of Hope.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL JEWISH WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS (1929). 15 E. 84 St., N. Y. C., 28. Chmm. Mrs. Sidney Leff; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. Solomon Abelow. Promotes interorganizational understanding and good will among the cooperating organizations; brings to attention of constituent organizations matters of Jewish communal interest for their con-

sideration and possible action.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, INC. (1932). 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Julian Freeman; Exec. Dir. Philip Bernstein. Provides central and regional services in Jewish community organization, campaigns and interpretation, budgeting, planning for health and welfare, and cooperative action by the associated community organizations in the U. S. and Canada. Jewish Community.

EX-PATIENTS' SANATORIUM FOR TUBERCU-LOSIS AND CHRONIC DISEASE (1908). 8000 E. Montview Blvd., Denver 7, Colo. Pres. Moses Binstock. Provides medical supervision and rehabilitation opportunities for needy patients with tuberculosis, bronchial asthma, and other chronic dis-

eases.

JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, INC. (1900). 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Maurice L. Stone; Gen. Mgr. Theodore Norman. Seeks to encourage farming among Jews in the U.S. Jewish Farmer.

JEWISH BRAILLE INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC. (1931). 101 W. 55 St., N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Mrs. Adolph Sternberg; Exec. Dir. Jacob Freid. Seeks to further cultural and religious welfare of the Jewish blind. Jewish Braille Review.

JEWISH CONCILIATION BOARD OF AMERICA, INC. (1930). 225 Broadway, N. Y. C., 7. Pres. Israel Goldstein; Exec. Sec. Louis Richman. Adjusts and conciliates disputes involving Jewish individuals and organizations. Annual Report.

JEWISH CONSUMPTIVES' RELIEF SOCIETY (1904). P. O. Box 537, Denver 1, Colo. Pres. Noah A. Atler; Exec. Dir. Israel Friedman. Operates the Denver Hospital and Sanatorium, a free, nonsectarian, nation-wide medical center for chest diseases; treats and rehabilitates persons suffering from tuberculosis in all forms and stages and other chest diseases, and also cancer in all forms. J.C.R.S. Bulletin.

, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AUXILIARIES (1904; re-org. 1936). P. O. B. 537, Denver 1, Colo. Pres. Mrs. Walter J. Simon; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Joseph Zeenkov. Coordinates work of the constituent auxiliaries, aids in the formation of new auxiliaries, and serves as a clearing house of information for the improvement of their

functions.

JEWISH NATIONAL HOME FOR ASTHMATIC CHILDREN AT DENVER (formerly NATIONAL HOME FOR JEWISH CHILDREN AT DENVER) (1907). 3447 W. 19 Ave., Denver 4, Colo. Pres. Fannie E. Lorber; Admin. Jack Gershtenson. Maintains an institution for the physical and emotional rehabilitation of dependent Jewish children from all parts of the U. S. who are suffering from chronic intractable asthma or other allergic diseases. News from the Home Front.

JEWISH OCCUPATIONAL COUNCIL, INC. (1939). 1841 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Sidney Simon; Exec. Dir. Roland Baxt. Serves as the central national advisory, coordinating and research facility in the field of Jewish vocational guidance, placement training, vocational rehabilitation, and occupational research, Program and Information Bulletin; Vocational

Service Abstracts.

LEO N. LEVI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL ASSO-CIATION (1914). 343 So. Dearborn St., Chicago 4, Ill. Pres. Mrs. Louis H. Harrison; Admn. Fannie B. McLaughlin. Maintains a free, nonsectarian, interracial medical center for the treatment of arthritis, rheumatism, and allied diseases. Monthly Newsletter.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER WORKERS (1918). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Jack R. Goldberg; Sec. Edward Korn. Seeks to promote the welfare, training, and professional standards

of center workers.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COM-MUNAL SERVICE (formerly NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WEL-FARE) (1899). 1841 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Judah Pilch; Exec. Sec. Preston David. Discusses problems and developments in the various fields of Jewish communal service on a professional level. Jewish Social Service Quarterly.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH PRISON CHAPLAINS, INC. (1935). 228 E. 19 St., N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Abraham Burstein; Sec. Morris H. Weiss. Helps to rehabilitate Jewish prisoners; offers religious and social services in penal institutions.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, INC. (1893). 1 W. 47 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Mrs. Irving M. Engel; Exec. Dir. Elsie Elfenbein. Sponsors a program of service and education for social action in fields of social legislation, international understanding for peace, contemporary Jewish affairs, community welfare, overseas service, and service to the foreign-born. Council Woman.

NATIONAL DESERTION BUREAU, INC. (1905). 105 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Walter H. Liebman; Exec. Dir. and Chief Counsel Jacob T. Zukerman. Provides location, casework and legal aid services in connection with problems arising out of family desertion or other forms of marital breakdown; when advisable, assists families in working out plans for reconciliation; in some cases helps to arrange for support payments, preferably on a voluntary basis.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE ON SCOUT-ING (1926). Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 16. Chmn. Frank L. Weil; Exec. Sec. Harry Lasker. Seeks to stimulate Boy Scout activity among Jewish boys. Ner Tamid Guide for Boy Scouts and Explorers; Scouting and the Jewish Boy; Suggestions for Boy Scout Sabbath.

NATIONAL JEWISH HOSPITAL AT DENVER (1899). 3800 E. Colfax Ave., Denver 6, Colo. Act. Pres. David E. Harlem; Exec. Dir. Philip Houtz. Offers nation-wide, free nonsectarian care for needy tuberculosis patients; conducts research, education, and rehabilitation. News of the National.

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD (1917). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Charles Aaron; Exec. V.P. S. D. Gershovitz. Serves as national association of Jewish community centers and YM-YWHAs; authorized by the government to provide for the religious and welfare need of Jews in the armed services and in veterans hospitals; sponsors Jewish Book Council, National Jewish Music Council, National Jewish Youth Conference, Jewish Center Lecture Bureau; represents American Jewish community in USO. JWB circle; Jewish Chaplain; Women's Organizations Division Bulletin.

NATIONAL JEWISH YOUTH CONFERENCE ATIONAL JEWISH 100 H COUNTY (1946; re-org. 1948). (Sponsored by National Jewish Welfare Board.) 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Ruth Breitman; Advisor Harry A. Schatz. Seeks to stimulate active participation of Jewish youth in Jewish communal affairs and develop Jewish youth leadership. Assembly

Proceedings; Program Aids.
UNITED HIAS SERVICE, INC. (consolidation of HIAS-HEBREW SHELTERING AND IM-MIGRANT AID SOCIETY and UNITED

SERVICE FOR NEW AMERICANS, and the the migration services of the AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE) (1954). Pres. Ben. Touster; Exec. Dir. Arthur Greenleigh. Services Jewish immigrants in the following areas: pre-immigration planning, procurement of immigration visas, visa documentation, consular representation and intervention, transportation, reception, sheltering, initial adjustment and reunion of families; succors needy Jewish families in Europe and Is-rael through funds sent by friends and relatives via the United HIAS Service Immigrant Bank and CARE packages; works in the United States through local community agencies to integrate the immigrant into American life through a planned program of resettlement. Rescue; manuals and pamphlets.

UNITED SERVICE FOR NEW AMERICANS. INC. See UNITED HIAS SERVICE.

WORLD FEDERATION OF YMHAS AND JEW-ISH COMMUNITY CENTERS (1947). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16 Pres. Frank L. Weil; Sec. Louis Kraft. Serves national organizations in all countries engaged in meeting the leisure-time and welfare needs of Jewish youth. Y's of the World.

ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL SICK FUND OF ISRABL, INC. (1946). 276 W. 43 St., N. Y. C., 36. Chmn. H. L. Gordon; Exec. V. Chmn. Morris Giloni. Provides medical equipment, drugs, instruments, chemicals, and other supplies for the health centers, dispensaries, and medical institutions of the National Sick Fund of Israel.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, INC. (1944). 250 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Abraham Feinberg; Exec. V. Chmn. Meyer W. Weisgal. Supports the Weizmann Institute of Science for scientific research in

Rehovoth, Israel,

* AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF UNIVERSAL YESHIVAH OF JERUSALEM (1924). 38 Park Row, N. Y. C., 38.

AMEIC-AMERICAN ERETZ ISRAEL CORP. (1944). 565 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 67.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNI-VERSITY (1931). 9 E. 89 St., N. Y. C., 28. Pres. George S. Wise; Exec. V.P. Saul S. Elgart. Represents and publicizes Hebrew University in the U. S.; serves as fund-raising arm and purchasing agent; processes American students and arranges exchange professorships in the United States and Israel. Bulletin; Scopus.

AMERICAN FUND FOR ISRAEL INSTITUTIONS (1941). 267 W. 71 St., N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Edward A. Norman; Exec. V.P. Itzhak Norman. Federated fund-raising agency for leading educational, cultural, and traditional institutions in Israel; serves as a medium for cultural exchange between the United States and Israel. Israel Life and

AMERICAN JEWISH PHYSICIANS' COMMITTEB (1921). 55 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. David J. Kaliski; Sec. Milton L. Kramer. Seeks to build and maintain the medical departments of the Hebrew University and medical libraries in Israel; raises funds for medical education and research in Israel.

AMERICAN PALESTINE JEWISH LEGION (HAGDUD HAIVRI) (1920). 755 West End Ave., N. Y. C., 25. Nat. Comdr. Hirsch L. Gordon; V. Comdr. Robert Lemberg. Seeks to unify the veterans of the Zion Transport Corps (Gallipoli, 1915) and of the three Jewish Battalions, Royal Fusiliers, in the Palestine campaign (1917-20), and to publish the history of their achievements. Jewish Legionary.

AMERICAN RED MOGEN DOVID FOR ISRAEL (1941). 225 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Louis Rosenberg; Exec. Dir. Charles W. Feinberg. Functions as the national membership organization in support of the Magen David Adom, Israel's first aid agency and official Israeli Red Cross service. The Open Door to Health,

AMERICAN TECHNION SOCIETY (1940). 1000 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 28. Pres. J. W. Wunsch; Exec. Dir. William H. Schwartz. Supports the Haifa Technion, Israel's Institute of Technology, and promotes the technical and industrial development of Israel. Technion Monthly; Tech-

nion Yearbook.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL (1939; reorg. 1949). 342 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Chmn. Irving Miller; Exec. Dir. Jerome Unger. Carries on an informational program on the American scene, stresses the fostering of Jewish culture and the Hebrew language in American Jewish life and the intensification of Zionist

youth work. Bulletin.

AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL (1950). 38 W. 88 St., N. Y. C., 24. Nat. Chmn. Lester Zirin; Exec. Sec. Valia Hirsch. Disseminates information and encourages financial and public support for the Israel kibbutzim; seeks support for an independent and democratic Israel; encourages investment in cooperative industrial enterprises in Israel. Information Bulletin; Israel Horizons.

AMPAL—AMERICAN ISRAEL CORPORATION (1942). 17 E. 71 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Abraham Dickenstein; Chmn. Exec. Com. Benjamin R. Harris. Seeks to develop trade relations between the U.S. and Israel and assists in development of economic and agricultural resources of Israel.

Annual Report.

BACHAD ORGANIZATION OF NORTH AMER-ICA (1950). 154 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Exec. Dir. Zvi Reich. Fosters and promotes ideals of religious pioneering in Israel; maintains bachsbarah agricultural training farm and school, as well as professional department to guide and assist those interested in pioneering and professions in Israel. Hamvasser.

BETAR-BRIT TRUMPELDOR OF AMERICA, INC. (1929). 276 W. 43 St., N. Y. C., 36 Pese Pienber College.

36. Pres. Pinchas Stolper; Exec. Sec. Israel Herman. Seeks to educate Jewish youth for life in Israel according to the Revisionist principles of Ze'ev Jabotinsky. Hadar; Tel Hai Newsletter; Tzofe Betar.

BNEI AKIVA OF NORTH AMERICA (1939).

154 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Treas. Meir Kahane; Exec. Dir. Pesach Schindler. Seeks to awaken the interest of members in religious Zionism through self-realization in Israel; maintains training farms and leadership seminars. Akivon; Hamvasser; Ohalenu; Pinkas L'madrich; Holiday Pamphlets.

FEDERATED COUNCIL OF ISRAEL INSTITU-TIONS—FCII (1940). 38 Park Row, N. Y. C., 38. Pres. David L. Meckler; Exec. V.P. Abraham Horowitz. Central fundraising organization for independent religious, educational, and welfare institutions in Israel which are not maintained by the various fund-raising agencies of the Zionist Organization. Annual Financial Re-

FOUNDATION FOR THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (formerly NATIONAL USSISHKIN LEAGUE) (1945). 41 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Bernard A. Rosenblatt; Exec. Dir. Abe Tuvim. Promotes future income for the Jewish National Fund work in Israel through bequests, wills, and insurance. Lawyers Can Open the Door; National Ussishkin League.

GIVAT HASOFER-WRITERS CENTER OF ISRAEL, AMERICAN FRIENDS OF (1952). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 27. Chmn. Abraham S. Halkin; Sec. Aaron Decter. Helps to create a writers' center in Herzliah

for the writers of the world.

HABONIM, LABOR ZIONIST YOUTH (1920).
45 E. 17 St., N. Y. C., 3. Mazkir Dani
Kerman. Trains Jewish youth to become chalutzim in Israel; stimulates study of Jewish life, history, and culture; prepares youth for the defense of Jewish rights everywhere; prepares Jewish youth for active participation in American Jewish community life. Furrows; Haboneh.
HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGAN-

IZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1912). 136 W. 52 St., N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Mrs. Herman Shulman; Exec. Dir. Hannah L. Goldberg. Seeks to foster creative Jewish living in the U. S.; conducts health, medical, social service, child rehabilitation, vocational education, and land reclamation and afforestation activities in Israel. Hadassah Headlines; Hadassah Newsletter.

HAPOBL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA, INC. (1921). 154 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Bernard Bergman, Israel Schorr, Zev Segal; Exec. Sec. Isaac B. Rose. Seeks to build up the state of Israel in accordance with the principles, laws, and traditions of Orthodoxy. Jewish Horizon; Kolenu.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF (1948). 154 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 38. Pres. Mrs. Abraham Bernstein; Sec. Mrs. Elias Gelbwachs. Helps to maintain nurseries, kindergartens, homes for children and girls, and training schools in Israel.

Menorah Bulletin.

HASHAVIM—LABOR ZIONIST ALIYA GROUP (1949). 45 E. 17 St., N. Y. C., 3. Treas. Louis Schneider; Exec. Sec. Herbert Zvi Soifer. Offers an intensive program of education and activity aimed at preparing young adults for cooperative life in Israel. Hashavim Newsletter.

ASHOMER HATZAIR ZIONIST YOUTH (1925). 38 W. 88 St., N. Y. C., 24. Exec. Sec. Ruth Reis; Educ. Dir. David White. HASHOMER HATZAIR Educates youth and provides agricultural training for pioneering and collective life in Israel. Lamadrich; Niv Haboger; Young Guard.

HECHALUTZ ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (A functional arm of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organiza-tion.) (1935). 33 E. 67 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Natan Blezowski; Sec. Ben Kaminker. Provides agricultural, industrial, and educational training for American Jewish youth in preparation for life in Israel; offers advice, guidance, and assistance to professionals who desire to settle in Israel; cooperates on work-and-study summer tours of Israel. Occasional brochures.

ISRABL MUSIC FOUNDATION (1948). 731 Broadway, N. Y. C., 3. Pres. Oscar Regen; Sec. Oliver Sabin. Supports and stimulates the growth of music in Israel, and disseminates Israel music in the U.S. and throughout the world in recorded form.

JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE, AMERICAN SECTION OF (1929). 16 E. 66 St., N. Y. C., 21. Chmn. Nahum Goldmann; Exec. Dir. Gottlieb Hammer. Recognized by the State of Israel as the authorized agency to work in the State of Israel for the development and the colonization of the State of Israel, for the absorption of immigrants from the Diaspora, and for the coordination of the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and associations operating in these fields. Conducts a world-wide Hebrew culture program, which includes special seminars for teachers and pedagogic manuals. Economic Horizons.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, INC.—KEREN KAYEMETH LEISRAEL (1910). 41 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Harris J. Levine; Exec. Dir. Mendel N. Fisher. Raises funds to purchase and develop the soil of Israel. JNF Bulletin; Land and Life.

JUNIOR HADASSAH, YOUNG WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1920). 1650 Broadway, N. Y. C., 19. Pres. Frayda Ingber; Exec. Sec. Aline Kap-lan. In Israel maintains the Children's Village of Meier Shfeyah and the Junior Hadassah Library at the Hadassah Henrietta Szold School of Nursing; supports Jewish National Fund projects; conducts an educational program for membership to strengthen democracy and American Jewish community, Junior Hadassah Tempo: Pilos.

LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMER-ICA—POALE ZION (1905). 45 E. 17 St., N. Y. C., 3. Chmn. Central Com. Herman Seidel; Exec. Sec. Jacob Katzman. Supports labor and progressive forces in Israel, democratization of American Jewish community life, and American pro-labor legislation. Jewish Frontier; Yiddisher

Kemfer.

LEAGUE FOR NATIONAL LABOR IN ISRAEL, INC. (1935). 276 W. 43 St., N. Y. C., 36. Chmn. Beinesh Epstein; Gen. Sec. Morris Giloni. Extends moral and financial help to the non-socialist National Labor Federation of Israel (Histradut Ha-Ovdim Haleumit), and acquaints the American public with its aims and activities. Israel Digest.

LEAGUE FOR RELIGIOUS LABOR IN ERETZ ISRAEL, INC. (1941). 38 Park Row, N. Y. C., 38. Exec. Dir. Isaac B. Rose. Promotes in the United States the ideals of the Torah V'avodah (religious labor) movement; assists the religious pioneers in Israel.

League Bulletin.

MIZRACHI HATZAIR-MIZRACHI YOUTH OF AMERICA (merger of JUNIOR MIZRACHI WOMEN and NOAR MIZRACHI OF AMER-ICA) (1952). 242 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., 3. Nat. Pres. Karpol Bender; Exec. Dir. Abraham Stern. Aims to aid in the upbuilding of Israel in accordance with the Torah and traditions of Israel; spreads the religious Zionist ideal among the youth of America through varied cultural and educational programs. Leaders Guides; Miz-racha; Mizracha Jr. Section; Parshat Ha-shavua; Program Aids; Religious Guides.

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1911). 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10. Pres. Mordecai Kirshblum; Nat. Exec. Sec. Samuel Spar. Seeks to rebuild Israel as a Jewish commonwealth in the spirit of traditional Judaism and to strengthen Oxthodox Judaism in the Diaspora. Mizrachi Outlook; Mizrachi Weg; Or Hamizrach; Yiddish Information Bulletin.

MIZRACHI PALESTINE FUND (). 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10. Joint Com. of Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi in America; Max Hagler, Mordecai Kirsh-blum, Israel Berman, Isidore Eichler,

Charles Bick. Acts as financial instrument of the World Mizrachi Organization to collect funds in the United States for the activities of Mizrachi and Hapoel Ha-

mizrachi in Israel.

MIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1925). 242 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C., 3. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Joshua L. Lewis; Exec. Sec. Rose Zaltsman. Conducts extensive social service, child care, and vocational education programs in Israel in an environment of traditional Judaism; conducts cultural activities for the purpose of disseminating Zionist ideals and strengthening traditional Judaism in Amerca. Cultural Guide; Mizrachi Woman.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL (ISRAEL HISTADRUT CAMPAIGN) (1923). 33 E. 67 St., N. Y. C., 21. Nat. Chmn. Joseph Schlossberg; Nat. Sec. Isaac Hamlin. Provides funds for the various social welfare, vocational, health, cultural, and similar institutions and services of Histadrut for the benefit of workers and immigrants and to assist in the integration of newcomers as productive citizens in Israel; promotes an understanding of the aims and achievements of Israel labor among Jews and non-Jews in America. Histadrut Foto-News.

COUNCIL OF (1947). 33 E. 67 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Joseph Breslaw; Exec. Dir. Gregory J. Bardacke. Collects funds, educates, and solicits moral and political assistance from trade union organizations and members for the Histadrut and the State of Israel. Histadrut Foto-News.

ATIONAL YOUNG JUDAEA (1909). 16 E. 50 St., N. Y. C., 22. Leader Head Joseph Wernik; Senior Head Gerald Hurwitz. NATIONAL Seeks to develop in the U.S. a Jewish youth rooted in its heritage and dedicated to serving the Jewish people. HaMadrich;

Senior; Young Judaean.

PALESTINE ECONOMIC CORPORATION, INC. (1926). 400 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Robert Szold; Exec. V. Pres. Ernest Nathan. Fosters economic development of Israel on a business basis through investments. Annual Report.

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD), INC. (1922). 16 E. 66 St., N. Y. C., 21. Pres. Benjamin G. Browdy; Sec. Irving S. Galt. Fiscal arm of the

Jewish Agency for Palestine.

PALESTINE LIGHTHOUSE, INC. (1928). 2109 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Joseph H. Cohen; Exec. Dir. Leonard Neleson. Provides care, occupational training, and education for the Israel blind through a rehabilitation center, residential school for children, guide dog foundation and sheltered workshop. Palestine Light-house Tower; Year Book.

PALESTINE PIONEERS FOUNDATION, INC. (1946) 276 W. 43 St., N. Y. C., 36. Chmn. Morris J. Mendelsohn; Exec. Dir. Morris Giloni. Aids in building, colonization and social welfare activities of the National Labor Federation in Israel and its various institutions.

PALESTINE SYMPHONIC CHOIR PROJECT (1938). 3143 Central Ave., Indianapolis 5, Ind. Chmn. Myro Glass; Treas. James G. Heller. Seeks to settle cantors and Jewish artists and their families in Israel; seeks to establish a center for festivals of Biblical musical dramas.

PIONEER WOMEN, THE WOMEN'S LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1925). 29 E. 22 St., N. Y. C., 10. Pres. Sara Feder. Seeks to build Israel along cooperative lines and achieve social improvements in the U.S.; sponsors social welfare, agricultural and vocational training and rehabilitation projects in Israel.

Pioneer Woman.

- HANOAR HATZIONI PLUGAT ALIYAH — HANOAR HATZIONI (1947). 131 W. 23 St., N. Y. C., 11. Pres. Jacob Messer. Furthers emigration to Israel and formation of agricultural settlements there as a means of building a cooperative society based on principles of social and economic justice and spiritual fulfillment as Jews. Alon Hamadrich; Hakol Hakoreh; Kol Hanoar; Niv.

POALE AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA, INC. (1948). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36.
Pres. Samuel Walkin, Samuel Schonfeld,
Noah Chodes; Exec. Dir. Shimshon Heller. Aims to educate and prepare youth throughout the world to become Orthodox chalutzim in Israel; to support Orthodox communities in Israel. Yedioth PAI;

Shaareinu.

, EZRA-IRGUN HANOAR HACHA-REIDI (1953). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Gershon Kranzler; Sec. Chana Gottlieb. Youth organization of the Poale Agudath Israel; aims to give children a religious, agricultural education in order to enable them to become members of or build kibbutzim in Israel. Yedioth Haezra. -, LEAGUE OF RELIGIOUS SETTLE-

MENTS, INC. — CHEVER HAKIBBUTZIM (1951). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Fabi Schonfeld; Sec. Aron Noah Blasbalg. Enables Jewish youth to enter the

Orthodox kibbutzim in Israel.

POALIM-WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1948). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Mrs. Claire Stern; Sec. Mrs. Abramczyk. Assists Poale Agudath Israel in its efforts to build and support the children's homes, bate-chalutzim, bate-chalotzot and kindergartens in Israel.

PROGRESSIVE ZIONIST LEAGUE-HASHOMER HATZAIR (1947). 38 W. 88 St., N. Y. C., 24. Pres. A. Schenker; Treas. Yitzchak Frankel. Seeks to encourage American community support for Israel kibbutz movement; engages in fund raising for Israel, particularly on behalf of chalutz

(pioneering) movement; seeks to fight for rights of Jews everywhere. Israel Horizons. Tel-Hai Fund, Inc. (1935). 276 W. 43 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Leo Wolfson; Treas. Abraham Zweiben.

UNITED CHARITY INSTITUTIONS OF JERU-SALEM, INC. (1903). 207 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 2. Pres. Israel Rosenberg; Sec. Morris Eliach. Supports medical and edu-

cational institutions in Jerusalem.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC. (1927). 41 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 17. Nat. Chmn. Rudolf G. Sonneborn; Exec. Dir. Ellis Radinsky. Raises funds for Israel's immigration and resettlement program; chief beneficiary of the UJA campaign; fund-raising repre-sentative of all Zionist parties as well as the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish Agency. Israel Fotofacts.
UNITED LABOR ZIONIST PARTY (ACHDUT

HAAVODAH-POALE ZION) (1920; re-org. 1947). 305 Broadway, N. Y. C., 7. Nat. Sec. Paul L. Goldman. Seeks to establish a democratic socialist order in Israel and strengthen the Jewish labor movement in

the U. S. Undzer Veg.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR SPORTS IN ISRAEL (1950). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Chmn. Harry D. Henshel; Exec. Sec. Robert Morrison. Promotes sports and healthful activities for all of the youth of Israel by sending free recreational equipment and athletic coaches to Israel. Mac-

cabiah Report.
UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMER-ICA, INC. (1925). 276 W. 43 St., N. Y. C., 36. Pres. Leo Wolfson; Exec. Dir. Seymour Rosenberg. Aims to mobilize support for the establishment of a free Jewish commonwealth within the historic boundaries

of the land of Israel.

Women's League for Israel, Inc. (1928). 1860 Broadway, N. Y. C., 23. Pres. Mrs. William Prince; Exec. Sec. Louise Hoffman. Provides shelter, vocational training, and social adjustment services for young women newcomers to Israel. Women's League for Israel News Bulletin.

WORLD CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS (1946). 501 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Pres. Israel Goldstein; Gen. Sec. Kalman Sultanik. In Israel encourages private and collective industry and agriculture; advocates the system of free and universal education in Israel, under government control. Issues monthly bulletins, pamphlets, booklets and reports in English, Yiddish, and Spanish. News Bulletin.

ZIONIST ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY OF THE PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (1939). 41 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 17. Dir. and Librarian Sylvia Landress. Serves as an archive and information service for material on Israel, Palestine, the Middle East, and

Zionism. Palestine and Zionism.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1897). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 16. Pres. Mortimer May; Sec. and Exec. Dir. Sidney Marks. Seeks to safeguard the integrity and independence of Israel as a free and democratic commonwealth by means consistent with the laws of the U. S.; to assist in the economic development of Israel; and to strengthen Jewish sentiment and consciousness as a people and promote its cultural creativity. American Zionist; American Zionist News Reporter; Dos Yiddishe Folk; Inside Israel; Organization Letter; Zionist Information Service.

ZIONIST YOUTH COUNCIL (1951). 342
Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 17. Chmn. Shmuel
Alexander Weinstock. Coordinates and initiates Zionist youth activities of mutual interest to the constituent members of the council; acts as spokesman and representa-tive of Zionist youth in interpreting Israel to the youth of America.

CANADA

ACTIONS COMMITTEE OF THE LABOR ZION-IST MOVEMENT IN CANADA (1939). 5101 Esplanade Ave., Montreal. Nat. Chmn. M. Dickstein; Gen. Sec. Leon Cheifetz. Coordinates the activities and advances the program of Labor Zionist groups in Canada. Dos Vort.

AMERICAN FUND FOR ISRAEL INSTITU-TIONS (CANADA). 1479 Mansfield St., Montreal. Exec. Dir. M. Ladsky. Fundraising agency in Canada for leading educators; cultural and social welfare agency

in Israel.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH SCHOOLS IN CAN-ADA (1952). Pres. M. Dickstein. National coordinating agency for Jewish national schools in Canada.

CANADA-ISRAEL SECURITIES, LTD. 2025 University St., Montreal. Pres. Samuel

Bronfman; Exec. Dir. Martin Newmark. Organizes and conducts sale of State of Israel Bonds in Canada.

CANADA-ISRAEL TRADING CORPORATION (1951). 2025 University St., Montreal. Pres. Samuel Bronfman. Encourages and facilitates the financing of the export of vital materials and supplies to Israel.

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR ISRAEL (1944). 5101 Esplanade Ave., Montreal. Pres. S. B. Hurwich; Exec. Dir. A. Shurem. Conducts fund-raising activities for and disseminates information about the Histadrut in Israel. Histadrut Photo News; Informative News Bulletins,

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF HEBREW SCHOOLS (IGUD) (1942). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal. Pres. S. Silver; Chmn. M. I. Mendelson. National coordinating agency for Hebrew schools in Can-

ada. Holiday brochures.

CANADIAN COMMITTEE OF JEWISH FEDERA-TIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS (Affiliated with Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds) (1942). 150 Beverley St., Toronto. Pres. Ben Sadowski; Sec. Florence Hutner. Assists Canadian communities in organizing to meet local, national, and overseas Jewish needs, and seeks to improve such operations.

CANADIAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNI-VERSITY, 2025 University St., Montreal 2. Pres. Allan Bronfman; Nat. Dir. Samuel R. Risk. Represents and publicizes the Hebrew University in Canada; serves as fundraising arm for the University in Canada.

Newsletter.

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1919; reorg. 1934). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal. Nat. Pres. Samuel Bronfman; Nat. Exec. Dir. Saul Hayes. As the recognized national representative body of Canadian Jewry, seeks to safeguard the status, rights and welfare of Jews in Canada, to combat anti-Semitism and promote understanding and goodwill between all ethnic and religious groups; cooperates with other agencies in efforts for improvement of social, economic, and cultural conditions of Jewry and mitigation of their sufferings throughout the world, and in helping to rehabilitate Jewish refugees and immigrants; assists Jewish communities in Canada in establishing central community organizations to provide for the social, philanthropic, educational, and cultural needs of those com-

munities. Congress Bulletin.

CANADIAN JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY (1945). 5815 Jeanne Mance St., Montreal. Pres. S. Harvey; Principal J. Slavin. Trains teachers for all types of Jewish schools.

CANADIAN ORT FEDERATION (1937). 373

CANADIAN ORT FEDERATION (1937). 373
St. Catherine St. W. Montreal, Pres. Leon
D. Crestohl; Exec. Dir. Morris B. Seidelman. Encourages technical trades and agriculture among Jews.

CANADIAN YOUNG JUDEA (1917). 5329
Waverley St., Montreal. Pres. Maurice
Berg; Exec. Dir. Alex Mongelonsky. Seeks
to perpetuate the highest ideals of Judaism,
and to inculcate an interest in Israel and its

rebuilding. Judaean.

CANPAL-CANADIAN PALESTINE TRADING CO. LTD. (1949). 1231 St. Catherine St. W., Montreal, 25. Pres. B. Aaron; Mngr. J. Baumholz. Active in promoting trade between Canada and Israel. Annual Report.

FEDERATED COUNCIL OF ISRAEL INSTITUTIONS (CANADA). 1499 Bleury St., Montreal. Exec. Dir. S. Pollak. Central fundraising organization for independent religious, educational, and welfare institutions in Israel.

HADASSAH (WIZO), WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1917). 2025 University St., Montreal. Pres. Mrs. D. P. Gotlieb; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Zelda Popkin. Seeks to foster Zionist ideals among Jewish women in Canada; conducts childcare, health, medical, and social welfare activities in Israel. Israel Today; Hadassah Highlights.

JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (1907). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal. Pres. Samuel Bronfman; Sec. Leon de Hirsch Levinson. Supervises and assists Jewish land settlement in Canada.

JEWISH IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF CAN-ADA (JIAS) (1922). 4221 Esplanade Ave., Montreal. Pres. J. Segall; Exec. Dir. Joseph Kage. Provides a full program of migration counseling and post-arrival social

services. JIAS News.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE OF CANADA (1936), 4848 St. Lawrence Blvd., Montreal, 14. Chmn. Michael Rubenstein; Dir. Kalman Kaplansky. Aids Jewish and non-Jewish labor institutions overseas; aids victims of oppression and persecution; seeks to combat anti-Semitism and racial and religious intolerance. Canadian Labor Reports (French and English).

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF CANADA (1900). 2025 University St., Montreal, 2. Nat. Chmn. Charles Bender; Nat. Exec. Sec. Bernard Figler. Raises funds for re-

demption of land in Israel.

JOINT PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS AND B'NAI B'RITH IN CANADA (1936). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal. Nat. Chmn. Jacob Finkelman. Seeks to prevent and eliminate anti-Semitism and promote better intergroup relations in Canada.

KEREN HATARBUT (HEBREW CULTURE ORGANIZATION OF CANADA). 5815
Jeanne Mance St., Montreal. Pres. S. S. Gordon; Nat. Exec. Dir. L. Kronitz. Seeks to stimulate the knowledge of the Hebrew language and Hebrew culture in Canada.

Tadpis.

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF CANADA. 5402 Park Ave., Montreal. Pres. H. Tannenbaum; V.P. and Exec. Dir. S. M. Zambrovsky. Seeks to rebuild Israel as a Jewish commonwealth in the spirit of traditional Judaism, and to strengthen Orthodox Judaism in the Diaspora.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR ISRAEL AND JEWISH REHABILITATION (1950). 2025 University St., Montreal, 2. Nat. Chmn. Samuel Bronfman; Nat. Fd. Raising Dir. J. B. Lightman. Sponsors and organizes United Jewish Appeals throughout Canada for UIA and UJRA (overseas aid).

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN OF CANADA. 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal. Pres. Mrs. Benjamin Robinson; Sec. Mrs. L. J. Notkin. Offers program of community welfare services and education for action in social legislation and welfare in Canada. Canadian Council Woman.

PALESTINE ECONOMIC CORPORATION OF CANADA, LTD. (1949). 85 Richmond St. W., Toronto. Pres. Marvin B. Gelber. Affords an instrument through which Canadian investors may give material aid on a business basis to productive Israel enterprises.

UNITED JEWISH RELIEF AGENCIES OF CAN-

ADA (affiliated with the AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE) (1939). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal. Pres. Samuel Bronfman; Exec. Dir. Saul Hayes. Federates organizations extending relief to Jewish

refugees and other war victims. Congress Bulletin.

ZIONIST MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (1923). 2025 University St., Montreal. Pres. Milton L. Klein. Exec. Dir. Jesse Schwartz. General Zionist men's organization in Canada.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1892). 2025 University St., Montreal. Pres. Edward E. Gelber; Exec. Dir. Jesse Schwartz. Seeks to organize mass support for the rebuilding of Israel as a Jewish commonwealth. Canadian Zionist.

Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils

THIS DIRECTORY is one of a series compiled annually by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. Virtually all of these community organizations are affiliated with the Council as their national association for sharing of common services, interchange of experience, and joint consultation and ac-

These communities comprise at least 95 per cent of the Jewish population of the United States and about 90 per cent of the Jewish population of Canada. Listed for each community is the local central agency-federation, welfare fund, or community council—with its address and the names of the presi-

dent and executive director.

The names "federation," "welfare fund," and "Jewish community council" are not definitive and their structures and functions vary from city to city. What is called a federation in one city, for example, may be called a community council in another. In the main these central agencies have responsibility for some or all of the following functions: (a) raising of funds for local, national, and overseas services; (b) allocation and distribution of funds for these purposes; (c) coordination and central planning of local services, such as family welfare, child care, health, recreation, community relations within the Jewish community and with the general community, Jewish education, care of the aged, and vocational guidance, to strengthen these services, eliminate duplication and fill gaps; (d) in small and some intermediate cities, direct adminis-tration of local social services.

In the directory, the following symbols are

(1) Member agency of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

(2) Receives support from Community Chest.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

ANNISTON

FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES; Pres. Ben Applebaum; Sec. Rudy A. Kemp, P. O. Box 750.

BESSEMER

1 JEWISH WELFARE FUND; P. O. Box 9; Pres. Hyman Weinstein; Exec. Sec. J. S. Gallinger.

BIRMINGHAM

¹ UNITED JEWISH FUND (incl. Ensley, Fairfield, Tarrant City) (1937); 700 N. 18 St. (3); Pres. I. L. Rosen; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Benjamin A. Roth.

MOBILE

1, 2 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION; Pres. Sid Magnes; Sec.-Treas. Sidney Simon, 459 Conti St.

MONTGOMERY

1 JEWISH FEDERATION; (1930); Pres. Mike Mohr, P. O. Box 631.

TRI-CITIES

1 JEWISH FEDERATED CHARITIES (incl. Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia) (1933); Co-Chmn. Philip Olim, Louis Rosenbaum; Sec. William Gottlieb, Florence.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. surrounding communities) (1940); P. O. Box 7133; Pres. David Bush; Exec. Dir. Hirsh Kaplan.

TUCSON

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1942); 134 S. Tucson Blvd.; Pres. Jacob Fruchthendler; Exec. Dir. Benjamin N. Brook.

ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK

1, 2 JEWISH WELFARE AGENCY (incl. England, Levy, North Little Rock) (1912); 309 Pyramid Building; Pres. Arthur O. Sanders; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Sidney Rosenberg.

CALIFORNIA

BAKERSFIELD

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER BAKERSFIELD (incl. Arvin, Delano, Shafter, Taft, Wasco) (1937); Pres. Benjamin L. Siegel, 1264 Stockton Ave.; Sec. Mrs. Ethel Ferber.

FRESNO

1 UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. Fresno, Madera Counties) (1931); sponsored by Jewish Welfare Federation; P. O. Box 1328 (15); Pres. H. M. Ginsburg; Exec. Sec. David L. Greenberg.

LONG BEACH

¹ United Jewish Welfare Fund (1934); sponsored by Jewish Commu-NITY COUNCIL; 2026 Pacific Ave. (6); Pres. Maurice H. Rosenbaum; Exec. Dir. Joshua Marcus.

LOS ANGELES

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS (1911); 590 N. Vermont Ave. (4); Pres. Ben Solnit; Exec. Dir. Martin Ruderman.

¹Los Angeles Jewish Community COUNCIL (incl. Los Angeles and vicinity) (1934); sponsors UNITED JEWISH WEL-FARE FUND; 590 N. Vermont Ave. (4); Pres. David Coleman; Exec. Sec. Julius Bisno.

OAKLAND

1, 2 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. Alameda, Berkeley, Emeryville, Hayward, Martinez, Piedmont, Pittsburg, Richmond, San Leandro, Central Contra Costa County) (1945); 724—14 St. (12); Pres. Lawrence Simon; Exec. Dir. Harry J. Sapper.

PETALUMA

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, 740 Western Ave.; Pres. Simon Jaffee; Sec. Bernard B. Miran.

SACRAMENTO

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF SACRAMENTO AND SUPERIOR CALIFOR-NIA (1935); 403 California Fruit Bldg. (14); Pres. Alvin Landis; Exec. Dir. Charles T. Shafrock.

SALINAS

MONTEREY COUNTY JEWISH COMMU-NITY COUNCIL (1948); 326 Park St.; Pres. Arthur Soroken; Sec. Miss Louise Breslauer.

SAN BERNARDINO

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Colton, Redlands) (1936); 3512 E. St.; Pres. Norman Feldheym.

SAN DIEGO

¹ United Jewish Fund (incl. San Diego County) (1935); 333 Plaza, Rm. 301 (1); Pres. Louis Moorsteen; Exec. Dir. Albert A. Hutler.

FEDERATION OF JEWISH AGENCIES (1950); 333 Plaza, Rm. 301 (1); Pres. Carl M. Esenoff; Exec. Dir. Albert A. Hutler.

SAN FRANCISCO

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (1910); 1600 Scott St. (15); Pres. John R. Golden; Exec. Dir. Hyman Kaplan.

1 JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. Marin and San Mateo Counties) (1925); Balfour Bldg., 351 California St. (4); Pres. Walter D. Heller; Exec. Sec. Sanford M. Treguboff.

SAN JOSE

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Santa Clara County) (1936); Pres. Nathan H. Havlin; Sec. Mrs. Herbert Schwalbe, 1269 Magnolia St.

STOCKTON

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Lodi, Tracy, Sonora) (1948); 1345 N. Madison St.; Pres. Forrest Greenberg; Exec. Dir. Henry Ruby.

VALLEJO

JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (1938); P. O. Box 536; Pres. Michael A. Wallin; Sec. Nicholas B. Cherney.

1 VENTURA COUNTY JEWISH COUNCIL (incl. Camarillo, Fillmore, Ojai, Oxnard, Port Hueneme, Santa Paula, Ventura) (1938); P. O. Box 908, Ventura; Pres. Harold L. Straus; Exec. Dir. S. Stern.

COLORADO

COLORADO SPRINGS

¹ COLORADO SPRINGS ALLIED JEWISH FUND (1953); Pres. Hyman G. Silver; Sec. A. Sam Bloom, 1351 Hillcrest Ave.

DENVER

1 ALLIED JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1936); sponsors Allied Jewish Cam-PAIGN; 201 Mining Exchange Bldg. (2); Pres. Hyman Friedman; Exec. Dir. Nathan Rosenberg.

CONNECTICUT

BRIDGEPORT

BRIDGEPORT JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Fairfield, Stratford) (1936); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAM-PAIGN; 360 State St.; Pres. Joseph Goch-ros; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Clara M. Stern.

DANBURY

1 JEWISH FEDERATION (1945); 30 West St.; Pres. Walter Werner; Treas. Sidney Sussman.

HARTFORD

¹ Jewish Federation (1945); 983 Main St. (3); Pres. Samuel Roskin; Exec. Dir. Bernard L. Gottlieb.

MERIDEN

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1944); 127 E. Main St.; Pres. Jacob Gottlieb; Sec. Albert N. Troy.

NEW BRITAIN

1 New Britain Jewish Federation (1936); 33 Court St.; Pres. Zundie A. Finkelstein; Exec. Dir. Gordon B. Alt.

NEW HAVEN

¹ Jewish Community Council (incl. Hamden, W. Haven) (1928); sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund (1939); 152 Temple St. (10); Pres. Louis Feinmark; Exec. Dir. Norman B. Dockman.

NEW LONDON

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF NEW LONDON (1951); Pres. Joseph Wurman; Sec. Miss Esther Sulman, 402 Montauk Ave.

STAMFORD

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 132 Prospect St.; Chmn. Samuel Zales; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Leon Kahn.

WATERBURY

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION OF WATERBURY (1938); 24 Grand St. (2); Pres. Aaron A. Solomon; Exec. Dir. Ralph Segalman.

DELAWARE

WILMINGTON

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION OF DELAWARE (Statewide) (1935); 100 E. 7 St.; Pres. I. B. Finkelstein; Exec. Dir. A. Roke Lieberman.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER WASHINGTON (1939); 1420 New York Ave., N.W. (5); Pres. Aaron Goldman; Exec. Dir. Isaac Franck.

United Jewish Appeal of Greater Washington, Inc. (1935); 1529—16 St.; N.W. (6); Pres. Leopold V. Freudberg; Exec. Dir. Louis E. Spiegler.

FLORIDA

JACKSONVILLE

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Jacksonville Beach) (1935); 425 Newnan St. (2); Pres. Philip N. Coleman; Exec. Dir. Ben Stark.

MIAMI

¹ Greater Miami Jewish Federation (incl. Dade County) (1938); 420 Lincoln Road, Miami Beach (39); Pres. Stan-

ley C. Myers; Exec. Dir. Benjamin B. Rosenberg.

ORLANDO

¹CENTRAL FLORIDA JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1949); 529 E. Church St.; Pres. Sidney C. Gluckman; Exec. Sec. Aaron D. Aronson.

PENSACOLA

¹ PENSACOLA FEDERATED JEWISH CHAR-ITIES (1942); Pres. Nathan S. Rubin; Sec. Mrs. C. M. Frenkel, 108 W. Brainard St.

ST. PETERSBURG

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; Pres. D. L. Mendelblatt, Medical Square; Sec. Miss Florence Newman.

TAMPA

1 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF TAMPA (1941); 325 Hyde Park Ave. (6); Pres. David Cowen; Exec. Dir. Nathan Rothberg.

WEST PALM BEACH

¹FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF PALM BEACH COUNTY (1938); 506 Malverne Road; Pres. Arthur I. Shain; Sec. Samuel A. Schutzer.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

1, 2 FEDERATION FOR JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE (incl. DeKalb and Fulton Counties) (1905); 41 Exchange Pl. S.E.; Pres. Jacob M. Rothschild; Exec. Dir. Edward M. Kahn.

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. DeKalb and Fulton Counties) (1936); 41 Exchange Pl. S.E.; Pres. Frank Garson; Exec. Sec. Edward M. Kahn.

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; 41 Exchange Pl. S.E.; Pres. Barney Medintz; Exec. Dir. Edward M. Kahn.

AUGUSTA

¹ FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (1943); Richmond County Courthouse; Chmn. Lee Blum; Sec. Howard P. Jolles.

COLUMBUS

1 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1941); 408 Murrah Bldg.; Pres. Victor Kralfy; Sec. Lawrence S. Rosenstrauch.

MACON

1 FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (1942); P. O. Box 237; Pres. Alvin Koplin.

SAVANNAH

¹ SAVANNAH JEWISH COUNCIL (1943); sponsors United Jewish Appeal and Federation Campaign; P. O. Box 104; Pres. Samuel Robinson; Exec. Dir. Paul Kulick.

VALDOSTA

1 JEWISH JOINT COMMUNITIES CHARITY FUND OF THE FLORIDA BORDER REGION (incl. Adel, Homerville, Nashville, Quitman); Chmn. Al H. Siskin, 117 W. Hill; Sec.-Treas. Abe Pincus.

IDAHO

BOISE

¹ SOUTHERN IDAHO JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1947); P. O. Box 700; Pres. Milton Birnbaum.

ILLINOIS

AURORA

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1935); 20 N. Lincoln Ave.; Pres. Irving Lisberg; Sec. Zalmon Goldsmith.

CHICAGO

1, 2 JEWISH FEDERATION (1900); 231 S. Wells St. (4); Pres. Mortimer B. Harris; Exec. Dir. Samuel A. Goldsmith.

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1936); 231 S. Wells St. (4); Pres. Frederick W. Straus; Sec. Samuel A. Goldsmith.

DECATUR

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION; Pres. Emanuel Rosenberg; Sec. Mrs. Sam Loeb, 22 Edgewood Court.

ELGIN

1 JEWISH WELFARE CHEST (incl. St. Charles) (1938); Pres. Warren Rubnitz, 202 S. Grove St.; Treas. Irvin Berman.

IOLIET

¹ JOLIET JEWISH WELFARE CHEST (incl. Coal City, Dwight, Lockport, Morris, Wilmington) (1938); 226 E. Clinton St.; Pres. Irving Greene; Sec. Morris M. Hershman.

PEORIA

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL AND FUND (incl. Canton, Pekin) (1933); 245 N. Perry Ave. (3); Pres. David Citron; Exec. Dir. Abraham F. Citron.

ROCK ISLAND-MOLINE

¹ UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF ROCK ISLAND & MOLINE (1938); 1804—7th Ave.; Pres. Albert K. Livingston; Sec. Mrs. E. Brody.

ROCKFORD

JEWISH COMMUNITY BOARD (1937); 1502 Parkview; Pres. Philip Behr; Exec. Dir. Allan Bloom.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

1 JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN

ILLINOIS (incl. all of Illinois south of Carlinville) (1942); 435 Missouri Ave., East St. Louis; Pres. Jacob J. Altman; Exec. Dir. Hyman H. Ruffman.

SPRINGFIELD

1, 2 JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Ashland, Athens, Atlanta, Jacksonville, Lincoln, Pana, Petersburg, Pittsfield, Shelbyville, Taylorville, Winchester) (1941); 730 East Vine St.; Pres. Michael Eckstein; Exec. Dir. Miss Dorothy Wolfson.

INDIANA

EAST CHICAGO

¹ EAST CHICAGO COUNCIL OF JEWISH WELFARE FUNDS; Pres. Edward Singer; Fin. Sec. Simon Miller, 3721 Main St., Indiana Harbor.

EVANSVILLE

¹ Jewish Community Council (1936); 100 Washington Ave.; Pres. Alan Brentano; Exec. Sec. Milton Greenwald.

FORT WAYNE

1, 2 FORT WAYNE JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. surrounding communities) (1922); 204 Strauss Bldg. (2); Pres. Chester M. Leopold; Exec. Dir. Joseph Levine.

GARY

1 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. Crown Point) (1940); 844 Broadway; Pres. William H. Stern; Exec. Dir. Frank H. Newman.

HAMMOND

¹UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF HAMMOND, INC. (1939); Pres. Hyman Shneider; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Ulrick B. Steuer, 246 Belden Pl., Munster.

INDIANAPOLIS

1, 2 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1905); 615 N. Alabama St. (4); Pres. Maurel Rothbaum; Exec. Dir. Oscar A. Mintzer.

LAFAYETTE

1 FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES (incl. Attica, Crawfordsville) (1924); Pres. Itzak Walerstein, 1334 Sunset Lane, West Lafayette; Sec. Mrs. Sara Belman.

MARION

MARION FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (incl. Grant County) (1935); Pres. Sam Fleck; Sec. Mrs. Barbara Resneck.

SOUTH BEND

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF ST. JOSEPH COUNTY (1946); 308 Platt Bldg.; Pres. Mrs. A. H. Freedman; Exec. Dir. Norman Edell.

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1937); 308 Platt Bldg.; Pres. Arthur S. Simon; Exec. Dir. Norman Edell.

TERRE HAUTE

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION OF TERRE HAUTE (incl. Marshall, Paris) (1922); Pres. Gershon Loeser; Sec. Mrs. Ernestine Blum, 1101 S. Sixth St.

IOWA

CEDAR RAPIDS

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1941); 1947 Washington Ave. S.E.; Pres. Norman G. Lipsky; Sec. Maurice L. Nathanson.

DAVENPORT

¹ JEWISH CHARITIES (1921); 12th & Mississippi Ave.; Pres. Ben Comenitz; Sec. Martin Zion.

DES MOINES

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1914); 507 Empire Bldg. (9); Pres. Ellis Levitt; Exec. Dir. Sidney Speiglman.

SIOUX CITY

1, 2 JEWISH FEDERATION (1943); P. O. Box 1468; Pres. Marvin Klass; Exec. Dir. Oscar Littlefield.

WATERLOO

¹ WATERLOO JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); Pres. Harry Strom, 745 Prospect Blvd.

KANSAS

TOPEKA

1 TOPEKA-LAWRENCE JEWISH FEDERA-TION (incl. Emporia, Lawrence, St. Marys) (1939); Pres. Meyer Tkatch; Sec. Louis Pozez, 626 Kansas Ave.

WICHITA

1 MID-KANSAS JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. August, El Dorado, Eureka, Dodge City, Great Bend, Hosington, Hutchinson, McPherson) (1935); Pres. W. C. Cohen; Exec. Dir. Harold A. Zelinkoff, 904 Central Bldg.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

¹ CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (incl. Jeffersonville, New Albany, Ind.) (1934); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN, 622 Marion E. Taylor Bldg. (2); Chmn. Sam J. Beierfield; Exec. Dir. Clarence F. Judah.

LOUISIANA

ALEXANDRIA

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); P. O. Box 612; Pres. Irving Goldstein; Sec. Mrs. J. C. Jackson.

MONROE

¹ United Jewish Charities of North-EAST LOUISIANA (1938); P. O. Box 1168, Pres. Maurice Glazer; Sec.-Treas. J. S. Garelick.

NEW ORLEANS

Leans (1913); 211 Camp St. (12); Pres. M. E. Polson; Exec. Dir. Benjamin B. Goldman.

¹ New Orleans Jewish Welfare Fund (1933); 211 Camp St. (12); Pres. Henry Maslansky; Exec. Sec. Benjamin B. Goldman.

SHREVEPORT

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); 802 Cotton St. (6); Pres. Jacques L. Wiener; Exec. Dir. Maurice Klinger.

MAINE

BANGOR

² JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Old Town, Orono, and outlying towns); 28 Somerset St.; Pres. Max S. Kominsky; Exec. Dir. Milton Lincoln.

PORTLAND

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION (1942); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 341 Cumberland Ave; Pres. Arthur M. Waterman; Exec. Dir. Jules Krems.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

1 ASSOCIATED JEWISH CHARITIES (1920); 319 W. Monument St. (15); Pres. Isaac Hamburger; Exec. Dir. Harry Greenstein.

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1941); 319 W. Monument St. (15); Pres. Lee L. Dopkin; Exec. Dir. Harry Greenstein.

CUMBERLAND

¹ Jewish Welfare Fund of Western Maryland (incl. Frostburg, Oakland, Md. and Keyser, W. Va.) (1939); Pres. Leonard C. Schwab; Sec. Robert Kaplon, P. O. Box 327.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

1, 2 ASSOCIATED JEWISH PHILANTHRO-PIES, INC. (central planning, coordinating and budgeting agency for 22 local health, welfare, educational and group work agencies) (1895); 72 Franklin St. (10); Pres. Benjamin Ulin; Exec. Dir. Sidney S. Cohen.

1 COMBINED JEWISH APPEAL OF GREAT-ER BOSTON, INC. (central fund-raising agency for support of local, national, overseas, and Israel agencies for Boston and surrounding communities) (1947); 72 Franklin St. (10); Pres. Jacob L. Wiseman; Exec. Dir. Sidney S. Cohen.

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF MET-ROPOLITAN BOSTON (1944); 44 School St. (8); Pres. Lewis H. Weinstein; Exec. Dir. Robert E. Segal.

BROCKTON

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL CONFERENCE (incl. Rockland, Stoughton, Whitman) (1939); 66 Green St.; Chmn. William Bronstein; Exec. Sec. Harry Minkoff.

FALL RIVER

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.; 41 N. Main St.; Pres. Louis Hornstein; Chmn. UJA—Teavy Udis.

FITCHBURG

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION OF FITCHBURG (1939); 66 Day St.; Pres. Philip Salny.

HOLYOKE

¹ COMBINED JEWISH APPEAL OF HOLY-OKE (incl. Easthampton) (1939); 378 Maple St.; Pres. Monte Feinstein; Exec. Dir. Samuel Soifer.

LAWRENCE

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER LAWRENCE (1939); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 48 Concord St.; Pres. Abraham Rappaport; Exec. Dir. Mark Mazel.

LEOMINSTER

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1939); Pres. Seymour Tharler; Sec. Mrs. Freda Selig, 90 N. Main St.

LOWELL

1 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF LOWELL (1940); 105 Princeton St.; Pres. Edwin Braverman; Exec. Dir. Joseph Warren.

LYNN

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF GREATER LYNN (incl. Lynnfield, Marblehead, Nahant, Saugus, Swampscott) (1938); 45 Market St.; Pres. Willy Nordwind; Exec. Dir. Albert M. Stein.

NEW BEDFORD

JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF GREATER NEW BEDFORD (1949); 388 County St.; Pres. Arthur Goldys; Exec. Dir. Saul Richman.

PITTSFIELD

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Dalton, Lee, Lenox, Otis) (1940); 235 East St.; Pres. Sidney M. Zeff; Exec. Dir. Herman Shukovsky.

SPRINGFIELD

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); sponsors UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND; 1160 Dickinson St.; Pres. Irving M. Cohen; Exec. Dir. Benjamin Wolf.

WORCESTER

1 JEWISH FEDERATION (1946); sponsors JEWISH WELFARE FUND; 274 Main St. (8); Pres. Jacob Hiatt; Exec. Dir. Melvin Cohen.

MICHIGAN

BAY CITY

1 NORTHEASTERN MICHIGAN JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. East Tawas, Midland, West Branch) (1940); Pres. Herman Koffman; Sec. Mrs. Dorothy B. Sternberg, 201 Cunningham Bldg.

BENTON HARBOR

JEWISH COMMUNITY FUND OF BERRIEN COUNTY, INC. (1942); Pres. Ivan B. Goode, RR2, Coloma.

DETROIT

1. ² Jewish Welfare Federation (1926); sponsors Allied Jewish Campaign; Fred M. Butzel Memorial Bldg., 163 Madison (26); Pres. Samuel H. Rubiner; Exec. Dir. Isidore Sobeloff.

FLINT

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1936); 810 Sill Building (3); Pres. Louis Kasle; Exec. Dir. Irving Antell.

GRAND RAPIDS

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY FUND (1940); 516 Hoyt St. S.E.; Pres. Samuel Kravitz; Sec. Mrs. W. J. Simon.

KALAMAZOO

KALAMAZOO JEWISH WELFARE COUN-CIL, INC. (1949); Pythian Bldg.; Sec. Ben Graham.

LANSING

1 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF LANSING (1939); Pres. Henry Fine; Sec. Mrs. H. P. Spiegelman, Porter Hotel (15).

MUSKEGON

UNITED JEWISH CHARITIES OF GREATER MUSKEGON (1941); c/o B'nai Israel Temple, 4th and Webster; Pres. Abe Ashendorf; Treas. Leo Rosen.

PONTIAC

1 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION & COUNCIL OF PONTIAC (1936); 1014 Pontiac State Bank Bldg. (15); Pres. Benjamin Bisgeier; Sec. H. Malcolm Kahn.

SAGINAW

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. surrounding communities) (1939); Sec. Isadore Lenick, 400 Atwater St.

MINNESOTA

DULUTH

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION AND COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1937); 416 Fidelity Bldg. (2); Pres. Arnold R. Nides; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Harry W. Davis.

MINNEAPOLIS

¹ MINNEAPOLIS FEDERATION FOR JEWISH SERVICE (1931); 512 Nicollet Bldg., Room 718; Pres. Arthur C. Melamed; Exec. Sec. Martin M. Cohn.

ST. PAUL

¹ United Jewish Fund and Council (1935); 311 Hamm Bldg. (2); Pres. Leonard H. Heller; Exec. Dir. Dan S. Rosenberg.

MISSISSIPPI

GREENVILLE

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1952); 512 Main St.; Pres. William Friedman; Sec. Roy Hanf.

MERIDIAN

JEWISH WELFARE FUND; Co-Chmn. Meyer Davison, Lee Meyer; Sec.-Treas. Max Mushlin.

VICKSBURG

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. Anguilla and Cary) (1937); 1209 Cherry St.; Pres. Louis L. Switzer; Sec.-Treas. Sam L. Kleisdorf.

MISSOURI

TOPLIN

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, INC. (incl. surrounding communities) (1938); P. O. Box 284; Pres. Samuel Rosenberg; Sec. Dexter Brown.

KANSAS CITY

1, 2 JEWISH FEDERATION AND COUNCIL OF GREATER KANSAS CITY (incl. Independence, Mo. & Kansas City, Kan.) (1933); 425 New York Life Bldg. (5); Pres. Harry L. Jacobs; Exec. Dir. Abe L. Sudran.

ST. JOSEPH

¹ FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES (1916); 2208 Francis St.; Pres. I. H. Droher; Exec. Sec. Mrs. S. L. Goldman,

ST. LOUIS

1. 2 JEWISH FEDERATION OF ST. LOUIS (incl. St. Louis County) (1901); 613 Locust St. (1); Pres. Irvin Bettman, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Herman L. Kaplow.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN

JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (incl. Beatrice) (1931); 1109 Federal Securities Bldg. (8); Pres. Max Rosenblum; Dir. Louis B. Finkelstein.

OMAHA

1, 2 FEDERATION FOR JEWISH SERVICE (1903); sponsors JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1930); 101 N. 20 St. (2); Pres. J. Harry Kulakofsky; Exec. Dir. Paul Veret.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER; sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 698 Beech St.; Pres. J. Morton Rosenblum; Exec. Dir. Ben Rothstein.

NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC CITY

1 FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (1924); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF ATLANTIC COUNTY; Medical Science Bldg., 101 S. Indiana Ave.; Pres. Morris Batzer; Exec. Dir. Irving T. Spivack.

BAYONNE

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN; 1050 Boulevard; Pres. Samuel J. Penchansky.

CAMDEN

1, 2 JEWISH FEDERATION OF CAMDEN COUNTY (incl. all of Camden Community) (1922); sponsors ALLIED JEWISH APPBAL; 112 N. 7 St. (2); Pres. William Lipkin, Exec. Dir. Bernard Dubin.

ELIZABETH

¹ ELIZABETH JEWISH COUNCIL (1940); sponsors ELIZABETH UNITED JEWISH AP-PBAL; 1034 E. Jersey St.; Pres. Abraham Rocker; Exec. Dir. Louis Kousin.

HACKENSACK

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF HACKEN-SACK, INC. (1940); 211 Essex St.; Pres. Sidney Goldberg; Sec. Irving Warshawsky.

JERSEY CITY

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (1939); 604 Bergen Ave. (4); Chmn. George R. Milstein; Act. Exec. Sec. Abraham Taifer.

NEW BRUNSWICK

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION OF NEW BRUNS-WICK, HIGHLAND PARK & VICINITY (1948); 1 Liberty St.; Pres. Mrs. Irving Sosin; Exec. Dir. Josef Perlberg.

NEWARK

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF ESSEX COUNTY (1922); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF ESSEX COUNTY (1937); 30 Clinton St. (2); Pres. Louis Stern; Exec. Dir. Herman M. Pekarsky.

PASSAIC

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF PASSAIC-CLIFTON AND VICINITY (incl. Garfield, Lodi, Wallington) (1933); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN; 184 Washington Pl.; Pres. Sylvan Strauss; Exec. Dir. Max Grossman.

PATERSON

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1933); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL DRIVE; 390 Broadway (1); Pres. Albert H. Slater; Exec. Dir. Max Stern.

PERTH AMBOY

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. South Amboy) (1938); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPBAL; 316 Madison Ave.; Pres. Emil Gelber; Exec. Dir. Martin E. Danzig.

PLAINFIELD

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE PLAINFIELDS (1937); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 403 W. 7 St.; Pres. David Srager; Exec. Dir. Aaron Allen.

TRENTON

¹ Jewish Federation (1929); 18 S. Stockton St. (10); Pres. Irvin J. Millner; Exec. Dir. Milton A. Feinberg.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

¹ Jewish Welfare Fund (Albuquerque and vicinity) (1938); Pres. Herman Bloch; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Rana Adler, 2416 Pennsylvania Ave. N.E.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

¹ JHWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (1938); 78 State St. (7); Pres. Sidney LaCholter; Exec. Dir. Sydney Abzug.

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. Rensselaer); 78 State St. (7); Chmn. Charles Lieberman; Exec. Dir. Sydney Abzug.

AMSTERDAM

¹ FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES; Pres. Samuel L. Siegal; Sec. Samuel H. Fox, 58 E. Main St.

BINGHAMTON

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 155 Front St.; Chmn. Joseph M. Levene; Exec. Dir. Joseph Moseson. JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1937); 155 Front St.; Pres. David Levene; Exec. Dir. Joseph Moseson.

BUFFALO

1, 2 UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF BUFFALO, INC. (1903); Sidway Bldg., 775 Main St. (3); Pres. Arthur Victor, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Arthur S. Rosichan.

ELMIRA

ADVISORY COUNCIL OF JEWISH COM-MUMAL LEADERSHIP (1942); Federation Bldg.; Pres. Lester M. Jacobs; Exec. Dir. Mortimer Greenberg.

GLENS FALLS

GLENS FALLS JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1939); Chmn. Moe Bittman; Fin. Sec. Joseph Saidel, 206 Glen St.

GLOVERSVILLE

² JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER OF FUL-TON COUNTY (incl. Johnstown); 28 E. Fulton St.; Pres. Isaac Zaleon; Exec. Dir. Rubin Lefkowitz.

HUDSON

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1947); 414 Warren St.; Pres. Samuel Siegel; Sec. Joel Epstein.

KINGSTON

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC.; 265 Wall St.; Pres. Herman J. Eaton; Exec. Dir. S. Lewis Gaber.

MIDDLETOWN

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (1939); c/o Middletown Hebrew Association, 13 Linden Ave.; Chmn. Louis Schwartz; Exec. Dir. Moshe V. Goldblum.

NEW YORK CITY

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILAN-THOPIES OF NEW YORK (incl. Greater New York, Westchester, Queens, and Nassau Counties) (1917); 130 E. 59 St. (22); Pres. Salim L. Lewis; Exec. Vice-Pres. Maurice B. Hexter, Joseph Willen.

I UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF GREATER NEW YORK (incl. New York City and metropolitan areas and Westchester, Queens, Nassau and Suffolk Counties) (1939); 220 W. 58 St. (19); Pres. Monroe Goldwater; Exec. Vice-Pres. Henry C. Bernstein, Samuel Blitz.

BROOKLYN JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1939); 16 Court St., Brooklyn (1); Pres. Daniel Gutman; Exec. Dir. Chaim I. Essrog.

NEWBURGH

1 UNITED JEWISH CHARITIES (1925); 360 Powell Ave.; Pres. Ernest M. Levinson; Exec. Dir. Murray Gunner.

NIAGARA FALLS

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1935); 685 Chilton Ave.; Pres. Samuel I. Porrath; Exec. Dir. Mrs. May Chinkers.

PORT CHESTER

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1941); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN; 258 Willett Ave.; Pres. Morris Levine; Exec. Dir. David Shuer.

POUGHKEEPSIE

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1941); 54 N. Hamilton St.; Pres. Maurice Sitomer; Exec. Dir. Julius Dorfman.

ROCHESTER

¹ UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1937); 129 East Ave.; Pres. Fred S. Forman; Exec. Dir. Elmer Louis.

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; 129 East Ave.; Pres. Arthur M. Lowenthal; Exec. Dir. Elmer Louis.

SARANAC LAKE

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER; 13 Church St.; Pres. Morris Dworski; Sec. Joseph Goldstein.

SCHENECTADY

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. surrounding communities) (1938); sponsors SCHENECTADY UJA AND FEDERATED WELFARE FUND; 300 Germania Ave. (7); Pres. Alexander Diamond; Exec. Dir. Samuel Weingarten.

SYRACUSE

1 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, INC. (1918); sponsors JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1933); 201 E. Jefferson St. (2); Pres. Samuel Greene; Exec. Dir. Gerald S. Soroker.

TROY

¹ TROY JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (incl. Green Island, Mechanicville, Waterford, Watervliet) (1936); 87 First St.; Pres. Marvin Katz; Exec. Sec. Fred A. Glass.

UTICA

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1933); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF UTICA; 110 Foster Bldg., 131 Genesee St. (2); Pres. Samuel Leventhal; Exec. Dir. James M. Senor.

NORTH CAROLINA

CHARLOTTE

¹ FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (1940); P. O. Box 2612; Pres. Sidney Levin; Sec. David Hoffman.

GASTONIA

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1944); c/o Temple Emanuel, 320 South St.; Pres. Robert J. Gurney.

GREENSBORO

¹ GREENSBORO JEWISH UNITED CHARITIES, INC.; Pres. Ben Cone; Sec. Mrs. Ben Krieger, 2603 W. Market St.

HENDERSONVILLE

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1946); Pres. Jack Schulman; Sec.-Treas. Morris Kaplan, 527 Justice St.

WINSTON-SALEM

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF WINSTON-SALEM, INC. (1937); 201 Oakwood Dr. (5); Pres. Fred Burk; Sec. Ernst J. Conrad.

NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO

¹ FARGO JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Jamestown, Moorhead, Valley City, Wahpeton) (1939); Pres. L. P. Goldberg; Sec. I. Papermaster, P. O. Box 492.

OHIO

AKRON

1, 2 JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE FEDERATION (1914); Strand Theatre Bldg., 129 S. Main St. (8); Pres. Charles E. Schwartz; Exec. Dir. Nathan Pinsky.

1 JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF AKRON (incl. Barberton, Cuyahoga Falls) (1935); Strand Theatre Bldg., 129 S. Main St. (8); Pres. Harry Sugar; Exec. Dir. Nathan Pinsky.

CANTON

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (1935); 1528 Market Ave. N. (4); Pres. Arthur Genshaft; Exec. Dir. Leonard Sebrans.

CINCINNATI

1 JEWISH WELFARE FUND; 1430 Central Parkway; Pres. Philip Steiner; Exec. Dir. Maurice J. Sievers.

¹ UNITED JEWISH SOCIAL AGENCIES (1896); 1430 Central Parkway; Pres. Frederick Rauh; Exec. Dir. Maurice J. Sievers.

FEDERATION OF JEWISH AGENCIES (1946); 1430 Central Parkway; Pres. Herbert R. Bloch; Exec. Dir. Maurice J. Sievers.

CLEVELAND

1. 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND (1903); 1001 Huron Rd. (15); Pres. Max Freedman; Exec. Dir. Henry L. Zucker.

COLUMBUS

1 UNITED JEWISH FUND (1925); 55 E. State St. (15); Pres. Troy A. Feibel; Exec. Dir. Maurice Bernstein.

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1940); 55 E. State St. (15); Pres. Joseph Zox; Exec. Dir. Maurice Bernstein.

DAYTON

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF DAYTON (1943); 1123 Knott Bldg. (2); Pres. Ralph N. Kopelove; Exec. Dir. Robert Fitterman.

LIMA

¹ FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF LIMA DISTRICT (1935); P. O. Box 152; Pres. Yale Bloom; Sec. Joseph E. Berk.

LORAIN

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); Pres. Edward J. Gould; Sec. Harold Margolis, 1816 E. 28 St.

STEUBENVILLE

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Mingo Junction, Toronto) (1938); 314 National Exchange Bank Bldg.; Pres. Morton Lincoff; Treas. Isaac Adler.

TOLEDO

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1936); 308 Frumkin Bldg. (2); Pres. Harvey Fain; Exec. Dir. Alvin Bronstein.

¹ UNITED JEWISH FUND (1948); 308 Frumkin Bldg. (2); Pres. Abe J. Levine; Exec. Dir. Alvin Bronstein.

WARREN

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Niles) (1938); Pres. Eugene Kay; Sec. Maurice I. Browm, 600 Roselawn Ave., N.E.

YOUNGSTOWN

1. 2 JEWISH FEDERATION OF YOUNGS-TOWN, INC. (incl. Boradman, Campbell, Girard, Lowellville, Struthers) (1935); 505 Gypsy Lane; Pres. Marvin H. Itts; Exec. Dir. Stanley Engel.

OKLAHOMA

ARDMORE

¹ Jewish Federation (1934); Co-Chmn. Sidney Yaffe, 23 B St., S.W., Max Roberson, 412 I St., S.W.

OKLAHOMA CITY

¹ Jewish Community Council (1941); 312 Commerce Exchange Bldg. (1); Pres. Erwin Alpern; Exec. Dir. Julius A. Graber.

TULSA

¹ Tulsa Jewish Community Council (1938); sponsors United Jewish Campaign; Castle Bldg., 114 W. 3 St. (1); Pres. Elliott Davis; Exec. Dir. Emil Salomon.

OREGON

PORTLAND

1, 2 FEDERATED JEWISH SOCIETIES (incl. State of Oregon and adjacent Washington

communities) (1920); 1643 S.W. 12th Ave. (1); Pres. Justin N. Reinhardt; Exec. Sec. Milton Goldsmith.

OREGON JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1936); 1643 S.W. 12th Ave. (1); Pres. Alfred J. Davis; Sec. Milton Goldsmith.

PENNSYLVANIA

ALLENTOWN

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION OF ALLENTOWN; 245 N. 6 St.; Pres. Morris Senderowitz, Jr.; Exec. Dir. George Feldman.

ALTOONA

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILAN-THROPIES (1920); 1308—17 St.; Pres. R. Charles Klatzkin; Exec. Dir. Arthur Hurwitz.

BUTLER

BUTLER JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. Butler County, Chicora, Evans City, Mars) (1938); 225 E. Cunningham St.; Pres. Saul Bernstein; Sec. Maurice Horwitz.

CHESTER

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1939); sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 8th and Welsh Sts.; Pres. Nathan V. Plafker.

COATESVILLE

COATESVILLE JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); Pres. Benjamin Krasnick; Sec. Benjamin Rabinowitz, 1104 Sterling St.

EASTON

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1939); sponsors ALLIED WELFARE APPEAL; 660 Ferry St.; Pres. Mrs. Chief Levine; Sec. Jack Sher.

ERIE

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY WELFARE COUNCIL (1946); 133 W. 7 St.; Pres. Max Wolff; Exec. Dir. Herman Roth.

HARRISBURG

1 UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITY (incl. Carlisle, Lykens, Middletown, Steelton) (1933); 1110 N. 3rd St.; Pres. Milton M. Cohen; Exec. Dir. Albert Hursh.

HAZLETON

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; sponsors FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES DRIVE; Laurel and Hemlock Sts.; Pres. I. T. Klapper; Exec. Dir. Bernard Natkow.

IOHNSTOWN

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; V. P. Samuel H. Cohen, 801 Viewmont Ave.; Seymour S. Silverstone, 602 U. S. Bank Bldg.

LANCASTER

¹ United Jewish Community Council (incl. Lancaster County excepting Ephrata)

(1928); 219 E. King St.; Pres. Lewis Siegel; Exec. Dir. Irving Ribner.

McKEESPORT

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION (1940); 302 Masonic Bldg.; Pres. Robert Amper.

NORRISTOWN

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER; Brown & Powell Sts.; Pres. Louis J. Davis; Exec. Dir. Harold M. Kamsler.

PHILADELPHIA

¹ ALLIED JEWISH APPEAL (1938); 1511 Walnut St. (2); Pres. Myer Feinstein; Exec. Dir. Ephraim Gomberg.

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES (1901); 1511 Walnut St. (2); Pres. Bernard L. Frankel; Exec. Dir. Miss Frances N. Harrison.

PITTSBURGH

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILAN-THROPIES (incl. surrounding communities) (1912); 200 Ross St. (19); Pres. Irwin D. Wolf; Exec. Dir. Maurice Taylor.

¹ UNITED JEWISH FUND (incl. surrounding vicinity) (1936); 200 Ross St. (19); Pres. Louis J. Reizenstein; Exec. Sec. Maurice Taylor.

POTTSVILLE

¹ UNITED JEWISH CHARITIES (incl. Minersville, Pine Grove, St. Clair, Schuylkill Haven) (1935); 508 Mahantongo St.; Co-Chmn. E. M. Diamond, Al Rosenkrantz; Treas. Mrs. Leon N. Mandell.

READING

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1935); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN; 134 N. 5 St.; Pres. Max Fisher; Exec. Sec. Harry S. Sack.

SCRANTON

¹ SCRANTON-LACKAWANNA JEWISH COUNCIL (incl. Lackawanna County) (1936); 440 Wyoming Ave.; Pres. Irving Harris; Exec. Sec. George Joel.

SHARON

¹ SHENANGO VALLEY JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Greenville, Grove City, Sharon, Sharpsville, Pa.) (1940); 1312 Griswold Way; Sec. Bernard Goldstone.

SUNBURY

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 249 Arch St.; Pres. Leonard Apfelbaum; Treas. Robert Weis.

UNIONTOWN

¹ UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Masontown) (1939); Pres. A. L. Lusthaus, Stockton Ave.; Sec. Irving N. Linn.

WASHINGTON

FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES; 733

Washington Trust Bldg.; Pres. Ben H. Richman; Sec. A. L. Stormwind.

WILKES-BARRE

WYOMING VALLEY JEWISH COMMITTEE (1935); sponsors UNITED JEWISH AP-PEAL; 60 South River St.; Pres. Maurice D. Brandwene; Sec. Louis Smith.

YORK

¹ UNITED JEWISH APPEAL; 120 E. Market St.; Co-Chmn. Ben Lavetan, Joseph E. Rubin; Sec. Joseph Sperling.

JEWISH ORGANIZED CHARITIES (1928); 120 E. Market St.; Pres. Mose Leibowitz; Exec. Sec. Joseph Sperling.

RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE

1 GENERAL JEWISH COMMITTEE OF PROVIDENCE, INC. (incl. East Greenwich, East Providence, West Warwick, Bristol) (1945); 203 Strand Bldg. (3); Act. Pres. Joseph W. Ress; Exec. Dir. Joseph Galkin.

WOONSOCKET

1WOONSOCKET UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC. (1949); P. O. Box 52; Chmn. Morton Darmon; Sec. Herman Lantner.

SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON

1 JEWISH WELFARE FUND; 58 St. Philip St. (10); Pres. Karl Karesh; Exec. Sec. Nathan Shulman.

COLUMBIA

FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES; Co-Chmn. M. B. Kahn, 2428 Wheat St., Coleman Karesh, 3000 Amherst Ave.

SUMTER

SUMTER JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1941); Pres. Milton Schlesinger; Sec. J. A. Levy, 32 Frank Clarke.

SOUTH DAKOTA

SIOUX FALLS

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. Flandreau, Madison, S. D.; Jasper, Luverne, Pipestone, Minn.) (1938); 255 Boyce Greeley Bldg.; Pres. Ned A. Etkin; Treas. Louis R. Hurwitz.

TENNESSEE

CHATTANOOGA

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1931); 511 E. 4 St. (3); Pres. Louis Winer; Exec. Dir. Fred A. Liff.

KNOXVILLE

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1939); 621 W. Vine Ave. (1); Chmn. David M. Blumberg; Treas. I. Rosenblatt.

MEMPHIS

1, 2 FEDERATION OF JEWISH WELFARE AGENCIES (incl. Shelby County) (1906); Ten North Main Bldg. (3); Pres. Nathan Dermon; Exec. Sec. Jack Lieberman.

¹ JEWISH WELFARE FUND (incl. Shelby County) (1934); Ten North Main Bldg. (3); Pres. Sidney Perlberg; Exec. Dir. Jack Lieberman.

NASHVILLE

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. 19 communities in Middle Tennessee) (1936); sponsors JEWISH WELFARE FUND; 3500 West End Ave. (5); Pres. Dan May; Exec. Dir. Sam Hatow.

TEXAS

AUSTIN

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION (1939); Pres. Saul Gellman; Sec. Louis L. Hirschfeld, P. O. Box 1064.

CORPUS CHRISTI

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; 1806 South Alameda; Pres. Ben D. Marks; Exec. Dir. Harold H. Benowitz.

DALLAS

1. 2 JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1911); 1817 Pocahontas St. (1); Pres. Bernard Schaenen; Exec. Dir. Jacob H. Kravirz.

EL PASO

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. surrounding communities) (1939); 401 Mills Bldg.; Pres. Albert J. Schwartz; Exec. Dir. Victor Grant.

FORT WORTH

1 JEWISH FEDERATION OF FORT WORTH (1936); 308 Burk Burnett Bldg. (2); Pres. Maurice Rabinowitz; Exec. Dir. Eli Fahn.

GALVESTON

¹ GALVESTON UNITED JEWISH WELFARE ASSOCIATION (1936); P. O. Box 146; Pres. Joe Swiff; Sec. Mrs. Ray Freed.

HOUSTON

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF MET-ROPOLITAN HOUSTON (incl. neighboring communities) (1937); sponsors UNITED JEWISH CAMPAIGN; 2020 Hermann Drive (4); Pres. Martin Nadelman; Exec. Dir. Albert Goldstein.

PORT ARTHUR

¹ FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES AND WELFARE FUNDS (1936); P. O. Box 442;

Pres. Harvey H. Goldblum; Treas. Sam Wyde.

SAN ANTONIO

1, 2 JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE FEDERATION (incl. Bexar County) (1924); 307 Aztec Bldg. (5); Pres. Herman Glosserman; Exec. Dir. Louis Lieblich.

TYLER

¹ FEDERATED JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); Pres. Abe Laves; Sec.-Treas. Isador Frenkle, People's National Bank Bldg.

WACO

1, 2 JEWISH WELFARE COUNCIL (1929); Pres. Edward Fred; Sec. Abbye L. Freed, Jr., 3882 Huaco Lane.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

¹ United Jewish Council (1936); 907 First Security Bank (1); Pres. Max Siegel; Exec. Dir. Philip M. Stillman.

VERMONT

VERMONT JEWISH COUNCIL; Pres. Jacob Handler, 134 Crescent St., Rutland; Sec. Jacob Kaplan.

VIRGINIA

HAMPTON

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Phoebus) (1944); 18 Armistead Ave., Phoebus; Pres. Milton Familant; Sec. Allan Mirvis.

NEWPORT NEWS

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1942); 98—26 St.; Pres. Theodore H. Beskin; Exec. Dir. Charles Olshansky.

NORFOLK

¹ NORFOLK JEWISH COMMUNITY COUN-CIL, INC. (1937); 700 Spotswood Ave. (7); Pres. Hyman H. Block; Exec. Dir. Morton J. Gaba.

PETERSBURG

¹ UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITY FUND (1938); Co-Chmn. Louis Hersh and Morton Sollod; Sec. Alex Sadle, 1651 Fairfax Ave.

RICHMOND

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1935); 2110 Grove Ave. (20); Pres. Irvin Markel; Exec. Dir. Julius Mintzer.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

¹ FEDERATED JEWISH FUND & COUNCIL (incl. surrounding communities) (1937);

725 Seaboard Bldg. (1); Pres. Richard Weisfield; Exec. Dir. Samuel G. Holcenberg.

SPOKANE

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Spokane County) (1927); sponsors UNITED JEWISH FUND (1936); 400 Title Bldg. (1); Pres. Albert Weiland; Sec. Robert N. Arick.

TACOMA

1 FEDERATED JEWISH FUND (1936); Pres. Jerry Spellman, 1122 Broadway (2).

WEST VIRGINIA

CHARLESTON

¹ FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF CHARLESTON, INC. (incl. Dunbar, Montgomery) (1937); 804 Quarrier St.; Pres. Lawrence C. Kaufman Jr.; Exec. Sec. Charles Cohen.

HUNTINGTON

1 FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES (1939); P. O. Box 947; Pres. M. D. Friedman; Sec. Treas. E. Henry Broh.

WHEELING

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (incl. Moundsville) (1933); Pres. John Wiseman; Sec. Arthur Gross, 3 Locust Ave.

WISCONSIN

KENOSHA

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); 306 Kenosha National Bank Bldg.; Pres. William L. Lipman; Treas. Burton Lepp.

MADISON

¹ MADISON JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (1940); 119 E. Washington Ave. (3); Pres. Harry Epstein; Exec. Dir. Bert Jahr.

MILWAUKEE

1 JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); 135 W. Wells St. (3); Pres. Harry L. Epstein; Exec. Dir. Elkan C. Voorsanger.

RACINE

1 JEWISH WELFARE COUNCIL (1946); Pres. Robert Goodman; Sec. Manny Brown, 314—6th St.

SHEBOYGAN

1 FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES, INC. (1927); Pres. Leon Friede; Fin. Sec. Nathan Schoenkin, 2038 N. 13th St.

SUPERIOR

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION; Pres. Hyman Greenblatt; Sec. B. D. Schneider, 1115 Hammond Ave.

CANADA

BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF VANCOUVER (incl. New Westminster) (1932); 2675 Oak St. (9); Pres. J. V. White; Exec. Dir. Louis Zimmerman.

MANITOBA

WINNIPEG

¹ Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); 370 Hargrave St.; Pres. Saul M. Cherniack; Exec. Dir. Aaron B. Feld.

ONTARIO

HAMILTON

1 UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1939); 57 Delaware Ave.; Co-Chmo. Archie Levine, Philip Rosenblatt; Exec. Dir. Louis Kurman.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1934); 57 Delaware Ave.; Pres. George Rosenblood; Exec. Dir. Louis Kurman.

KINGSTON

¹ JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1947); Pres. Sheldon J. Cohen; Sec. A. de S. Pimontel, 26 Barrie St. LONDON

¹ LONDON JEWISH COMMUNITY COUN-CIL; 216 Dundas Bldg. Pres. Harold Vaisler; Exec. Sec. A. B. Gillick.

NIAGARA FALLS

¹ JEWISH FEDERATION; Pres. H. D. Rosberg; Sec. J. Shainfield, 1645 Ferry St.

ST. CATHARINES

¹ United Jewish Welfare Fund of St. Catharines (1939); 174 St. Paul St.; Pres. Jack Engel; Sec. Howard Kaimin.

TORONTO

1 UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF TORONTO (1937); 150 Beverley St. (2B); Pres. D. Lou Harris; Exec. Dir. Florence Hutner.

WINDSOR

1 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); 405 Pelissier St., Suite 4; Pres. Harry Vexler; Exer. Dir. Khayyam Z. Paltiel.

QUEBEC

MONTREAL

¹ FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY SERVICES (1916); 493 Sherbrooke St. W.; Pres. Philip Garfinkle; Exec. Dir. Donald B. Hurwitz.

Jewish Periodicals¹

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

JEWISH MONITOR (1948). P.O.B. 9, Bessemer. Joseph S. Gallinger. Monthly.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX JEWISH NEWS (1947). 528 W. Granada Rd., Phoenix, Joseph S. Stocker. Bimonthly.

CALIFORNIA

B'NAI B'RITH MESSENGER (1897). 739 S. Hope St., Los Angeles, 17. David Weissman. Weekly.

CALIFORNIA JEWISH VOICE (1921). 406 S. Main St., Los Angeles, 13. Samuel B. Gach, Weekly,

JEWISH COMMUNITY BULLETIN (consolidated with EMANU-EL) (1946). 40 First St., San Francisco, 5. Eugene B. Block.

Weekly.
* JEWISH STAR (1949). 1119 Mission St.,

San Francisco, 3.

San Francisco, 3.

REPLATISHE HEFTN (1946).

Boris J 10143 LITERARISHE

Mountair Ave., Tujunga. Boris Dimond-stein. Quarterly; Yiddish. SOUTHWESTERN JEWISH PRESS (1915). 333 Plaza Bldg., San Diego 1. Maxwell Kaufman. Fortnightly.

VALLEY JEWISH NEWS (1944). 5730 Lankershim Blvd., North Hollywood. Jess Nathan. Weekly.

COLORADO

INTERMOUNTAIN JEWISH NEWS (1912). Mining Exchange Bldg., Denver, 2. Robert S. Gamzey. Weekly.

CONNECTICUT

CONNECTICUT JEWISH LEDGER PUBLICA-TIONS, INC. (1929). 179 Allyn St., Hart-

ford, Abraham J. Feldman, Weekly, JEWISH ARGUS (1935), 62 Cannon St., Bridgeport, 3. Isidore H. Goldman. Monthly.

DELAWARE

JEWISH VOICE (1931), 604 W. 38 St., Wilmington, 2. Simon R. Krinsky. Monthly.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

AMERICAN JEWISH JOURNAL (1944). 996 National Press Bldg., Washington, 4. David Mondzac. Quarterly.

Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, 9.
Warren Adler. Monthly. Jewish War
Veterans of the U.S.A.

NATIONAL JEWISH LEDGER (1930). 836
Tower Building, 14 & K Sts., N. W.,
Washington, 5. Kay C. Gerber. Weekly.

NATIONAL JEWISH MONTHLY (1886). 1003 K St., N. W., Washington, 1. Edward E. Grusd. Monthly, B'nai B'rith.

FLORIDA

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS. See News Syndicates, p. 557.

JEWISH FLORIDIAN (1927). 120 N.E. 6 St., Miami, 18. Fred K. Shochet. Weekly.
OUR VOICE (1932). 506 Malverne Rd.,
West Palm Beach. Samuel A. Schutzer. Fortnightly.

¹Periodicals which have been in existence at least one year prior to June 30, 1954, are included in this directory. Information is based upon answers furnished by the publications themselves and the publishers of the Year Book assume no responsibility for the accuracy of the data presented; nor does inclusion in this list necessarily imply approval or endorsement of the periodicals. The information provided here includes year of organization and the name of the editor, managing editor, or publisher; unless otherwise stated, the language used by the periodical is English. An asterisk (*) indicates no reply was received and that the information, including name of publication, date of founding, and address, is reprinted from the American Jewish Year Book, 1954. For organizational bulletins, consult organizational listings.

SOUTHERN JEWISH WEEKLY (1924). P. O. Box 5588, Jacksonville, 7. Isadore Moscovitz. Weekly.

GEORGIA

SOUTHERN ISRAELITE NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE (1925). 390 Courtland St., N. E., Atlanta, 3. Adolph Rosenberg. Weekly and Bimonthly.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO ISRAELITE (1884). 116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, 3.

CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM (1942). 82 W. Washington St., Chicago, 2. Benjamin

Weintroub. Quarterly.

JEWISH WAY-UNDZER WEG (1946). 3159

W. Roosevelt Rd., Chicago, 12. Nathan
Kravitz. Monthly; English-Yiddish.

NATIONAL JEWISH POST—Chicago Edn.

(1953). 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6. Gabriel M. Cohen. Weekly.

SENTINEL (1911). 1702 S. Halsted St., Chicago, 8. J. I. Fishbein. Weekly.

INDIANA

INDIANA JEWISH CHRONICLE (1921). 152 N. Alabama St., Indianapolis, 4. Morris Strauss. Weekly.

JEWISH BULLETIN (1944). 2947 Ruckle St., Indianapolis, 5. Samuel Deutsch. Bi-weekly.

NATIONAL JEWISH POST—Indiana Edn. (1935). Box 1633, Indianapolis, 6. Gabriel M. Cohen. Weekly.

IOWA

* IOWA JEWISH NEWS (1931). 1200 Sixth St., Des Moines.

NATIONAL JEWISH POST—Iowa Edn. (1952). 525 14 St., Sioux City. Weekly.

KENTUCKY

NATIONAL JEWISH POST—Kentucky Edn. (1931). 423 Citizens Bldg., Louisville, 2. Gabriel M. Cohen. Weekly.

LOUISIANA

JEWISH LEDGER (1893). 608 Dryades St., New Orleans, 12. Abraham Slabot. Weekly.

MARYLAND

JEWISH TIMES (1919). 111 N. Charles St., Baltimore, 1. Bert F. Kline. Weekly.

MASSACHUSETTS

JEWISH ADVOCATE (1902). 251 Causeway

St., Boston, 14. Alexander Brin, Joseph G. Weisberg. Weekly.

JEWISH CIVIC LEADER (1923). 11 Norwich St., Worcester, 8. Irving J. Coven. Weekly.

JEWISH TIMES (1945). 318 Harvard St., Brookline, 46. Michael Shulman. Weekly.

JEWISH WEEKLY NEWS (1945). 38 Hamp-den St., Springfield, 3. Leslie B. Kahn. Weekly.

MICHIGAN

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS. See News Syn-

dicates, p. 557.

DETROIT JEWISH NEWS (incorporating DE-TROIT JEWISH CHRONICLE) (1941). 17100 West Seven Mile Road, Detroit, 35. Philip Slomovitz. Weekly.

MINNESOTA

AMERICAN JEWISH WORLD—Minneapolis-St. Paul (1912). 735 Palace Bldg., 40 S.

4 St., Minneapolis, 1; 709 Pioneer Bldg., St. Paul, 1. L. H. Frisch. Weekly. ST. PAUL JEWISH NEWS (1953). Finch Bldg., 366 Wacouta St., St. Paul, 1. Harry L. Kraines. Monthly.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY JEWISH CHRONICLE (1920). 306 Ridge Bldg., 913 Main St., Kansas City, 5. Victor Slone. Weekly.

NATIONAL JEWISH POST—Missouri Edn. (1948). 722 Chestnut St., St. Louis, 1.
Rose V. Gordon. Weekly.
St. Louis Jewish Tribune (1943). 722

Chestnut St., St. Louis, 1. Herman Schachter. Monthly.

NEBRASKA

JEWISH PRESS (1921). 101 N. 20 St., Omaha, 2. Harry Halpert. Weekly. Federation for Jewish Service.

NEW IERSEY

* JEWISH NEWS (1947). 24 Commerce St., Newark, 2.

JEWISH RECORD (1939). 200 Central Bldg., Atlantic City. Sara W. Singer. Weekly.

JEWISH STANDARD (1931). 924 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, 6. Meyer Pesin. Weekly.

NEW YORK

BUFFALO JEWISH REVIEW (1912), 35 Pearl St., Buffalo, 2. Elias R. Jacobs. Weekly.

• JEWISH CHRONICLE (1941). 639 S. State St., Syracuse, 3.

JEWISH LEDGER (1924). 32 South Ave., Rochester, 4. Donald Wolin, Weekly,

LONG ISLAND JEWISH PRESS (combining NASSAU JEWISH TIMES) (1946). 149 N. Franklin St., Hempstead. Eugene J. Lang. Monthly.

WESTCHESTER JEWISH TRIBUNE (1950). 113 So. 3 Ave., Mount Vernon. Eugene

J. Lang. Monthly,

NEW YORK CITY

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RE-SEARCH, INC., PROCEEDINGS OF (1930). 3080 Broadway, 27. Abraham S. Halkin. Annual; English-Hebrew. American Academy for Jewish Research.

AMERICAN HEBREW (1879). 48 W. 48 St., 36. Leo M. Glassman. Weekly.

AMERICAN JEWISH HOME (1949). 3920 Laurel Ave., Brooklyn, 24. Arnold Posy. Monthly, Brooklyn Kosher Butchers Assn.,

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK (1899). 386 Fourth Ave., 16. Morris Fine, Annual.

AMERICAN JUDAISM (formerly LIBERAL JUDAISM, JEWISH LAYMAN, TOPICS AND TRENDS) (1951). 838 Fifth Ave., 21. Samuel M. Silver. Quarterly. Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

AMERICAN ZIONIST (formerly New Pales-TINE) (1921). 145 E. 32 St., 16. Marvin Lowenthal, Ernest E. Barbarash. Semimonthly. Zionist Organization of America.

AUFBAU-RECONSTRUCTION (1934). 2700 Broadway, 25. Manfred George. Weekly; German-English. New World Club, Inc. BITZARON (1939). 1141 Broadway, 1.

Maurice E. Chernowitz. Monthly; Hebrew. OOKLYN JEWISH CENTER REVIEW (1933). 667 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 13. Joseph Kaye. Monthly. Brooklyn Jewish Center.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS YEARBOOK (1889). 40 W. 68 St., 23. Bertram W. Korn. Annual. Central Conference of American Rabbis.

COMMENTARY (1945). 34 W. 33 St., 1. Elliot E. Cohen, Monthly. American Jewish Committee.

CONGRESS WEEKLY (1935). 15 E. 84 St., 28. Samuel Caplan. Weekly. American Jewish Congress.

THE DAY-JEWISH JOURNAL (1914). 183
E. Broadway, 2. Solomon Dingol, David
L. Meckler. Daily; Yiddish.
ECONOMIC HORIZONS. See ISRAEL ECO-

NOMIC HORIZONS.

FACTS AND OPINIONS (1941). 25 E. 78 St., 21. Joseph Kissman. Monthly; Yiddish. Jewish Labor Committee.

FARBAND NEWSLETTER (1912). 45 E. 17 St., 3. Louis Segal, Irregular, Yiddish-English, Farband-Labor Zionist Order.

English. Farband-Labor Zionist Order.
FREIB ARBEITER STIMME (1890). 33
Union Sq., 3. Solo Linder. Bi-weekly;
Yiddish, Free Voice of Labor Association.
FURROWS (1942). 45 E. 17 St., 3. Steve
Jay, David Breslau, Daniel Mann. Bimonthly. Habonim, Labor Zionist Youth.
GROWING UP (1953) 201 E. 57 St., 22.
Leonard R. Sussman. Fortnightly.
HABONEH (1935). 45 E. 17 St., 3. Maier
Deshell. Monthly. Habonim Labor Zionist
Youth.

* HADAR (1938). 276 W. 43 St., 36. HADASSAH NEWSLETTER (1921). 136 W. 52 St., 19. Jesse Zel Lurie. Monthly. Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organiza-tion of America.

HADOAR HEBREW WEEKLY (1921). 165 W. 46 St., 36. M. Maisles. Weekly; Hebrew.

HADOAR LANOAR (1926). 165 W. 46 St., 36. Simha Rubinstein. Fortnightly; Hebrew. Histadruth Ivrith, Inc.

HAROFÉ HAIVRI-HEBREW MEDICAL JOUR-NAL (1926). 983 Park Ave., 28. Moses Einhorn. Semiannual; Hebrew-English. HISTADRUT FOTO-NEWS (1948). 33 E. 67 St., 21. Nahum Guttman. Monthly. Na-

tional Committee for Labor Israel. HISTORIA JUDAICA (1938). 40 W. 68 St., 23. Guido Kisch. Semiannual.

HOREB (1933). Yeshiva University, 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., 33. Pinkhos Churgin, Abraham Weiss. Annual; Hebrew. Alumni Fund of the Teachers In-

stitute of Yeshiva University. IN JEWISH BOOKLAND (1945). 145 E. 32 St., 16. Solomon Grayzel. Monthly. Jewish Book Council of America.

ISRAEL DIGEST (1951). 11 E. 70 St., 21. David I. Marmor. Weekly. Israel Office of Information.

ISRABL ECONOMIC HORIZONS (1949). 16 E. 66 St., 21. Ernest M. Aschner. Monthly. Jewish Agency for Palestine.

ISRAEL-LIFE AND LETTERS (1945). 267 W. 71 St., 23. Itzhak Norman. Monthly. American Fund for Israel Institutions.

ISRAEL SPEAKS (1947; re-org. 1948). 34 Park Row, 38. Aaron Decter. Semimonthly.

JEWISH AUDIO-VISUAL REVIEW (1951).1776 Broadway, 19. Samuel D. Freeman. Cumulative Annual, National Council on Jewish Audio-Visual Materials. JEC BULLETIN (1943). 1776 Broadway,

19. Louis L. Ruffman. Four to six times a year. Jewish Education Committee of New York.

JEWISH BOOK ANNUAL (1942). 145 E. 32 St., 16. Sol Liptzin. Annual; English-Hebrew-Yiddish. Jewish Book Council of

JEWISH BRAILLE REVIEW (1931). 101 W. 55 St., 19. Jacob Freid. Monthly; English Braille. Jewish Braille Institute.

JEWISH DAILY FORWARD (1897). 175 E. Broadway, 2. Harry Rogoff. Daily; Yiddish. (Eastern edn., Baltimore; Western edn., Chicago.) Forward Association.

JEWISH DAILY NEWS BULLETIN (1917). 231 W. 58 St., 19. Boris Smolar. Daily. JEWISH DAILY YIDDISH BULLETIN (1922). 660 First Ave., 16. Aleph Katz. Daily; Yiddish. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

JEWISH EDUCATION (1928). 1776 Broadway, 19. Israel S. Chipkin. Triannual. National Council for Jewish Education.

JEWISH EDUCATION REGISTER AND DIREC TORY (1951). 1776 Broadway, 19. Judah Pilch, Irregular. American Association for Jewish Education.

JEWISH EXAMINER (1929). 427 Flatbush Ave. Ext., Brooklyn, 1. Louis D. Gross. Weekly.

JEWISH FARMER (1908). 386 Fourth Ave., 16. Benjamin Miller. Monthly; English-Yiddish. Jewish Agricultural Society, Inc.

JEWISH FORUM (1917). 305 Broadway, 7. Isaac Rosengarten. Monthly.

JEWISH FRONTIER (1934). 45 E. 17 St., 3. Marie Syrkin. Monthly.

JEWISH HORIZON (1938). 154 Nassau St., 38. A. Leo Levin, Chmn. Edit. Bd. Monthly. Hapoel Hamizrachi of America. JEWISH LIFE (1946). 22 E. 17 St., 3. Louis Harap. Monthly.

JEWISH LIFE [ORTHODOX] (1946). 305 Broadway, 7. Saul Bernstein, Bimonthly.

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. * JEWISH MAIL (1950). 43 Canal St., 2.

JEWISH NEWSLETTER (1948). P. O. Box 117, Washington Bridge Station, 33. William Zukerman, Fortnightly.

JEWISH OUTLOOK. See MIZRACHI OUT-LOOK.

JEWISH PARENT (1949). 5 Beekman St., 38. Joseph Kaminetsky. 5 times a year. National Association of Hebrew Day Schools PTA's.

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE OUARTERLY (1924). 1841 Broadway, 23. Herbert H. Aptekar. Quarterly. National Conference of Jewish Communal Service.

JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES (1939). 1841 Broadway, 23. Salo W. Baron, Koppel S. Pinson. Quarterly. Conference on Jewish Relations.

JEWISH SPECTATOR (1935). 110 W. 40 St., 18. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, Monthly. JEWISH TEACHER (1932). 838 Fifth Ave.,

21. Emanuel Gamoran. Quarterly. Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

JEWISH TELEGRAPH AGENCY, INC. News Syndicates, p. 557.

AGENCY DAILY JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC News Bulletin (1919). 660 First Ave., 16. Boris Smolar. Daily; English-Yiddish.

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY WEEKLY News Digest (1933). 660 First Ave., 16. Boris Smolar. Weekly.

JEWISH VETERAN. See under District of Columbia.

JEWISH WAY (1939). 870 Riverside Dr., 32. Alice Oppenheimer. Monthly; German.

JUDAISM (1952). 15 E. 84 St., 28. Robert Gordis. Quarterly. American Jewish Con-

KINDER JOURNAL (1920). 22 E. 17 St., 3. Lipa Lehrer. Bimonthly; Yiddish. Sholem Aleichem Folks Institute.

KINDER ZEITUNG (1930). 175 E. Broadway, 2. Z. Yefroikin. 5 times a year; Yiddish. Workmen's Circle.

Kosher Butchers Voice (1933). 935
Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 13. Arnold
Posy. Weekly; English and Yiddish. Brooklyn Kosher Butchers Assn., Inc.

KOSHER FOOD GUIDE (1935). 105 Hudson St., 13. George Goldstein. Quarterly. KULTUR UN DERTZIUNG-CULTURE AND

EDUCATION (1930). 175 E. Broadway, 2. Z. Yefroikin. 7 times a year; Yiddish. Workmen's Circle.

LONG ISLAND JEWISH PRESS. See New York State.

MENORAH JOURNAL (1915). 20 E. 69 St., 21. Henry Hurwitz. Quarterly.

MIZRACHI OUTLOOK (formerly JEWISH OUTLOOK) (1936). 1133 Broadway, 10. Abraham Burstein. Bimonthly. Mizrachi Organization of America.

DER MIZRACHI WEG (1936). 1133 Broadway, 10. Aaron Pechenick. Bimonthly; Yiddish. Mizrachi Organization of America.

MORNING FREIHEIT (1922). 35 E. 12 St., 3. Paul Novick. Daily; Yiddish.

MUSAF LAKORE HATZAIR (1945). 165 W. 46 St., 36. Chaim Leaf. Biweekly; Hebrew; Hadoar Association, Inc.

NATIONAL JEWISH POST-Nat. Edn. (1946). 110 W. 40 St. Gabriel M. Cohen. Weekly.

NEW PALESTINE. See AMERICAN ZIONIST. New Yorker Wochenblat (1935). 41 Union Sq., 3. Isaac Liebman. Weekly; Yiddish.

* OHOLIM (1942). 175 E. Broadway, 2. Samuel H. Setzer.

OIFN SHVEL (1941). 310 W. 86 St., 24.

I. N. Steinberg. Monthly; Yiddish.

OLOMEINU-OUR WORLD (1945). 5 Beekman St., 38. Bernard Merling. Monthly; English-Hebrew. Torah Umesorah.

OPINION (1931). 1123 Broadway, 10. Earle D. Marks. Bimonthly.

OUR VOICE. See UNZER STIMME.
PALESTINE AND ZIONISM (1946). 41 E. 42 St., 17. Sylvia Landress. Bimonthly. Zionist Archives and Library of the Palestine Foundation Fund.

PEDAGOGIC REPORTER (1949). 1776 Broadway, 19. Zalmen Slesinger. Bimonthly. American Association for Jewish Educa-

PEDAGOGISHER BULLETIN (1941). 1776 Broadway, 19. Yudel Mark. 8 times a year; Yiddish. Jewish Education Committee of New York.

PIONEER WOMAN (1926). 29 E. 22 St., 10. Helen Atkin. Monthly & Bimonthly; English-Yiddish-Hebrew. Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE RABBINICAL ASSEM-BLY OF AMERICA (1927). 3080 Broadway, 27. Max Weine. Annual. Rabbin-

ical Assembly of America.

PROGRAM IN ACTION (1950). 1776 Broadway, 19. Judah Pilch. Bimonthly. Amer-

ican Association for Jewish Education.

PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY (1893). 3080
Broadway, 27. Isidore S. Meyer. Quarterly.
American Jewish Historical Society.

QUEENS JEWISH NEWS (1949). 129 W. 52 St., 19. Eugene J. Lang. Monthly. RABBINICAL COUNCIL QUARTERLY (1953).

331 Madison Ave., 17. Gilbert Klaperman. Quarterly. Rabbinical Council of America.

RECONSTRUCTIONIST (1934). 15 W. 86 St., 24. Eugene Kohn. Fortnightly. SEVEN ARTS FEATURE SYNDICATE. See

News Syndicates, p. 557.

SHEVILEY HAHINUCH (1939). 1776 Broadway, 19. Zvi Scharfstein. Quarterly; Hebrew. National Council for Jewish Education.

STUDENT ZIONIST (1925). 131 W. 14 St., 11. Eric Goldhagen. Quarterly. Inter-collegiate Zionist Federation of America.

SYNAGOGUE LIGHT (1933). 12 Dutch St., 38. Joseph Hager. Monthly.

SYNAGOGUE SCHOOL (1942). 3080 Broadway, 27. Abraham E. Millgram. Quarterly. United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education.

TALPIOTH (1943). 186 St. and Amsterdam Ave., 33. Samuel K. Mirsky. Quarterly; Hebrew. Yeshiva University.

TECHNION YEARBOOK (1942). 1000 Fifth Ave., 28. Sydney Gross. Annual. American Technion Society.
UNDZER VEG (1925). 305 Broadway, 7.

Charles Freilich, Paul L. Goldman. Fortnightly; Yiddish. United Labor Zionist Party.

UNZER STIMME-OUR VOICE (1940). 175 Fifth Ave., 10. Solomon Kerstein, Biannual; Yiddish-English. United Galician Jews of America.

UNZER TSAIT (1941). 25 E. 78 St., 21.

Emanuel Scherer. Monthly; Yiddish.

Der Wecker (1921). 175 E. Broadway,

2. I. Levin-Shatzkes. Fortnightly; Yiddish. Jewish Socialist Verband.

WESTCHESTER JEWISH TRIBUNE. See New York State.

WORLD OVER (1940). 1776 Broadway, 19. Ezekiel Schloss, Morris Epstein, Fort-nightly. Jewish Education Committee of New York.
Dos Wort Library (1934). 175 E.

Broadway, 2. YEDIES FUN YIVO-NEWS OF THE YIVO (1925). 535 W. 123 St., 27. Shlomo Noble. Quarterly; Yiddish-English. Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO.

DOS YIDDISHE FOLK (1909). 145 E. 32 St., 16. Simon Bernstein, Chmn. Bd. Ed. Monthly; Yiddish. Zionist Organization

of America.

YDDISHE KULTUR (1938). 189 Second Ave., 3. Nachman Mayzel. Monthly; Yid-dish. Yiddisher Kultur Farband. Dos YIDDISHE VORT (1949). 5 Beekman St., 38. Joseph Friedenson. Monthly; Yid-

dish. Agudath Israel of America.

YIDDISHER KEMFER (1905), 45 E. 17 St., 3. Jacob Gladstone, Mordechai Shtrigler, Baruch Zuckerman, B. Sherman. Weekly; Yiddish. Labor Zionist Organization Poale Zion.

YIDISHE SHPRAKH (1941). 535 W. 123 St., 27. Yudl Mark. Quarterly; Yiddish. Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO.

YIDISHER FOLKLOR (1954). 535 W. 123 St., 27. Edit. Com. Eleanor G. Mlotek, Beatrice Weinreich, Uriel Weinreich, Wolf Younin. Semiannual; Yiddish-English. Y. L. Cahan Folklore Club of the Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO.

YIVO ANNUAL OF JEWISH SOCIAL SCIENCE (1946). 535 W. 123 St., 27. Koppel S. Pinson. Annual. Yiddish Scientific Insti-

tute-YIVO.

YIVO BLETER (1931). 535 W. 123 St., 27. Ed. Bd. S. Niger-Charney, Leibush Lehrer, Jacob Shatzky. Annual; Yiddish. Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO.

YOUNG GUARD (formerly YOUTH AND NATION) (1934). 38 W. 88 St., 24. Avraham Udovitch. Monthly; English-Hebrew. Hashomer Hatzair.

YOUNG ISRAEL VIEWPOINT (1912), 3 W. 16 St., 11. Norman Cohen, Bimonthly, National Council of Young Israel.

Young Judaean (1910). 16 E. 50 St., 22. Millicent Rubenstein. 8 issues a year. Young Judaea.

YOUTH AND NATION. See YOUNG GUARD. ZUKUNFT (1892). 25 E. 78 St., 21. H. Levick, A. Menes, J. Pat; Mng. Ed. N. B. Minkoff. Monthly; Yiddish. Congress for Jewish Culture.

NORTH CAROLINA

AMERICAN JEWISH TIMES-OUTLOOK (1935; re-org, 1950). P. O. Box 1469, Greensboro. Chester A. Brown. Monthly.

CAROLINA ISRAELITE (1940). P. O. Box 2505, 223 Builders Bldg., Charlotte, 1. Harry L. Golden. Monthly.

OHIO

AMERICAN ISRAELITE (1854). 626 Broadway, Cincinnati, 2. Henry C. Segal. Weekly.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES (1948).

3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 20. EVERY FRIDAY (1927). 1313 American Bldg., Cincinnati, 2. Samuel M. Schmidt. Weekly.

BBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL (1924). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 20. Abraham Cronbach, Sec. Edit. Bd. HEBREW English-French-German-Hebrew-Yiddish. Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

JEWISH INDEPENDENT (1906). 2108 Payne Ave., Cleveland, 14. Leo Weidenthal.

Weekly.

JEWISH LAYMAN. See AMERICAN JUDAISM, N. Y. C. * JEWISH REVIEW AND OBSERVER (1888).

1104 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, 15. JEWISH VOICE PICTORIAL (1938). P. O. Box 3593, Cleveland, 18. Leon Wiesenfeld. Quarterly.

LIBERAL JUDAISM. See AMERICAN JUDA-ISM, N. Y. C. OHIO JEWISH CHRONICLE (1922). 35 E.

Livingston Ave., Columbus, 15. Ben Z. Neustadt. Weekly.

STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BOOKLORE (1953). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 20. Herbert C. Zafren, Sec. Edit. Bd. Biannual. English-Hebrew-German. Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

Youngstown Jewish Times (1935). P. O. Box 1195, Youngstown, 1. Harry

Alter. Weekly.

OKLAHOMA

SOUTHWEST JEWISH CHRONICLE (1929). 919 Braniff Bldg., Oklahoma City, 2. E. F. Friedman. Quarterly.

TULSA JEWISH REVIEW (1930). P. O. Box 396, Tulsa, 1. Emil Salomon. Monthly. Tulsa Section, National Council of Jewish Women.

PENNSYLVANIA

AMERICAN JEWISH OUTLOOK (1934). 316 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, 19. Shirley Levine. Weekly.

CCAR JOURNAL (1952). 224 No. 15 St., Philadelphia, 2. Abraham J. Klausner. Quarterly. Central Conference of American Rabbis.

JEWISH CRITERION (1893). 422 First Ave., Pittsburgh, 19. Milton K. Susman.

JEWISH EXPONENT (1887). 246 S. 15 St., Philadelphia, 2. Arthur Weyne. Weekly. JEWISH HERALD (1937). 422 Hamilton St., Allentown. Isidore Lederman. Monthly.

JEWISH PICTORIAL LEADER (1887). 1210 Berger Bldg., Pittsburgh, 19. Louis Yale

Borkon. Monthly.

Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, 32.
Abraham A. Neuman, Solomon Zeitlin.
Quarterly. Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.

PHILADELPHIA JEWISH TIMES (1925). 1928 Spruce St., Philadelphia, 3. Jeff Keen. Weekly. TORCH (1941). 1904 Girard Trust Build-ing, Philadelphia, 2. Milton Berger. Quarterly. National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs.

TENNESSEE

HEBREW WATCHMAN (1925). 116 Union Ave., Memphis, 3. Milton W. Goldberger. Weekly.

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153, 1719 Caroline St., Houston, 1.
D. H. White. Weekly.
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American Association of English-Tewish Newspapers.

TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, JEWISH (1917). 660 First Ave., New York, 16, N. Y. Boris Smolar. Daily; English-Yiddish.

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- CANADIAN JEWISH MAGAZINE (1938). 1472 MacKay St., Montreal, Monthly. CANADIAN JEWISH REVIEW (1921). 265 Craig St. W., Montreal, I. Mrs. Florence F. Cohen, Weekly.
- CANADIAN JEWISH WEEKLY (1941). 556 Bathhurst St., Toronto. Joshua Gershman. Weekly; Yiddish-English. CANADIAN NEWS (1935). 525 Dundas St.
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- JEWISH DAILY EAGLE (1907). 4075 St.
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- JEWISH STANDARD (1929). 43 Yonge St., Toronto. Julius Hayman. Semi-monthly.
- JEWISH WESTERN BULLETIN (1929). 2675
 Oak St., Vancouver, 9. A. J. Arnold.
 Weekly. Jewish Community Council.
 WESTERN JEWISH NEWS (1926). 303 Times Bldg., Winnipeg. S. A. Berg.
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Through the establishment of the State

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ORLINSKY, HARRY MEYER. Ancient Israel. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. Press, 1954. ix, 193 p. (Development of western civilization)

Intended as a text for an introductory history survey course, but useful for the lay

reader as well.

ROTH, CECIL. Personalities and events in Jewish history. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954. viii, 324 p.

A selection of articles and essays on his-

torical subjects.

WIZNITZER, ARNOLD. The records of the earliest Jewish community in the new world; with a foreword by Salo W. Baron. New York, American Jewish Historical Society, 1954. xiii, 108 p.

An examination of the minute books of the Jewish congregations of Recife and

Mauricia, Dutch Brazil.

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CAHN, LOUIS F. The history of Oheb Shalom, 1853-1953. Baltimore, Oheb Shalom Congregation, 1953. 72 p.
Includes material on the history of the

Baltimore Jewish community.

EPSTEIN, MELECH. Jewish labor in U. S. A., 1914-1952; an industrial, political and cultural history of the Jewish labor movement. New York, Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1953. viii, 466 p.

The second and final volume, the first of which takes the story from 1882 to 1914.

GUTSTEIN, MORRIS AARON. A priceless heritage; the epic growth of nineteenth century Chicago Jewry. New York, Bloch, 1953. 488 p.

A sociological interpretation based on contemporary records and original sources.

ISRAEL, LEON (Lola, pseud.). The East Side of yesteryear in pictures. [Introd. by David Einhorn; tr. by Morris Sorgen] New York, Jewish Daily Forward, 1954.

Illustrations of Jewish immigrants living on New York's lower East Side around the turn of the century. Brief text in English and Yiddish.

KRAFT, LOUIS and BERNHEIMER, CHARLES SELIGMAN, eds. Aspects of the Jewish community center. New York, National Jewish Welfare Board, 1954. 252 p. (National Association of Jewish Center Workers publication. Benjamin Rabinowitz memorial volume)

Aims to present the philosophy, objectives, and activities of Jewish community

centers in the United States.

LONDON, HANNAH R. Miniatures of early American Jews. Springfield, Mass., Pond-Ekberg Co., 1953. x, 154 p. Reproductions of eighteenth-and-nine-

teenth-century miniatures.

RIBALOW, HAROLD URIEL. The Jew in American sports. Rev. ed. New York, Bloch, 1954. xix, 356 p.

Includes chapters on four new sports personalities, as well as additional material on those who appeared in the first edition.

ROSENBERG, STUART E. The Jewish com-munity in Rochester, 1843-1925. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1954. xv, 325 p. (American Jewish communal histories, no. 1)

Presented within the context of its rela-

tions with the larger community.

JEWS IN OTHER LANDS

BERTELSEN, AAGE. October '43; tr. [from the Danish] by Milly Lindholm and Willy Agtby. With a foreword by Sholem Asch. New York, Putnam, 1954. x, 246 p. A leader of the underground movement

tells how the Christian denominations of Denmark united to save the Jewish population from annihilation by the Nazis.

COHEN, ELIE A. Human behavior in the concentration camp; tr. from the Dutch by M. H. Braaksma. New York, Norton, 1953. xvi, 295 p.

A doctoral thesis based on personal ex-

perience.

COHEN, ISRAEL. Travels in Jewry. New York, Dutton, 1953. 372 p.

Sketches of thirty Jewish communities in various parts of Europe which the author visited between the two World Wars.

FRIEDMAN, PHILIP, ed. Martyrs and fighters; the epic of the Warsaw ghetto. New

York, Praeger, 1954, 325 p.

An anthology, taken from first-hand sources, of the heroic uprising of the Jews

against their Nazi captors.

MEYER, PETER, and others. The Jews in the Soviet satellites. Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse Univ. Press, 1953. viii, 637 p.

The second of two studies on Jewish life in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries sponsored by the Library of Jewish Information of the American Jewish Committee.

MILLIN, SARAH GERTRUDE (LIEBSON)
(MRS. PHILIP MILLIN). The people of
South Africa. [Rev. ed.] New York,
Knopf, 1954. 337 p. xii.

Includes a chapter on the Jews. NADICH, JUDAH. Eisenhower and the Jews. New York, Twayne Publishers, 1953.

271 p.

An account of President Eisenhower's efforts on behalf of the displaced Jews of Europe following their liberation from the concentration camps.

REITLINGER, GERALD ROBERTS. The final solution; the attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945. New York, Beechhurst Press, 1953. xii, 622 p.

An account of the Nazi plan for exterminating the Jews of Europe and the way the plan was administered in Germany and the occupied countries.

SCHWARZ, LEO WALDER. The redeemers; a saga of the years, 1945–1952. New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. xii, 385 p.

A record of the manner in which the Jews freed from concentration camps adjusted to life in Germany while awaiting

resettlement in other countries.

SHUSTER, GEORGE NAUMAN. Religion behind the iron curtain. New York, Macmillan, 1954. xxi, 281 p.

Includes a chapter entitled: Jewry under Soviet rule.

SIMONHOFF, HARRY. Under strange skies. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. ix, 349 p.

Impressions of Jewish communities in Europe, Latin America, the Union of South Africa, India, Israel, and the southeastern United States.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

BARON, SALO WITTMAYER and BLAU, JOSEPH LEON, eds. Judaism; postbiblical and Talmudic period. New York, Liberal

Arts Press, 1954. xxvi, 245 p. (Library of religion, v. 3)
The first of three projected volumes on

Judaism.

BIBLE. O. T. Apocrypha. The Apocrypha according to the authorized version; introd. by Robert H. Pfeiffer. New York, Harper, 1953. xxxix, 295 p.

BIBLE. O. T. Maccabees. The third and fourth books of Maccabees; ed. and tr. by Moses Hadas. New York, Harper, 1953. xii, 248 p. (Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. Jewish apocryphal literature, v. 3)

The third book deals with events involving Egyptian Jewry under Ptolemy IV; the fourth book is a work of edification and devotion in the form of a dis-

course.

CRONBACH, ABRAHAM. Judaism for today; Jewish thoughts for contemporary Jewish youth. Introd. by John Haynes Holmes. New York, Bookman Associates, 1954. 148 p.

Aims to aid "the reader in the solution

of his or her own problems."

EISENSTEIN, IRA. Creative Judaism. Rev. ed. New York, Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, 1953. x, 179 p.

A digest of Judaism as a civilization, by Mordecai M. Kaplan. Introduces some material from Judaism in transition, by the same author.

Fox, EMMET. The ten commandments, the master key to life. New York, Harper, 1953. 158 p.

Fox, Gresham George. The Jews, Jesus and Christ. Chicago, Argus Books, 1953. 52 p.

On the attitude of ancient and modern Jews toward the main teachings of Jesus.

GASTER, THEODOR HERZL. Festivals of the Jewish year; a modern interpretation and guide. New York, W. Sloane Associates, 1953. xii, 308 p.

The festivals, fasts, and holy days regarded 'as manifestations of a constantly

evolving process."

GOLDIN, HYMAN ELIAS. The Jew and his duties; the essence of the Kitzur shulhan arukh, ethically presented. New York, Hebrew Pub. Co., 1953. x, 246 p.

Laws and prayers governing every de-

tail of a traditional Jew's life.

GOODENOUGH, ERWIN RAMSDELL. Jewish symbols in the Greco-Roman period. New York, Pantheon Books, 1953. 3 v. (Bollingen series, 37)

The first three of seven projected vol-umes intended to "discover the religious attitudes of the Jews in the Greco-Roman

world.

GORDIS, ROBERT. The Song of songs; a study, modern translation and commentary. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1954. xii, 108 p. (Texts and studies, v. 20)

A scholarly examination of various in-

terpretations.

KATSCH, ABRAHAM ISAAC. Judaism in Islam; Biblical and Talmudic backgrounds of the Koran and its commentaries, suras 2 and 3. New York, Bloch, 1954. xxv, 265 p. (New York Univ. Press. Publication)

Examines the most representative suras of the Koran, verse by verse, to show the parallels between the Koranic text and the

rabbinic literature.

KOHN, EUGENE. Religion and humanity. New York, Reconstructionist Press, 1953. x, 154 p.

Attempts to interpret the role of religion as a help to mankind in achieving

a better world.

KRAELING, EMIL GOTTLIEB HEINRICH, ed. The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic papyri; new documents of the fifth century B. C. from the Jewish colony at Elephantine. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1953. xv, 319, xxiii p. (Brooklyn Museum publications)

LEVINE, RAPHAEL H. Holy mountain; two paths to one God. With an introd. by Stephen F. Bayne, Jr. Portland, Ore., Binfords, 1953. xxiv, 248 p.

Intended to provide information about the Jew and his religion for Christians, and information about Christianity for Jews.

LEWISOHN, LUDWIG. What is this Jewish heritage? New York, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, 1954. 50 p. (Hillel little books)

A guide for Jewish college students.

LIEBERMAN, CHAIM. The Christianity of Sholem Asch; an appraisal from the Jewish viewpoint. [Tr. from the Yiddish by Abraham Burstein] New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. 276 p.

An examination of the latest publications by Sholem Asch from The Nazarene onwards with a view to exposing their

Christological character.

MACE, DAVID ROBERT. Hebrew marriage; a sociological study. New York, Philo-sophical Library, 1953. xv, 271 p. Based on the Old Testament, but in-cludes a study of the laws and other rec-

ords of contemporary cultures which influenced Hebrew ideas and ideals.

MAIMONIDES, MOSES. The code of Maimonides; bk. ten: The book of cleanness. Tr. from the Hebrew by Herbert Danby. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1954. xlv, 645 p. (Yale Judaica series, v. 8)

Contains eight treatises on ritual clean-

ness.

THE PASSOVER HAGGADAH: with a new translation, selected commentary, explanation of the Seder laws & customs, and a review of the Exodus story, ed. by Nathan M. Mandel. Kew Gardens, L. I., The Editor, 1954, 32, 128 p.

Text in English and Hebrew.

PATERSON, JOHN. The book that is alive; studies in Old Testament life and thought as set forth by the Hebrew sages. New York, Scribner, 1954. x, 196 p.

Intended to complement two previous volumes, this is a study of the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament which includes the Books of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and several Psalms.

RAISIN, JACOB SALMON. Gentile reactions to Jewish ideals; with special reference to proselytes. Pub. posthumously under the editorship of Herman Hailperin. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. xxiii, 876 p.

On the influence of Judaism on non-Jews prior to and after the rise of Chris-

tianity.

RIBALOW, HAROLD URIEL. What's your Jewish I. Q.? New York, Twayne Publishers, 1954. 106 p.

Questions and answers on the Bible, Judaism, Jewish history, and Jews eminent

in various fields.

ROSENZWEIG, FRANZ. Understanding the sick and the healthy; a view of world, man, and God. Ed. with an introd. by N. N. Glatzer. New York, Noonday Press, 1954. 106 p.

Presents a viewpoint in opposition to German idealist philosophy, which "duces the world to the perceiving self."

ROTHWELL, ALLEN EDWARD. The Old Bible in rhyme. New York, Pageant Press, 1953. 182 p.

RUNES, DAGOBERT DAVID. Letters to my daughter. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 131 p. Advice on many topics, some of it

based on religious precepts.

THIRY, PAUL, BENNETT, RICHARD M., and KAMPHOEFNER, HENRY L. Churches & temples. New York, Reinhold, 1953. 1 v. (various paging) (Progressive architecture Each section is contributed by an archi-

tect noted in his particular field.

VAINSTEIN, JACOB. Cycle of the Jewish year; a study of the festivals and of selections from the liturgy. New York, Bloch, 1954. 185 p.

Voss, CARL HERMANN, ed. The universal God: the eternal quest in which all men are brothers; an interfaith anthology of man's search for God. Cleveland, World Pub. Co., 1953. xxviii, 306 p.

Quotations from famous literary figures, as well as religious leaders.

WAXMAN, MEYER. A handbook of Judaism, as professed and practiced through the ages. 2d ed., enl. Chicago, L. M. Stein, 1953. xii, 210 p.

The revised edition includes additions to chapter five, and a new chapter en-

titled: Dogmas of Judaism.

WHITEHEAD, ALFRED NORTH. Dialogues; as recorded by Lucien Price. Boston, Little, 1954. 396 p. (Atlantic Monthly press book)

Conversations with the distinguished British philosopher in which he frequently compares Greek and Hebrew civilizations to the disparagement of the latter.

WILLIAMS, ALBERT NATHANIEL. The Holy City; with illus. by June Kirkpatrick. Boston, Little; New York, Duell, 1954. xv, 424 p.

A chronicle of Jerusalem's history from before 1000 B. C. to the present.

SERMONS

HERSHMAN, ABRAHAM MOSES. Religion of the age and of the ages. New York, Bloch, 1953. x, 134 p. A collection of festival and Sabbath

The Rabbinical Council manual of holiday and Sabbath sermons 5714-1953. Solomon J. Sharfman, ed. New York, Rabbinical Council Press, 1953. 429 p.

The eleventh annual collection of ser-

mons by Orthodox rabbis.

REICHERT, IRVING FREDERICK. Judaism & the American Jew; selected sermons & addresses. San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1953. 245 p.

Sermons and addresses delivered over a period of eighteen years reflecting the author's interpretation of Reform Judaism.

WISE, JUDAH L. On this day; brieff bar mitzvah addresses based on the portions of the week (Sidrot) for each Sabbath of the year. New York, Bloch, 1954, 64 p.

CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

ALLPORT, GORDON WILLARD. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954. xviii, 537 p. A study of the roots of hostility, includ-

ing recommendations for reducing group

tensions.

BRUCE, JOHN CAMPBELL. The golden door; the irony of our immigration policy. New York, Random House, 1954. 244 p. A condemnation of the McCarranWalter act and the unjust administration of United States immigration laws. Includes case studies.

CARTWRIGHT, DORWIN and ZANDER, AL-VIN, eds. Group dynamics; research and theory. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson, 1953. xiii, 642 p. Intended for the specialist.

CHRISTIE, RICHARD and JAHODA, MARIE, eds. Studies in the scope and method of "The authoritarian personality." Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1954. 279 p. (Continuities in social research)

An analysis of "The authoritarian personality," a study which was sponsored by the American Jewish Committee in 1950.

COOK, LLOYD ALLEN and COOK, ELAINE FORSYTH. Intergroup education. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954. xv, 392 p. (McGraw-Hill series in education) Intended primarily for educators.

FINEBERG, SOLOMON ANDHIL. The Rosenberg case; fact and fiction. New York, Oceana Publications, 1953. 159 p.

Distinguishes between the actual facts in the case and the Communist distortion of the facts for propaganda purposes.

GREENBERG, HAYIM. The inner eye; selected essays. New York, Jewish Frontier Asso-ciation, 1953. xv, 393 p.

Essays on Jews and Judaism, religion and ethics, Zionism and Israel, Socialism

and Communism, and sketches on diverse themes.

KONVITZ, MILTON RIDVAS. Civil rights in immigration. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. Press, 1953. xii, 216 p. (Cornell studies in civil liberty)

Aims to present an objective, critical evaluation of American immigration

policy.

LONG, EMIL J. 2,000 years; a history of anti-Semitism. New York, Exposition Press, 1953. 324 p.

ROY, RALPH LORD. Apostles of discord; a study of organized bigotry and disruption on the fringes of Protestantism. Boston, Beacon Press, 1953. xii, 437 p. (Beacon studies in church and state)

An exposé of some of the "groups and individuals active in the current campaign of extremists to capture the Protestant

mind."

RUCHAMES, LOUIS. Race, jobs, & politics; the story of FEPC. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1953. x, 255 p.
Attempts to "present a comprehensive

picture of the effort to achieve fair employment practices through government intervention."

SAENGER, GERHART. The social psychology of prejudice; achieving intercultural understanding and cooperation in a democracy. New York, Harper, 1953. 304 p.

Intended as a textbook for persons interested in improving intergroup relations.

SHERIF, MUZAFER and WILSON, M. O., eds. Group relations at the crossroads, New York, Harper, 1953. viii, 379 p. Oklahoma. Univ. Lectures in social psychology)

VERNANT, JACQUES. The refugee in the post-war world. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1953. xvi, 827 p.

An objective survey undertaken for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

BEN GURION, DAVID. Rebirth and destiny of Israel; ed. and tr. from the Hebrew under the supervision of Mordekhai Nurock. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 539 p.

A collection of essays and addresses by the former prime minister of Israel, delivered or written over the years from

1915 to 1952.

BUDOVSKY, LEO (Leo Benjamin, pseud.). Martyrs in Cairo; the trial of the assassins of Lord Moyne. Illus. by Jack Levitz. 2d rev. ed. New York, Exposition Press, 1953. 69 p.

CANAAN, GERSHON. Rebuilding the land of Israel. New York. Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1954. xv, 205 p. A profusely illustrated account of mod-

ern building in Israel presented in relation to its architectural history.

LILIENTHAL, ALFRED M. What price Israel. Chicago, Regnery, 1953. viii, 274 p. A condemnation of Zionism and the

creation of the Jewish state.

SAMUEL, MAURICE. Level sunlight. New York, Knopf, 1953. 302, iii p.

Deals with the evolution, present condition and promise of the State of Israel; the relation of Israel to American Jews; and the role played by Chaim Weizmann in Zionism.

SPENDER, STEPHEN. Learning laughter. New York, Harcourt, 1953. vi, 201 p. Observations based on a tour of the

settlements in Israel in which children from various countries throughout the world were learning to adjust to their new environment.

Sykes, Christopher. Two studies in virtue. New York, Knopf, 1954. 256 p.

The second essay is entitled: The prosperity of his servant; a study of the origins of the Balfour declaration of 1917.

Voss, Carl Hermann. The Palestine prob-lem today; Israel and its neighbors. Boston, Beacon Press, 1953. xv, 64 p.

Questions and answers on the current

situation.

ZAAR, ISAAC. Rescue and liberation; America's part in the birth of Israel. New York, Bloch, 1954. ix, 310 p.

A leader in the militant Hebrew Freedom Movement tells of American activities on behalf of the establishment of the State of Israel from 1939 onwards.

BELLES-LETTRES

BLOCH, JOSHUA. Of making many books; an annotated list of the books issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1890-1952. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953. ix, 329 p.

FOSTER, SOLOMON. Spiritual trails to happiness. New York, Bookman Associates, 1953. 94 р.

Poems, mostly on religious subjects.

KAFKA, FRANZ. Letters to Milena; ed. by Willi Haas. Tr. by Tania and James Stern. New York, Schocken Books and Fatrar, Straus & Young, 1953. 238 p.

Love letters written to a young, un-happily married woman who had translated some of the author's stories into the

Czech language.

MATT, C. DAVID. Collected poems; ed. by Milton Nevins. Philadelphia, West Philadelphia Jewish Community Center, 1953. 163 p.

A posthumous collection of poems on

Jewish themes.

TEITELBAUM, ELSA, comp. and tr. Gems from Jewish literature. [Tr. from the Yiddish] New York, Pardes Pub. House, 1953. 223 p.

Translations of some of the stories of

twenty-three writers.

ZANGWILL, ISRAEL. The king of schnorrers; to which is added an essay on Jewish humor, by Bernard N. Schilling. Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1953. xxxiii, 156 p.

The introductory essay is intended to help the reader to understand the story by the well-known Anglo-Jewish writer.

THE IEW IN FICTION

Asch, Shalom. A passage in the night [tr. from the Yiddish by Maurice Samuel] New York, Putnam, 1953. 367 p.

A wealthy Jew tries to atone for a sin

committed in his youth.

BARGELLINI, PIERO. David; tr. [from the Italian] by Elisabeth Abbott. New York, Kenedy, 1954, 165 p. Based on the life of David, king of

Israel.

BARRETT, WILLIAM EDMUND. The shadows of the images. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1953. 540 p.

A story of the tangled love lives of two couples in a Western city which includes two Jews, one an antique dealer, the other an assistant district attorney.

BECK, BÉATRIX. The passionate heart; tr. from the French by Constantine Fitz Gibbon. New York, Messner, 1953. 210 p.

The French Catholic widow of a Jew protects her daughter during the German occupation of the country; she falls in love with a priest and returns to her re-

BELLOW, SAUL. The adventures of Augie March; a novel. New York, Viking Press, 1953. 536 p.

The experiences of a Chicago Jew. Received fifth annual National Book Award.

CLEEVE, BRIAN TALBOT. The night winds. Boston, Houghton, 1954. 244 p.

A Jewish financier is robbed of a valuable collection of art objects by some natives in a novel dealing with Negrowhite relations in South Africa.

DIBNER, MARTIN. The deep six. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1953. 321 p. Experiences on a cruiser in the Aleutians and the South Seas during World War II. One of the principals is a Jewish gun captain from Brooklyn.

DUHAMEL, GEORGES. Cry out of the depths; tr. from the French by E. F. Bozman. Boston, Little, 1953. 213 p.

A French businessman collaborates with the Germans, confiscates the shares of one of the owners of the company, a half-Jew, then poses as a generous benefactor when he helps the Free French to get the man out of a concentration camp.

FERGUSSON, HARVEY. The conquest of Don Pedro. New York, Morrow, 1954. 250 p. A Jew from New York's East Side goes to the Southwest in search of health. He eventually settles in a small town in New Mexico where he prospers.

FREEDMAN, BENEDICT and FREEDMAN, NANCY MARS (MRS. BENEDICT FREED-MAN). The spark and the exodus. New

York, Crown, 1954. 287 p.

A group of Polish Jews leave for Palestine in the early 1900's during a period

of anti-Semitic excesses.

GALLICO, PAUL WILLIAM. The foolish immortals. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1953. 224 p.

A wealthy woman in search of eternal youth falls into the hands of some unscrupulous persons. In Israel all have a change of heart.

GOLD, HERBERT. The prospect before us. Cleveland, World Pub. Co., 1954. 266 p. A successful hotel proprietor in Cleveland becomes involved in race hatred

when he permits a Negro to stay at his

GORDIMER, NADINE. The lying days; a novel. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1953. 340 p.

The daughter of conventional, Protestant parents in South Africa frees herself from her old environment when she falls in love with a Jew, and when she comes to understand the position of the natives.

HOLT, FELIX. Dan'l Boone kissed me. New

York, Dutton, 1954. 248 p.

There is great excitement in the Jackson purchase country of Kentucky during the 1840's when the word is spread that the first Jew any of the inhabitants had ever seen had come to settle there.

HORWITZ, JULIUS. The city. Cleveland, World Pub. Co., 1953. 219 p.

Nineteen stories and sketches of life in New York City; many contain Jewish characters.

JENS, WALTER. The blind man; tr. from the German by Michael Bullock. New

York, Macmillan, 1954. 92 p. A German schoolteacher, despondent because of blindness due to an illness, is encouraged to reconstruct his life when he is presented with a game which was played by Jews in one of the concentration camps.

LEMPEL, BLANCHE. Storm over Paris; a novel. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 321 p.

A young Polish Jewish girl in Paris falls in love with a German, who later serves with the Nazi army.

LIVINGSTON, HAROLD. The coasts of the earth. Boston, Houghton, 1954. 209 p.

A novel about the American volunteers who flew for Israel during its War of Independence.

MURDOCK, JAMES. Ketti Shalom. New York,

Random House, 1953. 318 p.

A young Jewish girl becomes a symbol of hope and courage to the others fighting for the liberation of Israel from the British and the Arabs.

NEIDER, CHARLES. The white citadel. New York, Twayne Publishers, 1954, 224 p.

A novel of Bessarabian Jewish life during the 1920's. The principal character is a man who is torn between his wife's and his mother's desire to possess him.

PATON, ALAN. Too late the phalarope. New

York, Scribner, 1953. 276 p.

The son of a stern Africander father turns to a Jewish storekeeper for counsel after he has ruined his life and that of his family by transgressing the laws segregating the races in South Africa.

PENFIELD, WILDER. No other gods. Boston, Little, 1954. xx, 340 p.

The story of Abram's life in the land of Ur to the point at which he determines to lead his people to a land where they can worship the one God.

RENCK, ALEX T., pseud. The wrong way home [tr. from the German by E. M. Valk] Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1954. 318 p.

A German becomes a Nazi because of his love for a Jewish woman who admires Hitler. The story is concerned with his eventual disillusionment.

ROTHGIESSER, RUBEN. The well of Gerar; tr. from the German ms. by Harry Schneiderman. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953. 287 p.

Experiences of a young Jewish man in South America and in various capitals of Western Europe during the period of the

Jewish emancipation.

SEGAL, ALBERT. Johannesburg Friday. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954. 320 p.

A day in the life of a Jewish family in Johannesburg, S. A.

SILONE, IGNAZIO. A handful of blackberries; tr. by Darina Silone. New York, Harper, 1953. 314 p.

A Communist leader in Italy and his Jewish refugee sweetheart finally succeed in their determination to break with the Party.

SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. The song of Ruth; a love story from the Old Testament. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1954. 317 p.

A fictionalization of the Biblical book.

SOUTHON, ARTHUR EUSTACE. On eagles' wings. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954. xiv, 296 p.

Takes the story of Moses' life from its beginning through the deliverance from

Egypt.

SPERBER, MANÈS. Journey without end; tr. by Constantine Fitz Gibbon. Garden City,

N. Y., Doubleday, 1954. 317 p.
The last volume of a trilogy. One of the principal characters is an ex-Communist who aids the partisans in Yugoslavia. Another is a Jew who is in Warsaw at the time of the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto.

STERN, DANIEL. The girl with the glass heart; a novel. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Mer-

rill, 1953. 338 p.

The story of a Jewish girl who could help others to resolve their difficulties but who could not help herself.

SUHL, YURI. Cowboy on a wooden horse; a novel. New York, Macmillan, 1953. 280 p.

Continues the adventures of the immigrant boy from Galicia begun in One foot in America.

SWIGGETT, HOWARD. The power and the prize; a novel. New York, Ballantine Books, 1954, 326 p.

A successful American businessman falls in love with an Austrian Jewish refugee musician. He encounters opposition from his business associates who tell him he is expected to marry "suitably."

THOMPSON, MORTON. Not as a stranger.

New York, Scribner, 1954. 948 p.

The story of the education and practice of a small-town doctor. Includes a physician who was not appointed dean of the medical school because he was a Jew.

TIGAY, BETTY S. Rock of refuge. New York, Vantage Press, 1953. 200 p.

A woman who has tried to live as a non-Jew is confronted with a dilemma when her daughter informs her that she plans to marry a rabbi.

WEBB, JACK. The naked angel. New York.

Rinehart, 1953. 247 p.

A Jewish police detective and a Catholic priest cooperate to solve a murder mystery.

WOLFERT, IRA. An act of love; a completely retold version of the novel. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1954. xviii, 519 p.

Concerned with the battle to conquer his many fears waged by a wounded Jewish Navy flier, washed up on a small Pacific island.

THE ARTS

BERGER, ARTHUR VICTOR. Aaron Copland. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1953. vii, 120 p.

A biography of the noted American

composer, with emphasis on his musical education and on his compositions.

REISS, LIONEL S. New lights and old shadows: new lights of an Israel reborn, old shadows of a vanished world; a selection of two hundred and ten paintings, watercolors, drawings and etchings. Introd. by Cecil Roth. New York, Reconstructionist Press, 1954. 160 p.

ROTHMÜLLER, MARKO. The music of the Jews; an historical appreciation. [Tr. by H. C. Stevens] New York, Beechhurst Press, 1954. xv, 254 p.

From the earliest times to the present.

WEISSER, ALBERT. The modern renaissance of Jewish music; events and figures, Eastern Europe and America. New York, Bloch, 1954, 175 p. From the beginning of the twentieth

century to the present, with emphasis on

the Russian scene.

BIOGRAPHY

BAR-DAVID, MOLLY LYONS. My promised land. New York, Putnam, 1953. x, 307 p. A personal account of daily life in Palestine by a woman who left Canada in 1936 to make her home there.

DEUTSCHER, ISAAC. The prophet armed; Trotsky: 1879-1921. New York, Oxford

Univ. Press, 1954. viii, 540 p.
The first in a contemplated two-volume work on the life of Lev Bronstein, who became Leon D. Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution.

DRAGE, CHARLES. The life and times of general two-gun Cohen. New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1954. vi, 312 p.

The adventurous life of the son of immigrant parents from Poland who settled in England. Morris Cohen became an aide and bodyguard to Dr. Sun Yat-sen in

HECHT, BEN. A child of the century. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1954. 654 p. Autobiography of the well-known novelist and playwright.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE JEAN. Franz Boas: the science of man in the making. New York, Scribner, 1953. 131 p. (Twentieth century library)

Discusses the scientist's contributions to the field of cultural anthropology.

JONES, ERNEST. The life and work of Sigmund Freud; v. 1, The formative years and the great discoveries, 1856–1900. New York, Basic Books, 1953. xiv, 428 p. The first of a projected three-volume definitive biography of the great psycho-

analyst.

JUNG, LEO, ed. Jewish leaders (1750-1940). New York, Bloch, 1953. xii, 564 p. Intended to "convey a sense of Torahtrue leadership through the last 190 years."

KATZ, DORIS. The lady was a terrorist dur-ing Israel's war of liberation; with an introd. by Konrad Bercovici. New York,

Shiloni Pub., 1953. xv, 192 p.
Personal experiences in the Irgun Zvai Leumi, a militant underground organization, of which the author's husband was a leader.

KOMROFF, MANUEL. Big city, little boy. New York, Wyn, 1953. 182 p. (Growing

up in America series)

Reminiscences of childhood years in New York City around the turn of the century.

MALTZ, MAXWELL. Doctor Pygmalion; the autobiography of a plastic surgeon. New York, Crowell, 1953. 261 p. Tells about the author's early lower East Side background, and discusses the

psychological factors responsible for his undertaking some of his cases.

MANKOWITZ, WOLF. A kid for two farthings; illus. by James Boswell. New York, Dutton, 1954. 120 p.
Life in London's East End as seen

through the eyes of a small Jewish boy.

MISHEIKER, BETTY. Wings on her petticoat. New York, Morrow, 1953. 224 p.

The author's mother, an indomitable woman, travels with her three small children through Siberia, Japan, and South Africa in order to rejoin her husband.

ROTH, LILLIAN. I'll cry tomorrow; written in collaboration with Mike Connolly and Gerold Frank. New York, Fell, 1954. 347 p.

A stage and moving picture star of the 1920's, born a Jew, tells of how she became an alcoholic, of her rehabilitation through Alcoholics Anonymous, and of her recent conversion to Catholicism.

ROUECHÉ, BERTON. Eleven blue men, and other narratives of medical detection. Bos-ton, Little, 1954. 215 p.

Jewish physicians and health officials are principals in many of the cases in-

volved.

SOBEL, BERNARD. Broadway heartbeat; memoirs of a press agent. New York, Hermitage House, 1953. 352 p.

The recollections of a small-town boy who became a theatrical press agent.

TAYLOR, DEEMS. Some enchanted evenings; the story of Rodgers and Hammerstein. New York, Harper, 1953. 244 p.

A profusely illustrated account of the successful collaboration of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II in the field of musical comedy.

TIMBERLAKE, CRAIG. The bishop of Broadway; the life & work of David Belasco. New York, Library Publishers, 1954. 491 p.

An exhaustive biography of the noted theatrical producer and director.

TOLBERT, FRANK X. Neiman-Marcus, Texas; the story of the proud Dallas store. New York, Holt, 1953. 180 p.

The personalities and the business methods that have built up one of the most famous stores in the United States.

WALDMAN, MORRIS DAVID. Nor by power. New York, International Universities Press, 1953. ix, 473 p.

Recollections of a distinguished career in Jewish social service, by the former executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee.

WILLIAMS. RICHARD LIPPINCOTT and WILLIAMS, DOROTHY (MAHONE) (MRS. RICHARD LIPPINCOTT WILLIAMS). Family doctor. New York, Random House, 1953. 245 p. A biography of Dr. Jacob Jerome Steinfelder, a general practitioner in New York City, written by two of his patients.

ZUKOR, ADOLPH. The public is never wrong; autobiography with Dale Kramer. New York, Putnam, 1953. vii, 309 p.

Recollections of the growth of the motion picture industry.

JUVENILE

ABRAHAMS, ROBERT DAVID. The Commodore; illus. by Albert Gold. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954. 191 p. (Jacob R. Schiff library of Jewish contributions to American democracy)

The life of Uriah P. Levy, who served in the United States Navy during the first half of the nineteenth century.

BENJAMIN, NORA (GOTTHEIL) LAWRENCE SCHLESINGER KUBIE). The first book of Israel; illus. by the author. New York, Watts, 1953. 69 p.

A historical presentation for young children.

BOBROW, DOROTHY E. Tell me why; a primer for Judaism. Illus. by Edwin Herron. New York, Bookman Associates, 1954. 90 p.

Prepared for the American Council for

Judaism.

FITCH, FLORENCE MARY. A book about God; illus. by Leonard Weisgard. New York, Lothrop, 1953. n. p.

A picture book with brief text for

young children of all faiths.

GAER, JOSEPH. Young heroes of the living religions; drawings by Anne Marie Jauss. Boston, Little, 1953. xiv, 201 p. Includes biographies of Abraham.

Moses, and David.

KRIPKE, DOROTHY (KARP). Let's talk about God; pictures by Bobri. New York, Behrman, 1953. n. p.

Intended for the young child.

LEWITON, MINA (MRS. HOWARD SIMON). Rachel; pictures by Howard Simon. New York, Watts, 1954. 185 p.

The story of a child living with her family on New York's lower East Side in the early twentieth century. For children

aged nine to eleven.

LONG, LAURA. Queen Esther, star in Judea's crown; a dramatic retelling of the Book of Esther. New York, Association Press, 154. 156 p. (Heroes of God series)

MILLIKIN, MRS. VIRGINIA (GREENE). Jeremiah, prophet of disaster; a novelbiography. New York, Association Press, 1954. 155 p. (Heroes of God series)

POSY, ARNOLD. Holiday night dreams; drawings by Hella Arensen. New York, Bloch, 1953. 263 p.

Adventures of the four sons mentioned in the Haggadah, as told to three children on the first night of Passover.

ROUNDS, RUTH. It happened to Hannah; illus. by Dorothy Bayley Morse. New

York, Dutton, 1954. 122 p.

A young Protestant learns something about the lives of her Jewish neighbors

when she moves to Washington Heights. WAGONER, MRS. JEAN (BROWN). The shepherd lad; a story of David of Bethlehem. Illus. by Paul Laune. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953, 168 p.

Intended for children aged ten to twelve.

TEXTBOOKS

EISENBERG, AZRIEL, ed. The confirmation reader. New York, Behrman House, 1953. 258 p.

An adaptation of The Bar Mitzvah Treasury for use in confirmation classes.

ELICKER, VIRGINIA WILK. Biblical costumes for church and school; illus. by Elva Droz Hamilton. New York, A. S. Barnes, 1953. 160 p.

Ideas and techniques useful for persons called upon to costume a Biblical presen-

GAMORAN, MAMIE (GOLDSMITH) (MRS. EMANUEL GAMORAN). The new Jewish history, from Abraham to the Maccabees; illus. by Bruno Frost. New York, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1953. xii, 248 p. (Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis. Commission on Jewish Education. Union graded series)

The first volume of a text intended for children ten to twelve years of age.

IMBER, REBECCA, and COHEN, JACK J. The creative audience. New York, Reconstruc-tionist Press, 1954. v, 152 p.

A handbook for directors, program

chairmen, and adult education leaders in-

terested in planning programs.

LEVINGER, ELMA C. (EHRLICH) (MRS. LEE JOSEPH LEVINGER). They fought for freedom, and other stories; heroes of Jewish history. Illus. by Tracy Sugarman. New York, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1953. xiii, 221 p. (Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis. Commission on Jewish Education. Intercultural series, no. 2)

Intended to provide non-Jewish chil-dren with an understanding of Jewish

history, life, and culture.

PESSIN, DEBORAH. The Jewish people; bk. 3. Illus. by Ruth Levin. New York, United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, 1953. 313 p.

The third and final volume of a history for young people, this continues the story from the exile from Spain to 1949.

SCHWARTZMAN, SYLVAN D. The story of Reform Judaism. New York, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1953. xv, 191 p. (Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis. Commission on Jewish Education. Union graded series)
The first book on the subject for boys

and girls.

WALLIS, LOUIS. Young people's Hebrew history. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. ix, 117 p.

Intended for young people of high

school age.

WEILERSTEIN, MRS. SADIE (ROSE). Jewish heroes; illus. by Lili Cassel. Bk. 1. New York, United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, 1953. 208 p.

From Abraham to Solomon. For chil-

dren aged ten to twelve.

REFERENCE AND ANNUALS

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RE-SEARCH. Proceedings, v. 22, 1953. New York, The Academy, 1953. xxxvi, 150,

In addition to reports, lists, etc., includes: Azarbaijan in Jewish history, by W. J. Fischel.—The distribution of land and sea on the earth's surface according to Hebrew sources, by Solomon Gandz .- The credo of a fourteenth century Karaite, by Ernest Mainz.—Saadia Gaon, the earliest Hebrew grammarian, by S. L. Skoss.—The ascension of Phinehas, by Abram Spiro .-Maimonides' statement on political science, by Leo Strauss.—Isaac Arama on the creation and structure of the world, Sarah Heller-Wilensky.-The Marquis de Langallerie and his program for a Jewish state, by N. M. Gelber [In He-brew].—Concerning Mainz's article, by S. Abramson [In Hebrew]

American Jewish year book; v. 55, 1954. Prepared by the American Jewish Committee: Morris Fine, editor; Jacob Sloan, associate editor. New York, American Jewish Committee; Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954. xii,

Besides the usual reference features, includes reviews of life in the Jewish communities in the United States and foreign

countries.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS. Yearbook; v. 63, 1953. Sixty-fourth annual convention, June 23-June 28, 1953, Estes Park, Colo. Ed. by Bertram W. Korn. [Cincinnati] 1953. xxx,

610 p.

In addition to proceedings, reports, memorial addresses, membership lists, etc., includes: Jewish scholarship and Christian translations of the Hebrew Bible, by H. M. Orlinsky.—The "Judeo-Christian heritage"—a psychological revaluation and a new approach, by H. E. Kagan.—The state of the reform movement; a symposium.-Practical problems of the ministry; a symposium.—Contemporary currents in Jewish theology; a symposium.--New goals in Jewish religious education, by A. N. Franzblau.—Psychiatry and pastoral counseling; a symposium.—Sermonics and sermon techniques; a symposium.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE. Annual; v. 24, 1952–1953. Cincinnati, 1953. 273, 83 p. Contents.—Two prophecies of the fourth century B. C. and the evolution of Yom Kippur, by Julian Morgenstern.— Beth She'arim, Gaba, and Harosheth of the peoples, by B. Maisler.—Contributions to the scriptural text, by Joseph Reider.— Some Biblical notes, by Matitiahu Tsevat. —How well did the synoptic evangelists know the synagogue? by S. D. Schwartzman.—The origin of European Torah decorations, by Franz Landsberger.—Ferdinand Lassalle: from Maccabeism to Jewish anti-Semitism, by Edmund Silberner.
Studies in middle-Assyrian chronology and religion, by H. A. Fine.-On the history of the tractate, by Samuel Atlas [In Hebrew].—The makama's of Caleb b. Eliyahu Afendopolo, the Karaite (1464-ca. 1530), by Simon Bernstein [In Hebrew]

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA. Proceedings, v. 17. Fifty-third annual convention, June 22-June 27, 1953, Atlantic City, N. J. New York, The Assembly, 1954, 278 p.

In addition to lists, reports, resolutions, etc., the following addresses and papers are included: The spirit of prayer, by A. J. Heschel.—Prayer and the modern Jew, by Eugene Kohn.—The weekday service, by Jerome Lipnick.—Personal prayer, by Arnold Lasker.—The content of Jewish education, by Judah Goldin.— Music for the American Conservative synagogue, by Hugo Weisgall.—Israel: the next phase, by Avraham Harman.

YIVO annual of Jewish social science, v. 8, ed. by Koppel S. Pinson. New York, Yid-dish Scientific Institute, 1953. 303 p.

A selection of articles which appeared previously in Yiddish in YIVO publications. This issue is devoted entirely to the treatment of the Jews during the German occupation of Europe, 1933-45. IVA COHEN

Necrology: United States¹

ABELSON, PAUL, labor arbitrator, tchr, lecturer; b. Kovno, then Russia, Sept. 27, 1878; d. N. Y. C., Nov. 4, 1953; since 1911, impartial arbitrator in various industries; admin. mem., NRA, for seven apparel trade codes, 1933; treas. Fed. of Jewish Farmers of Am., 1905-20; co-fdr, Madison House Settlement, 1898; charter mem. Nat. Acad. of Arbitrators; ed.-in-chief English-Yiddish Encyclopedic Dictionary (1912); au. books and articles on educ., civics, industrial relations; tchr extension div., Columbia Univ., JTS, Sch. for Jewish Communal Work, Cornell.

ALPER, ABRAHAM THEODORE, lawyer; civic leader; b. Everett, Mass., Sept. 22, 1901; d. Boston, Mass., Dec. 15, 1953; pres. New England Div., Am. Jewish Cong.; mem. nat. exec. and nat. admin. com., Am. Jewish Cong.; mem. bd. of dir., HIAS.; mem. exec. com., Mass. Civil Lib-

erties Union.

ARKIN, LEON, advertising mngr, communal leader; b. Grodno, then Russia, August 1888; d. Bklyn, N. Y., Sept. 30, 1953; pres. Workmen's Circle, 1950–53; nat. advertising mngr. Jewish Daily Forward, 1948–53; mngr. Boston off. Jewish Daily Forward, 1926–48; v.-chmn. Jewish Labor Com.; trustee Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston; fdr Dorchester Labor

Forum and its moderator for 20 yrs.

BADER, GERSHOM, Yid. au. and ed.; b.
Cracow, Poland (Galician Austria), Aug.
21, 1868; d. N. Y. C., Nov. 11, 1953;
contrib. to Yid. periodicals in Galician Austria; founded Tageblatt, first Yid. daily in Lemberg, then Austria, 1904; came to U.S. 1912; feature writer Jewish Morning Journal since 1927; au. short stories, plays, sketches, Jewish Spiritual Heroes (1940); hon. v.p., Fed. of Polish Jews

in Am.

Bernon, Maurice, lawyer, judge, civic leader; b. Cleveland, O., Aug. 24, 1885; d. Cleveland, O., March 23, 1954; Ohio State Senator 1913–14; municipal judge 1915-17; common pleas judge 1920-24; pres. Cleveland Bar Assoc. 1928; chmn. nat. council JDC 1947-54; nat. regions chmn. UJA; pres. East Central Region Council of Jewish Fed. and Welfare Fd.; first pres. Cleveland Jewish Vocational Service 1939; v.p. Cleveland Jewish Community Fed.

BOMZE, NUCHIM, Yid. poet; b. Sasow, Galicia, Aug. 1907; d. N. Y. C., May 13, 1954; pub. five vol. Yid. poetry in Poland 1929-41; came to U.S. 1948; pub. one vol. Yid. poetry 1949; some of his poems tr. into Heb., Polish, Eng.; mem. Yid. Writers' Union, N. Y. Yid. P.E.N. Club.

BRAHINSKY, MANI LEIB (pseud. MANI KAHINSKY, MANI LEIB (pseud, MANI LEIB), Yid. poet, ed.; b. Nezhin, Russia, Dec. 20, 1883; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 4, 1953; au. many vol. of Yid. poetry; staff mem. Jewish Daily Forward; Yid. tr. Russ. and Eng. poetry; ed. Yid. anthology New York in Verse; mem. Yid. Writers' Union and Yid. P.F.N. Club; considered to the processing of the pro and Yid. P.E.N. Club; considered an out-

standing Yid. lyric poet.

COHEN, FELIX S., atty, tchr, au.; b. N. Y. C., July 3, 1907; d. Washington, D.C., Oct. 19, 1953; helped draft Indian Reorganization Act of 1934; asst solicitor Dept of Interior 1933-43; mem. bd of appeals Dept of Interior 1936-48, chmn 1940-48; chief Indian Law Survey, U.S. Dept of Justice, 1939–40; assoc. solicitor Dept of Interior 1943–48; visiting prof. Yale Law School 1946–53 and City Colege of New York 1948–53; au. books and numerous articles on immigration, minorities, American Indian problems, law, and ethics, including Ethical Systems and Legal Ideals (1933), Handbook of Federal Indian Law (1945), and Readings in Jurisprudence and Philosophy of Law (1951; with his late father Morris R. Cohen); leading champion of rights of American Indians.

COHN, EDWIN JOSEPH, prof. of biological chemistry; b. N. Y. C., Dec. 17, 1892; d. Cambridge, Mass., Oct. 1, 1953; developed the Cohn blood fractionation machine (named in his honor); taught chemistry Harvard University 1922-35; headed Physical Chemistry Dept of Harvard Med. Sch. 1935–49; Higgins University Prof. at Harvard 1949–53; honorary consultant medical department U.S. Navy, 1942-53; honorary degrees, awards, medals from Harvard, Amherst, Columbia, Geneva, Bern, Am. Chemical Soc., Am. Coll. of Phys.; Medal of Merit U.S. Govt. 1948; au. books and numerous articles on his research on proteins of the blood; his basic research in blood components was basis for discovery of gamma globulin,

Including Jewish residents of the United States who died between July 1, 1953 and June 30, 1954.

serum albumin, liver extract, and other

life-restoring blood fractions.

DACHOWITZ, HIRSH, rabbi; b. Sakola (?), Poland, Oct. 15, 1887; d. Bklyn, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1953; served as rabbi in Vilna, Poland, until 1922, when he came to U.S.; rabbi Cong. Agudath Achim Anshei Libowitz, Bklyn, N. Y. 1922–53; senior v.p. Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U.S. and Canada since 1930; chmn exec. com. Rabb. Bd. of Greater N. Y.; v.p. Ezras Torah Relief Soc.; authority on Jewish law; au. of two books and numerous articles on homiletics.

DAVIDSON, CARRIE DREYFUSS (widow of Dr. Israel Davidson [see AMERICAN JEW-ISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 41, p. 35–56]), ed., writer; b. Bklyn., N. Y., Feb. 12, 1879; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 17, 1953; fdr Nat. Women's League, United Synagogue of Am.; edit. the Women's League Outlook 1930–53; estab. Davidson Memorial Library at City College of N. Y. with gift of her late husband's 7,500 vol. library on medieval Heb. lit.; gave his collection of mss to JTS.; au. Out of Endless Yearnings (1946), memoir of Israel Davidson.

mgs (1946), memoir of Israel Davidson. DICKSTEIN, SAMUEL, U.S. Congressman, State Supreme Court justice; b. Russ., Feb. 6, 1885; d. N. Y. C., April 22, 1954; mem. N. Y. C. Bd. of Aldermen 1917–19; mem. N. Y. State Assembly 1919–22; mem. U.S. Cong. 1923–45; State Supreme Court justice 1946–54; authored and sponsored housing, kashrut, and immigration and naturalization laws; stimulated House to appoint special com. to investigate Nazis and Communists 1934; chmn House Com. on Immigration and Naturalization 1931–45; took leading role in protesting Nazi activities in U.S. and Nazi persecution of Jews abroad.

EARLE, MIRIAM ADLER, communal leader; b. Bayonne, N. J., June 30, 1913; d. Maplewood, N. J., April 14, 1954; nat. membership chmn Women's Am. ORT 1950-54; nat. v.p. and nat. convention chmn Women's Am. ORT 1950 and 1952; mem. bd of dir. Am. ORT Fed.; act. in local Jewish women's orgn.

EINHORN, MAX, gastroenterologist; b. Grodno, Poland, Jan. 10, 1862; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 25, 1953; faculty mem. Post-Graduate Med. Sch. and Hosp. 1889—1922; emeritus prof. of medicine 1922—53; inventor of stomach bucket and numerous other surgical instruments; au. of several books in field of gastroenterology; developed generally accepted Einhorn treatment for non-operative ulcers; donated to Lenox Hill Hosp. the Max and Flora Einhorn Memorial, an annex devoted to care of patients with gastroenterological ailments.

FALK, KAUFMAN GEORGE, chemist; b. N. Y. C., Sept. 8, 1880; d. N. Y. C.,

Nov. 22, 1953; taught at Columbia University, Massachusetts Inst. of Technology, Med. College at New York Univ.; dir. Laboratory of Industrial Hygiene 1936–52; pres., Heb. Technical Inst.; au. several books and monographs in his field.

GBHRMAN, LUCY, Yid. actress; b. Warsaw, Poland, 1889; d. N. Y. C., May 6, 1954; for many yrs star in Yid. theatre; acted with husband, and with Maurice Schwartz; starred in Yid. movie Got, Mentsh, un

Tayvel

GINGOLD, PINHAS M., Jewish educator, communal leader; b. Poland, May 15, 1894; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 20, 1953; fdr Nat. Com. for Labor Israel; leader in Labor Zion. Orgn of Am.; sec.-dir. Jewish Tchr Sem. and Folk Univ. 1920—40; dir. Jewish Folk Sch. of the Labor Zion. Movement; ed., Jewish educational pub.

GINZBERG, LOUIS, Talmudic and Midrashic scholar; b. Kovno, then Russia, Nov. 28, 1873; d. N. Y. C., Nov. 11, 1953; prof. of Talmud and Rabbinics, JTS, 1902-53; a fdr of Am. Acad. for Jewish Research and pres. 1929-41; awarded hon. degrees from Harvard, Jewish Inst. of Rel., Dropsie, HUC, Brandeis Univ.; au. books and studies, inc. Genizah Studies (1909), Legenda of the Jews (7 vols., 1909-28); Students, Scholars and Saints (1928), Commentary on the Talmud of Jerusalem (3 vols. completed, 1941). (For appreciation, see p. 573.)

GOETZ, MILDRED BLOUT, civic leader; b. Washington, D.C., March 20, 1896; d. N. Y. C., Nov. 2, 1953; asst. sec. N. Y. C. Charter Revision Com. 1935–37; pres. N. Y. sec. Nat. Council of Jewish Women 1943–48; pres. NCJW Child Development Center; pres. Henry Kaufmann Campgrounds 1952–53; past v.-chmn bd Com. for Refugee Educ.; past v.p. United Service for New Americans; past exec.

sec. Jewish Inst. of Rel.

GOLDENBERG, ASHER, cantor and rabbi; b. Nograd, Hungary, Sept. 24, 1887; d. N. Y. C., Feb. 13, 1954; chief cantor, Lundenburg, Austria; came to U.S. 1921; cantor, then cantor emeritus, Cong. Orach Chaim, N. Y. C., since 1936; past pres. Philadelphia Cantors Assoc.; past v.p. Jewish Ministers Cantors Assoc. of U.S. and Canada; treas. Heb. Union Sch. of Sacred Music; au. several works of synagogue music; noted for restoring correct use of Heb. accent in liturgical music.

GOLUB, JACOB JOSHUA, phys. and hosp. admin.; b. Russia, July 25, 1891; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 22, 1953; U.S. Public Health Service 1918–20; med. and health commr JDC in Volhynia, Ukraine 1921–23 and in Poland 1923–24; med. dir. and exec. v.p. Hosp. for Joint Diseases 1929–52; leading hosp. planner; v. chmn master-plan group Hosp. Council of N. Y.;

consultant in planning Rothschild-Hadas-sah Hosp, and Heb. Univ. Med. Sch. in Israel; chmn JDC's Health Com. for warstricken areas.

GUTSTADT, RICHARD ELIAS, communal leader; b. San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1888; d. Chicago, Ill., May 22, 1954; a fdr Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; nat. membership dir. B'nai B'rith 1930-31; dir. special activities B'nal B'rith 1931-32; nat. dir. ADL 1931-48; B'nai exec. v.-chmn ADL 1948-54; authority on Am. fascist movement before World War II; act. in local and nat. Jewish affairs.

HYMAN, TILLIE ENDEL, communal leader; b. New Orleans, La., 1875 (?); d. N. Y. C., July 19, 1953; dir., then chmn of bd, then treas. Central Jewish Inst., past treas. Women's League of the United Synagogue; past v.p. and dir. of N. Y. YM-YWHA.

IGNATOFF, DAVID, Yid. writer; b. Brusilov, Russia, Oct. 14, 1885; d. Bklyn., N. Y., Feb. 26, 1954; au. numerous Yid. works: short stories, novels, plays, children's stories; edit. lit. quarterly Shriftn 1912–14, 1919–21, 1925–26; founded "America," Yid. publishing house; chmn. Art Center, Cong. for Jewish Culture; mngr membership dept, HIAS, 1915-54.

JASSINOWSKY, PINCHOS, cantor and comp.; b. Ukraine, Russia, Aug. 24, 1886; d. N. Y. C., June 25, 1954; cantor Jewish Center, N. Y. C., 1920–54; au. and comp. of numerous cantatas, hymns, synagogue music, and children's songs; v.p. Soc. of Jewish Composers and Songwriters; chmn music com. Jewish Ministers Cantors Assoc.

KAHAN, JOSEPH, ed.; b. Poland, 1878; d. Washington, D.C., Sept. 28, 1953; act. in revolutionary movement, Russian Poland; came to U.S. 1903; participated in Jewish anarchist movement and progressive educ.; fdr Ferrer Sch. and Colony, Stelton, N. J.; mngr Freie Arbeter Shtime 1920 and ed. many years after 1921.

KAPELL, WILLIAM, pianist; b. N. Y. C., Sept. 20, 1922; d. Oct. 29, 1953; winner, Naumberg Fdn competition 1941; Town Hall Endowment Series Award 1942; toured U.S., Europe, South America, Australia as recitalist and soloist with leading orchestras; considered by music experts as one of ten top virtuoso pianists.

KAUFFMANN, FELIX I., rare book dealer; b. Frankfort on the Main, Germany, Feb. 7, 1878; d. N. Y. C., Nov. 15, 1953; owner of I. Kauffmann, publishing and book selling firm, Frankfort (founded by grandfather 1832), specializing in Judaica and Hebraica; act. in local Jewish communal affairs; liaison between Jewish community of Frankfort and Nazi Govt.; came to U.S. 1941; resumed activities as rare book dealer; acquired a Gutenberg Bible (now in Library of Cong.).

KLAVAN, JOSHUA, rabbi; b. Janishki, Lithuania, August 1884; d. Mt. Vernon, N. Y., July 29, 1953; rabbi, Burlington, Vt., 1925–35; rabbi, Cong. Talmud Torah, Washington, D.C., 1935–53; head of combined Orthodox cong. Washington, D.C., 1935–53; a fdr and bd mem. Ner Israel Rabbinical Coll., Baltimore, Md.; hon. pres. Heb. Acad. of Washington.

LEVY, HELEN YEAMANS, philanthropist; b. N. Y. C., 1887 (?); d. N. Y. C., May 20, 1954; contributed (with husband) \$1,000,000 to estab. the Joseph and Helen Yeamans Levy Fdn for medical research, Beth Israel Hosp.; a dir. Beth Abraham Home, Hadassah, Palestine Lighthouse; a fdr Soc. for the Advancement of Judaism; contrib. to Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies and UJA.

LEWIS, LEON LAWRENCE, lawyer, communal leader; b. Hurley, Wisc., Sept. 5, 1888; d. Los Angeles, Cal., May 20, 1954; nat. exec. dir. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith 1913-25; internat. exec. sec. B'nai B'rith 1923-25; fdr and ed. B'nai B'rith Magazine 1923-25; initiated B'nai B'rith Hillel Fdn movement; in charge of South California investigation of Nazi activities in Los Angeles Superior Courts 1934; exec. dir. Community Relations Com. Los Angeles Jewish Community Council 1933-45.

LEWISOHN, MARGARET SELIGMAN (widow of Sam A. Lewisohn [see AMERICAN JEW-ISH YEAR BOOK, 1952, Vol. 53, p. 525]), educator, civic leader; b. N. Y. C., Feb. 14, 1895; d. near Beacon, N. Y., June 14, 1954; chmn Women's City Club Educ. Com. 1930-36; chmn bd of trustees Little Red Schoolhouse 1936-40; mem. educ. com. Museum of Modern Art 1936-44; mem. bd of trustees Bennington Coll. 1939-46; dir. Public Educ. Assoc. 1941-54, mem. bd of dir. PEA 1941-46 and chmn 1946-54; mem. bd of trustees Vas-sar Coll. 1947-54; mem. bd of Nat. Citizens Comm. Museum of Modern Art, Inst. of Internat. Educ., All Day Neighborhood Sch.; mem. adv. bd on vocational educ. N. Y. C. Bd of Educ. LIEBOVITZ, HANNAH WEINBERG, philanthropist; b. 1884 (?); d. N. Y. C., Nov. 24, 1953; one of first mem. of Hadassah;

hon. chmn women's div. UJA; a fdr of women's div. Soc. for the Advancement of

Judaism; ldr in war relief and Red Cross work in both World Wars.

LUBELL, JACOB J., manufacturer, philanthropist; b. Russia, 1873 (?); d. N. Y. C., Feb. 27, 1954; a fdr and dir. Central Jewish Inst. and Cejwin Camps; mem. fdr com. Yeshiva Univ.; former mem. Jewish Educ. Com. and Business Men's Council Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies of N. Y.

MARGOLIS, MENASHE, rabbi; b. Grodno, Poland, 1868 (?); d. Bklyn., N. Y., June

2, 1954; for many years pres. Assembly of Orthodox Rabbis in Am.; wrote on Jewish affairs.

MARX, ALEXANDER, historian and librarian; b. Elberfeld, Germany, January 29, 1878; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 26, 1953; prof. of hist. and dir. of libraries JTS, 1903–53; mem. pub. com. Jewish Pub. Soc. of Am.; pres. Kohut Memorial Fdn; fellow and past pres. Am. Acad. of Jewish Research; fellow Medieval Acad. of Am.; v.p. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.; au. numerous books and studies, Inist. Soc.; au. numerous books and studies, incl. A History of the Jewish People (with Max Margolis) (1924); Studies in Jewish History and Booklore (1944); Essays in Jewish Biography (1947); recd hon. degrees from Jewish Inst. of Rel., HUC, Dropsie College. (For appreciation, see p. 579.)

MENDELSOHN, ERIC, architect; b. Allenstein, Germany, March 21, 1887; d. San Fran-cisco, Cal., Sept. 15, 1953; built Albert Einstein Tower, Potsdam, an astrophysical inst. designed to test Einstein's theory of relativity; Universum Cinema, Berlin, pioneer of modern movie houses; designed Hadassah-Rothschild Univ. Hosp. in Jeru-salem, British Goyt Hosp. in Haifa; Chaim Weizmann's residence in Rehoboth; came to U. S. 1941; consultant War Dept. 1942-44; built many synagogue-community centers (Cleveland, St. Louis, Balti-more, St. Paul, Grand Rapids, Dallas); built the Maimonides Health Center, San Francisco; commissioned to design memorial in N. Y. C. for six million Jews slain in Europe; lectured at Columbia, Yale, Harvard, Univ. of Michigan; au. five books on architecture and numerous other works

MOSCOWITZ, JENNIE, actress; b. Jassy, Rumania, 1868 (?); d. N. Y. C., July 26, 1953; made stage debut in Sarah Bernhardt's Camille, Jassy; came to U.S. 1888; played supporting role to leading stars of Yid. stage (Jacob Adler, David Kessler, Boris Tomashefsky); acted with Jewish Art Theatre; went on Broadway stage supporting David Warfield; final stage appearance in Counsellor-at-Law, supporting Paul Muni 1943; famous for roles depict-

ing Jewish mother.

OBERNDORF, CLARENCE PAUL, psychiatrist; b. N. Y. C., Feb. 16, 1882; d. N. Y. C., May 30, 1954; founding mem. New York Psychoanalytic Society 1911; worked with Sigmund Freud 1922; helped estab. Com. on Mental Health Among Jews (developed into Hillside Hospital, Queens) 1919; org. psychiatric service at what is now Pleasantville Cottage Sch., Jewish Child Care Assoc. 1925; dir. of psychiatry and mem. bd of dir., JCCA; assoc. psychiatrist, Mount Sinai Hosp. 1913-39; org. first psychiatric outpatient clinic in U.S.; introduced occupational therapy for ambulatory

emotionally disturbed patients; consulting psychiatrist, Mount Sinai, 1953-54; in his honor Mount Sinai estab. the Clarence P. Oberndorf Visiting Psychiatrist Program; clinical prof. of psychiatry, Columbia Univ. 1936-53; past pres. numerous professional assoc., includ. Am. Psychoanalytic Assoc., Psychiatry, Am. Psychopathological Assoc.; assoc. ed., International Journal of Psychopathological Assoc. analysis; au. of 3 books and more than 125 articles.

PETLUCK, ALICE S., lawyer, civic leader; b. Bar, Russia, July 23, 1873; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 4, 1953; first woman lawyer to prac-tice in Federal District Court Southern Dist. of N. Y.; first woman to argue case in Appellate Div. First Dept; fdr and former dir. Bronx Women's Bar Assoc.; act. in local civic and communal orgn., incl. Women's Am. ORT, Mizrachi Woman's Orgn.

RIBALOW, MENACHEM, Heb. writer and ed.; b. Chudnow, Russia, Feb. 17, 1895; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 17, 1953; edit. Heb. periodicals in Russia and Poland; came to U.S. 1921; fdr and ed. Hadoar 1921-53; sec. Histadruth Ivrith (Heb. Fed. of Am.) 1922-23; v.p. 1927-53; co-pres. World Heb. Fed.; ed. Sefer Hashanah (Am. Heb. yr book); au. several Heb. books and one Yid. book; contrib. to numerous periodicals.

ROSEN, JOSEPH, rabbi; b. Russia, 1863 (?); d. Passaic, N. J., Sept. 24, 1953; served Shomre-Emunah Synagogue, Bklyn., N. Y. 1923–28; rabbi Chevra Te'hilin Synagogue, Passaic, N. J., 1928–53; chief Orthodox rabbi Passaic; past v.p. Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U.S. and Canada; pres. Union of New Jersey Orthodox Rabbis 1942–45; mem. bd of ordination Yeshiva Univ. 1928–39.

RUDINOW, MOSHE, cantor; b. Odessa, Russia, 1891 (?); d. Oakland, Cal., Nov. 14, 1953; sang opera in Kiev, Russia; concert stage, Palestine; fdr Palestine Opera Com-pany; came to U.S. 1928; cantor Temple Emanu-El, N. Y. 1928-48; mem. exec. council Am. Chazan-Ministers.

Council Am. Chazan-Ministers.

SCHAUSS, HAYYIM, Jewish historian, au. and tchr; b. Gorzd, Lithuania, May 8, 1884; d. Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 4, 1953; prof. of Bible and Jewish hist. Jewish Tchr Sem., N. Y., 1918–48; faculty mem. Coll. of Jewish Studies and Univ. of Judaism, Los Angeles, Cal., 1948–52; au. several Yid. books on Jewish hist., incl. 4-vol. history of the Jewys au. Jewish Rattivally. tory of the Jews; au. Jewish Festivals (1938) and Lifetime of a Jew (1950); au. numerous articles on Bible and Jewish hist, in Yid, periodicals and newspapers.

SCHEINMAN, BENJAMIN JOSEPH, lawyer, judge, civic leader; b. Detroit, Mich., Dec. 18, 1896; d. Los Angeles, Cal., Feb. 18, 1954; deputy dist. atty Los Angeles 1925-30; Municipal Court judge 1931-37; Superior Court judge 1937–54; assisted in setting up court system in Berlin 1945–46; Silver Beaver Award of Boy Scouts for distinguished service; Cross of the Legion of Honor by the Order of DeMolay for achievement in control of juvenile delinquency 1943; co-chmn Am. Brotherhood Week 1948; exec. com. mem. Am. Jewish Com.

SCHULTE, LUISE MEYER, civic leader; b. San Francisco, Cal., (?), Feb. 18, 1910; d. Stamford, Conn., June 23, 1954; past mem. Mayor's Com. on the Aged in N. Y., N. Y. Comm. on Charitable Solicitations, Com. for Coordinating Jewish Community Services for Veterans; mem. bd of dir. Council Child Development Center in N. Y.; mem. Welfare and Health Council of N. Y. C.; v.p. Jewish Bd of Guardians; mem. admin. and exec. com. Am. Jewish Com.

SHUNFENTHAL, CHAIM, rabbi, tchr; b. 1884 (?); d. N. Y. C., Dec. 6, 1953; prof. of Talmud Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Sem. and Yeshiva Univ. for over 20 yrs.

SILVERSMITH, JOSEPH, insurance exec., civic leader; b. N. Y. C., Aug. 8, 1892; d. Denver, Colo., Feb. 7, 1954; pres. Nat. Jewish Hosp. 1953–54; mem. bd of trustees 14 yrs; fdr and former pres. Nat. Insurance Company; act. in local civic and communal affairs.

STARK, LOUIS, labor reporter, editl writer; b. Tibold Daracz, Hungary, May 1, 1889; d. N. Y. C., May 17, 1954; gen. and labor reporter New York Times 1917-33; Washington bureau 1933-51; editl dept 1951-54; contrib. to numerous periodicals; Pulitzer Prize for labor reporting 1942.

STAVISKY, ABRAHAM M., textile merchant, communal leader; b. Makowa, Poland, Oct. 29, 1876; d. Atlantic City, N. J., Nov. 15, 1953; elected life mem. and mem. nat. exec. bd Mizrachi Orgn of Am.; past treas.

Vaad Hatzalah; past mem. bd of dir. Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Sem.

TAEUBLER, EUGENE, historian, prof., au.; b. Gostinin, Poland, 1879; d. Cincinnati, O., August 13, 1953; fdr and dir. Central Archives of the Jews in Germany 1906-19; ed. Mitteilungen des Gesantarchius der deutschen Juden 1908-15; lecturer in ancient hist. Univ. of Berlin 1919; dir. Acad. of Jewish Research, Berlin 1919; taught hist. at Universities of Zurich and later Heidelberg until 1933; research prof. and lecturer in Bible and Hellenistic lit., HUC, Cincinnati, O., until 1951; au. several books and monographs in his field, incl. Imperium Romanum (1913); Terremare und Rom (1932).

WALD, ROSE FISCHEL, communal leader; b. N. Y. C., Nov. 24, 1900; d. N. Y. C., May 18, 1954; mem. bd of dir. Fed. of Jewish Women's Orgn; past ed. Fed. pub. Horizons; Fed. rep. internat. com. on educ. Nat. Council of Jewish Women; mem. exec. com. Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox

Jewish Cong. of Am.
WEINBERG, AARON O., lawyer, communal leader; b. Russia, Jan. 25, 1888; d. N. Y. C., May 4, 1954; mem., admin. com. Nat. Com. for Labor Israel; chmn Workmen's Circle Div., Histadrut Campaign; mem. bd of dir. Yid. Scientific Inst.

WILENSKY, MARY, Yid. actress; b. Warsaw, Poland, April, 1874; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 5, 1953; acted in troupe under Jacob Adler; noted for roles as comedienne.

ZIFF, WILLIAM BERNARD, au., ed., pub.; b. Chicago, Ill., August 1, 1898; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 20, 1953; ed. numerous magazines; fdr and chmn bd of dir. Ziff-Davis Pub. Co. 1933-53; consultant U.S. Dept. of Justice 1942-43; pres. Zion. Revisionist Orgn of Am. 1935; au. The Rape of Palertine (1938), The Coming Battle of Germany (1942), The Gentlemen Talk of Peace (1944).

LOUIS GINZBERG

On November 11, 1954, Prof. Louis Ginzberg died in New York City at the age of eighty. He had added lustre to the long lines of distinguished scholars and saints who formed his ancestry, and to the even longer line of

rabbinic tradition which had reached a new peak through his life.

His family included such timeless geniuses as Rabbi Mordecai Yoffe (1530–1612), author of the famous code of Talmudic law known as Lebushim; Rabbi Moses Ribkas (seventeenth century), author of the Beer ha-Golah, containing notes on Rabbi Joseph Caro's Shulhan Aruk; Rabbi Aryeh Loeb ben Asher (eighteenth century), the author of the famous collection of Shaagat Aryeh Responsa, as well as the great codifier, Rabbi Moses Isserles (ca. 1520–1572), whose supplement to Caro's code of Talmudic law is generally accepted as the guide for religious practice among all German, Polish, and other Central European and East European Jews. On his mother's side, Louis Ginzberg belonged to the family of the Gaon of Vilna (Rabbi Elijah Gaon, 1720–97), the most illustrious Jewish family in Lithuania. Through bloodkinship and marriage Professor Ginzberg was related to almost every outstanding Jewish scholar in Lithuania and Poland.

Louis Ginzberg had mastered the wisdom to be garnered from such noted rabbinical schools as those of Telshe and Slobodka in Lithuania, and had added studies at the German universities of Berlin, Strasbourg, and Heidelberg. This early education had been supplemented by the experience of half a century in America. Rare genius and diversified life in different civilizations had combined to produce in him immense learning, profound insights, vivid imagination, and extraordinary wisdom in the conduct of human affairs. Thus his lifework can be considered either as a commentary on the modern scene drawn from ancient religious texts, or a commentary on an-

cient religious texts drawn from the modern scene.

Louis Ginzberg's whole life, as he himself remarked, bore the indelible stamp of his great-granduncle, the Gaon of Vilna; and was deeply marked, too, by influences emanating from the example of his father, the erudite and pious Rabbi Isaac Ginzberg (who modestly never accepted rabbinic office, but insisted on earning his livelihood as a merchant), and Rabbi Israel Salanter, the founder of the ethicist, *musar* movement among the Lithuanian rabbinic academicians. Born in Kovno in 1873, the scholar's childhood training was typical of Lithuanian Jewry at its best. He was the object of great affection and tenderness toward his spirit, rather than his body, directing his development into a worthy scion of his distinguished ancestors. The particular stress on the example of the Gaon of Vilna which pursued blue-eyed Louis Ginzberg from the cradle to the grave was said to reflect a family tra-

dition that, like the Gaon of Vilna, its future Gaon would have blue eyes. Those blue eyes determined the course of his life. As often happens, legend tended to fulfill itself. Because the Gaon had begun his schooling at the age of three, it was considered improper for the infant Louis Ginzberg to play; he could not engage in the slightest frivolity without being reminded that that was not the way the Gaon had behaved at his age.

Instead of driving the child away from Torah study, these admonitions, combined as they were with care, tenderness, and admiration of his astonishing precocity, impressed on him a profound sense of responsibility for the future of Torah. His rare gifts of memory and imagination and his tireless assiduity brought distinction as a promising scholar before he was bar mitzvah. At fifteen he had learned discussions with some of the outstanding scholars of the day, including the great Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spektor, the world famous rabbi of Koyno.

Louis Ginzberg's teachers hoped that he would remain at the Lithuanian yeshivot, and ultimately head one of them. But this plan was abandoned because of the insomnia and physical weakness which developed as he approached his twentieth year. Yielding to the pleading of Louis Ginzberg's mother, his father somewhat reluctantly agreed that the young scholar should leave Lithuania. For some years the future professor remained with his parents in Amsterdam, supplementing his wide and profound rabbinic learning with Western science and humanities.

About 1895, Louis Ginzberg left Amsterdam for further studies in secular science at the German universities. In 1898, he received a doctorate from the University of Heidelberg. After a short stay in Amsterdam he went to New York City, where he foresaw the possible development of a center of Jewish learning. The Jewish Encyclopedia, destined to become the first great contribution of American Jewry to Jewish scholarship, was then projected, and Louis Ginzberg became one of its moving spirits, a major influence in its planning. He was formally the editor of the material on rabbinical literature, but actually a large part of the first volume and much of the later volumes was planned, edited, or written by him.

In 1902, Solomon Schechter and Cyrus Adler, heads of the reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary of America, invited Louis Ginzberg to be its professor of Talmud and senior member of the faculty, posts he held for the rest of his life. His more than five decades at the Seminary were spent in unceasing effort to translate the Talmud, and the innumerable commentaries and codes based on it, into a philosophy of life capable of guiding the modern world. He tried to achieve this goal in three different ways, through research, guidance to others, and discipline over himself. In all three he followed the example set by the Gaon of Vilna.

Because the Gaon had regarded study of the Talmud primarily as a guide to the correct practice of Judaism, he had, unlike many of his predecessors, not been content with study of the Babylonian Talmud alone. Since the Babylonian Geonim most codifiers, and since Maimonides virtually all of them, had derived their norms principally from the Babylonian Talmud. The Gaon of Vilna, convinced that studies and research in the Land of

Israel for centuries after the completion of the Mishna could not have been wasted, studied *all* the rabbinic writings with assiduous care. While he recognized the primacy of the Babylonian Talmud for legal decisions, he supplemented its rules with those emanating from its sister compilations.

The Gaon in the interpretation of ancient works had also relied more on the rishonim, the early commentators and codifiers, than on their modern successors. The Babylonian Geonim (Rab Saadia, Rab Hai, Rab Sherira, and their disciples) and Rabbenu Hananel and Rabbenu Nissim in North Africa had lived so near the time of the Talmud that their interpretations had seemed to him preferable by far to those of their Eastern European and Central European successors of later ages. The Gaon had thus felt free to offer interpretations of the Mishna at variance with those accepted in the academic circles of his time. In his notes to the Shulhan Aruk, the Gaon had proposed rulings that were startling in their novelty but unquestionably based on careful, critical research into the books of the rishonim and occasionally on new insights into the relationship of Babylonian and Galilean traditions.

These attitudes of the Gaon had exercised a profound influence on Rabbi Aryeh Leib Rashkes of Shnipishok (a suburb of Vilna), with whom Louis Ginzberg lived and studied for some years. From this great scholar Professor Ginzberg doubtless derived his lifelong devotion to the study of the Yerushalmi and its kindred works, as well as his abiding concern with the ap-

proach of the rishonim to Jewish law.

Professor Ginzberg was able to bring new instruments to serve ancient studies. Wide reading in Greek and Latin and mastery of Western methods of critical analysis and research he transformed into tools for unearthing hidden gems of the Talmud. With incredible speed, he collected from the hellenistic and patristic literature materials emanating from Jewish sources and reflecting rabbinic ideas, and utilized them for reestablishment and interpretation of ancient texts. Most of this material was of aggadic rather than halakic nature, for the church fathers and the hellenistic writers were scarcely interested in talmudic law. Dr. Ginzberg's doctoral thesis, "Die Haggadah bei den Kirchenvätern," was thus the first result of his effort to bridge the chasm between western and rabbinic learning.

Out of this initial study there emerged the immense compilation, The Legends of the Jews, containing almost all the aggadic material bearing on scripture in Jewish tradition. This is not only an invaluable encyclopedia of Jewish lore, but in two volumes of notes provides a running commentary on much of the Apochrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as the talmudic midrashim. In these notes legends are traced to their pre-Biblical origin, and through the labyrinth of the rabbinic academies and the writings influenced by them—from such works as the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the

Twelve Patriarchs, to the latest midrashim and the church fathers.

At this time, Professor Ginzberg was attracted to the study of a most significant document unearthed by Schechter among the manuscripts of the Genizah. This was clearly a code of law of a forgotten Jewish sect, which had flourished in Judea toward the end of the Second Commonwealth and

had ultimately fied to Damascus. Schechter had published the text of the code with an English translation and learned notes. Professor Ginzberg, focusing on this code his immense knowledge of talmudic law, and comparing the theology of the document with the theologies of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, demonstrated that the hitherto unknown sect had belonged, in general, to the Pharisaic tradition. This insight has been brilliantly confirmed by later studies, as well as by discoveries of new manuscripts apparently from the same sect or groups akin to it. Part of Professor Ginzberg's work on this sect remained unpublished and is expected to appear post-humously.

From Louis Ginzberg's own viewpoint, these excursions into aggadic studies and the theology of special sects were introductions to his main concernthe rabbinic halakah or guide to conduct. The first student of our time who had really mastered the domain of halakah as well as Western method, he felt a deep responsibility to impart to his pupils and to succeeding generations not only the results of his discoveries, but—no less important—concern with the field. His publication of the responsa of the Geonim, recovered from Genizah manuscripts, brought to light a larger number of such decisions than had ever before been published in a single work; and his discussions of these responsa are major contributions to the history of Judaism and to the philological interpretation both of the Talmud and of later books. In the first volume of the Geonica, the English reader was introduced for the first time to the intricacies of the problems surrounding the work of the Babylonian academicians, the interrelation of the French and Spanish versions of the Halakot Gedolot (the most extensive Geonic code), the nature of the ritual described by Rab Amram Gaon and its relation to earlier and later writings, the differences between the customs and methods of study of the two great Babylonian centers of learning at Sura and Pumbedita, and the relation of both to contemporary Galilean scholarship.

Because of his concern for halakah, Dr. Ginzberg made a Herculean effort to master and interpret the intricacies of the Talmud of Jerusalem and other studies emanating from the ancient rabbinical sages of the Holy Land. The tradition from which these works emerged had been interrupted at the time of the Crusades, so that they have no continuous chain of interpretation, as does the Babylonian Talmud. Reconstruction of the teachings in the great rabbinical schools of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Caesarea during the centuries after the compilation of the Mishna is a task which might well daunt the courage of even the boldest scholar. Professor Ginzberg was determined to penetrate these mysteries, and also to understand why the schools of the Land of Israel often differed in their conclusions from their sister institutions

in Babylonia.

He began his publications in this field with an edition of all the known fragments of the Talmud of Jerusalem from the Genizah, in a work called Seride Yerushalmi. In his later studies in midrash and aggadah, in the second memorial volume to Solomon Schechter, he added new material on the Yerushalmi, as well as a great collection of early and late midrashim.

He entered on what he regarded as his lifework in 1937, with the prepara-

tion of his superb Commentary on the Talmud of Jerusalem, notable for its acumen and erudition even in the great tradition of rabbinic studies. Purporting to be primarily a commentary on the Yerushalmi, this study actually is dedicated to a consideration of the whole problem of Jewish traditional lore, and in it Professor Ginzberg shows to what extent the spirit of the Yerushalmi differs from that of the Babylonian Talmud, frequently tracing the development of strands of the law from early tannaitic times through the Talmud and into the later centuries of the Geonim.

In the final seventeen years of his life Professor Ginzberg barely completed the commentary on the first treatise of the Talmud of Jerusalem, Berakot. Fragments of the commentary on other treatises were prepared and will be published posthumously. While he thus finished only a small portion of the gigantic task he had set for himself, enough is contained in these volumes to indicate the general nature of his approach and his method. He was far more concerned to present this example of the manner in which he approached the ancient tradition than to complete his commentary. And in this he entirely succeeded.

While preoccupied with these exegetical studies Professor Ginzberg was always concerned also with an analysis of the sociological forces that helped mold halakic decisions and aggadic views of different periods. He discovered that many of the differences between the schools of Shammai and Hillel were apparently related to different social backgrounds, and that, on the whole, the Shammaitic scholars were drawn from the upper strata of Jerusalem society, the Hillelite scholars from the less opulent groups. Characteristically, he devoted to this major thesis only a brief Hebrew lecture, published as a pamphlet, Mekomah shel ha-Halakah be-Hokmat Yisrael.

In his concern for the future of Jewish law no less than for its history, Professor Ginzberg carried for many years the burdens of chairman of the Committee on Jewish Law of the United Synagogue of America, receiving many questions about problems of Jewish tradition and its significance in the practical world. Some of his replies are classics of responsa literature, and the most comprehensive is his responsum on the ceremonies of hiddush and habdalah. This responsum is really a book, one of the longest in the whole history of rabbinic Judaism, and indicates his unsurpassed erudition, his keen insight, and the manner in which he would have proceeded had he carried out his plan for the revivification of Talmudic law in our time. As in the case of his other writings, in his responsa Professor Ginzberg was far more concerned to delineate a method than to exhaust a subject. His responsa are models of research, and suggest areas for creative activity in Talmudic law, based on ample study of the wisdom of the ages and the problems of the present day.

However, no student of Professor Ginzberg's written works alone will have adequate knowledge of the greatness of the master, as revealed in his dealings with his fellow human beings. In the course of his life he succeeded in the creation of a personality at once charming and disciplined, wise and humane, loving and just, rigorously loyal to tradition and charitably cognizant of the problems emerging from it.

During his youthful days in Slobodka, he had been greatly attracted by the teachings of Rabbi Isaac Blaser, one of the closest disciples of Rabbi Israel Salanter. Rabbi Blaser's saintliness made him one of the most revered and effective teachers of his day, and his piety so affected Louis Ginzberg that throughout his long life he followed many practices enjoined by the musar teachers.

The discipline of silence to which he had been subjected each year for forty days before the Day of Atonement became in more mature life a discipline of rigidly controlled conversation. His self-restraint in discourse was the more remarkable because it was combined with the charm of the raconteur. The world of his boyhood, as well as the world of the Talmud, became alive and vibrant in the stories Professor Ginzberg related. The astonishingly broad repertoire of touching and witty tales with which he would regale his guests at the Sabbath and festival table, as well as his pupils in class, were reminiscent of the teachers of the Talmud itself. The stories were told with such simplicity children loved to listen, and with such profundity that scholars would find that the time had been well spent. Yet never, in many hours of conversation, would he cast a shadow on the character of any individual, living or dead. "Evil talk," the vice that, according to the Talmud, pursues us all constantly, was foreign to him.

Louis Ginzberg never permitted his preoccupation with study to deflect him from the commandment to participate in the world of men through acts of personal generosity. As long as his health permitted, he made it a rule to visit the sick, comfort the bereaved, and personally look after the needy, whether among colleagues or students. Many recall the strength he brought in moments of sorrow, disappointment, or bereavement. A host of scholars in America and abroad testify to the help offered by Louis Ginzberg—whether in research, in subsistence, or in funds for publication of their books.

His home became a rendezvous of scholars and admiring laymen, as well as youngsters (besides his adored grandchildren), whom he loved with special affection. Every Sabbath and festival afternoon, as well as every holiday meal, would assemble admiring groups who came for instruction and inspiration. Tirelessly and devotedly, his life companion, Adele Katzenstein Ginzberg, would arrange his schedule of visitors (remembering men of learning to whom time had been unkind, as well as Seminary students), and help her learned husband follow in the footsteps of his ancestors as host to scholars, whether needy or not, and to the needy, whether scholarly or not. Their son Eli, now professor of economics at Columbia University, and their daughter Sophy, now married to Professor Bernard Gould of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, themselves continue the family tradition.

Next to his home, his personality shone most brilliantly in the synagogue. After the death of Schechter, guidance of the Seminary synagogue fell to Professor Ginzberg, and he continued to be its parnes (president) until his death. Almost inevitably he determined its customs, generally according to the norms set down by the Gaon of Vilna. Louis Ginzberg's dignity as head of the synagogue, his dedication to the service of God through the synagogue, and his profound love for Jewish ritual communicated themselves

to all present and made the institution an extension of his very being. A tremor, almost palpable, passed through the congregation when toward the end of the fast on the Day of Atonement he would approach the reader's desk to recite the Neilah service. The ancient melodies, rendered with beauty and skill, combined with the stirring words and his obvious absorption in the prayers, communicated to all a profound sense of the ineffable holiness of the place and the time. In his earlier years, he would read not only the Neilah service on Yom Kippur, but also the morning service; and sometimes he would read this service also on Rosh ha-Shanah and other festivals. The modern scholar, trained in German universities, would disappear in the intimacy of the ancient service; and before the Ark of the Torah there would stand the successor to the authors of the Shaagat Aryeh and the Le-

He tried to transmit to the host of lay readers his reverence for his great teachers and forebears in a series of essays and biographies, published as Students, Saints, Scholars, and in his introduction to his Commentary on the Talmud of Jerusalem, which appeared in both Hebrew and English. Yet even his skill with words was inadequate to portray more than a reflection of the profound inspiration he drew from the tradition which so thoroughly permeated him.

Louis Ginzberg's great model, known to later generations as the Gaon, Rabbi Elijah, was called by his own contemporaries, Rabbi Elijah the Saint. Those who saw Louis Ginzberg in his home, in the classroom, walking through the street, working in his study, praying in the synagogue, felt when he left them that they had parted from a saint, even as they had lost the foremost teacher of their time.

Louis Finkelstein

ALEXANDER MARX

A LEXANDER MARX was one of ten children in the household of Gertrude and George Marx, a merchant in Elberfeld on the Rhine. Born in 1878, he moved to Koenigsberg with his family in 1885. After his graduation from the gymnasium in 1895 and a semester at the University of Koenigsberg, he was sent, in consequence of his parents' plan to have him train for the rabbinate, to the town of Halberstadt, where he spent a year with Rabbi Joseph Nobel in intensive study of the Talmud. His absorption in this study made Marx sufficiently proficient in rabbinic literature, and although he did not pursue his talmudic interest in later years, he taught the subject at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for a time. Moreover, in his last years he undertook—but unfortunately did not see—the publication of a unique manuscript of the Tractate Aboda Zara.

Marx spent the year 1896–1897 as a student in Berlin. Upon his return to Koenigsberg in 1897 he entered the local university. In the course of the years he spent there he performed the remarkable feat of reading—and occasionally studying—every book in the not inconsiderable collection of Hebraica and Judaica at the university library. In his academic years he also benefited greatly from studies in ancient history under Prof. Franz Ruehl, who at the same time trained him in the proper methods of examining and utilizing ancient manuscripts. His doctoral thesis was not defended until

June 1903, but the year before was spent in Berlin.

By the time Marx concluded his work at Koenigsberg he knew full well that his field of interest was Jewish scholarship and no other pursuit. His attendance in Berlin at the Rabbinic-Seminar was for the purpose of learning from the men who taught there, men like Jacob Barth, Abraham Berliner, and David Hoffmann. He cherished these men and revered them, particularly Hoffmann, who, in addition to being his teacher, also became Marx's father-in-law. His deepest gratitude and his most loyal devotion were reserved for Moritz Steinschneider, the illustrious bibliographer and the outstanding Jewish scholar of the nineteenth century. Marx heard Steinschneider's lectures at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraimsche Lehranstalt, and spent many long hours with him besides. From Steinschneider, Marx acquired his love of the Jewish book and his wide sweep in Jewish book lore. Both in his interests and in his methods he bears the imprint of his renowned teacher and friend. All his life, Marx never tired of speaking or writing about his master, and never felt that he had quite said all that should have been said about him. Fellow-students of his under Steinschneider report that Marx was the favorite pupil, and he himself, with all his reticence, implied as much. It would undoubtedly have gratified the teacher no end to read A. S.

W. Rosenbach's comment: "Europe had its Steinschneider, America now has its Marx!"

Marx came to America in 1903 at the invitation of Solomon Schechter, the recently appointed president of the reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who asked him to assume the position of professor of Jewish history and of librarian. Marx had met Schechter in 1898 when he visited him in Cambridge in connection with the edition of Seder Olam which he was preparing. Schechter (and his wife) were very favorably impressed with Marx, and their collaboration as colleagues at one institution welded the acquaintance into a lasting, warm friendship.

Librarian

Marx was a young man of twenty-five when he joined the Seminary; for the remainder of his life, a stretch of over fifty years, he converted his two assignments into positions of great importance and renown throughout the Jewish world. They imposed quite a strain on their incumbent, since he was determined to grow and to help the library grow. His own studies and his efforts to collect books and manuscripts kept him steadily occupied. It was necessary to cultivate friends of the library, to follow catalogues, to visit book sales and book auctions, to procure funds and gifts, to keep check of what the library possessed and what it needed. Yet with this load, Marx found time for other interests. He was vitally concerned with general and Jewish life and letters, he followed events, formed opinions, and had a clear understanding of the world situation. He was a convinced supporter of the Zionist program and regarded it as a special good fortune that he and Mrs. Marx could pay a visit to the Land of Israel in 1952. He was a member of a number of learned societies and on a good many occasions participated in their meetings with learned papers. He always gladly assisted all who turned to him with inquiries or asked him guidance, and numerous books carry words of thanks to him for the aid he had extended to their authors. Scholars all over the world maintained correspondence with him, and considered it a distinct privilege to be numbered among his friends.

In his capacity as professor of Jewish history, Marx trained hundreds of rabbis, and all of them cherish the kindest feelings towards him. As librarian, he built an institution with a world-wide reputation. With its more than 165,000 books, and over 9,000 manuscripts, its invaluable treasures in incunabula, first editions, and special collections, it has become an indispensable requisite to study. Through interlibrary loans, photostatic service, and the generous cooperation of Professor Marx and his staff, scholars all over the world have been able to utilize to advantage the inestimable resources of this unique store of Jewish literature. One cannot fail to thank all the generous contributors, selfless collaborators, and tireless assistants who helped build this magnificent library, but its greatness must above all be credited to the energy, the knowledge, and the care of its chief guardian and most de-

voted sponsor.

All this official work required time and energy, and it unquestionably re-

duced the time he could have otherwise given to scholarship. This reflection touches on a problem which has repeated itself in human history rather frequently. What shall the course of men be who have more than one interest or activity, or who are engaged in more than one enterprise? Ideally, none of the several interests allows time to spare, and the special devotees of any of them will deplore that the person was not faithful to it alone. On the other hand, the many beneficiaries of his divided interests will be grateful for his diversity and versatility. There is no doubt that the library which Marx built is an everlasting tribute to him. Its continued, or rather increasing usefulness, its incalculable aid to scholars here and abroad, have made a large number of students and readers grateful to the rich collection. Yet one cannot help feeling a bit regretful that this most useful and valuable work interfered seriously with the scholarly career of a man who was earnestly dedicated to scholarship and was a hard worker.

Marx's most favored field was Jewish history, more exactly cultural history. True, he was at home in many other fields, notably literature, as a perusal of his learned reviews and the range of their subject matter will testify. But the bulk of his scholarly labor, and also his teaching, was in the field of Jewish culture and history. These, together with biography and bibliography, account for the long, long list of articles and monographs and the three

books which he published.

View of History

Marx's view of history, or rather historiography, although not too lengthily elaborated, was nevertheless clearly expressed. We possess his creed, as it were, in a paper he delivered before the American Jewish Historical Society (volume 26 of its Proceedings, p. 11-32). Marx lays down a number of principles to be applied in the interpretation of Jewish history which are generally accepted today by all historians and serve as the guides in historywriting at the present time. He expresses his unqualified objection to what has been called the "lachrymose" conception of Jewish history and to the excessive concentration on the literary history of the Jews in the Middle Ages. Although medieval literary Jewish history is of course very important, inasmuch as it is the voice of the cultural and spiritual life of the Jews, it is only a phase of the life of the period and is necessarily limited to a minority. It should properly form the subject of special studies and independent treatment. Marx demands greater attention to the life of the people, as contrasted with the limited intellectual minority: their economy, organization, legal status, and other aspects of the many-faceted life of the masses. He knows that, in view of the general indifference of the medieval Jews to history and the widespread lack of attention among even general historians to the problems which intrigue the modern investigator, the labor of collecting the material required by the advocated approach will be very arduous. It will necessitate recourse to the archives and intense examination of the materials preserved in them, in order to glean from the documents the information they contain which may have a bearing on, or be pertinent to the issues.

It imposes on the investigator the duty of studying responsa literature, the minute books of the numerous communities which kept them, correspondence, contracts, literary documents, and diverse other writings which may not seem superficially like history sources, yet may possibly contain valuable information bearing on the historian's field of interest. It also compels the recognition that Jewish history cannot be properly understood or adequately studied as an independent, self-sufficient unit. The fate of the Jews has always been too inextricably tied with the life and activities of the nations among whom they have dwelt for the Jews to be described as an isolated group, and Jewish history cannot be correctly comprehended except in relation to the larger history. Marx realizes that all of this preliminary labor requires collective effort, and that only by well-planned, properly organized cooperation among the people engaged in the task can the hope be realized of gathering the necessary knowledge for the presentation of Jewish history in line with present-day standards.

Marx takes care to emphasize that however important the collection of records may be, however prerequisite the sources are for the compilation of a synthesis, "no one will find it desirable that in the study of Jewish history we should resign all creative activity for a long time in order to enable a later generation to harvest the seed we are sowing." He would encourage the composition of monographs on special subjects, and the compilation of histories from time to time, even where the author realizes that a good deal of the source material is not available, or that adequate certainty is still wanting.

History of the Jewish People

The methods of history-writing outlined by Marx in this article were of course more than reflections provoked by an occasion. He believed in them. In discussing negotiations carried on by the Jews of Provence to have Maimonides' works translated into Hebrew, he remarks: "It is a pity that no references to such matters of business, which would throw light on the book trade in the Middle Ages, are recorded in our correspondence." On Maimonides' contention that the pursuit of astrology by the Jews in ancient times prevented them from "concentrating their efforts upon learning the art of war and conquering of neighboring countries," Marx comments: "This imperialistic utterance betrays clearly the influence of the Court of that victorious warrior Sultan Saladin." He applied the methods he advocates in his one-volume History of the Jewish People, which bears the name of the late Max L. Margolis as co-author. In the preface we are told: "It is a history of the entire people, of the mass; accordingly special stress is laid on its economic and social life." It is clear that in undertaking the work, the authors fully appreciated the requirements of modern scholarship and planned the book accordingly. But they frankly recognize and admit that it is difficult to comply with the program they subscribe to in a one-volume history, particularly when it is also their wish to take note of the literary activity because "letters are a part of the people's manysided activity, and men of letters are personalities, influencing their generation and shaping the future."

The work is a monument of learning, a true reference book, as it has been aptly called. Every statement of fact in it is reliable beyond questioning, and the facts are truly all there within this compressed space. The difficulties connected with relating the entire story in one volume, to which they make reference in their preface, had to be encountered by making concessions and adjustments. The lack of dramatic style is compensated for by a continuous account. The desire to report all of the facts and to pay attention to details often results in a lack of organization and in a juxtaposition of unrelated items. Between the mountain of historic facts and the heaps of names of persons the economic and social picture is almost invisible, but it is there for the careful reader who studies the book rather than skims through it. Although their claim is correct that "the authors have endeavored to set forth the story in a manner as dispassionate and detached as possible," it is evident to every critical reader that this statement is not a denial of a point of view. They agree with the traditional interpretation of Jewish history, approving what tradition has recognized, and frowning on whatever is a deviation from the official course.

Monographs

Marx's stature as historian and scholar is in full display in his monographs. The list of his works in this area is long. It reflects both his wide range of interest and his ready response to his historical as well as bibliographical inclinations. Most of these articles are based on new source material discovered by Marx in his constant and intensive study of the manuscripts and printed books which he carried on in the capacity of librarian and bibliographer. Indeed, this steady preoccupation with primary sources seems to have developed in Marx a principle of research and publication. He was generally disinclined to write on the basis of secondary sources. He was not drawn to the tasks of rephrasing, recasting, or reorganizing the works of others. He also seems to have felt that the factual side of a study would be a much more important contribution to learning than the interpretive. This was in line with his realization of the deficiency in source material which seriously hampers the fulfillment of the modern historian's plan of writing. But the possession of a new text served as a stimulant. Equipped with a hitherto unknown, or an additional document, he was in a position—which he utilized to its fullest-to analyze in detail the information provided by the new text in the light of the knowledge available prior to its publication, to check, compare, decide the extent of credence the document deservedin a word, to set his contribution in its proper relation to the state of knowledge about the topic. Almost always, the advance in knowledge or in interpretation resulting from the appearance of a new source is very marked, and the value of the publication is highly appreciated.

Maimonides, the outstanding figure in medieval Jewry, is the subject of several studies by Marx. An unannotated biography (of which he reports:

"As I fortunately have access to an unusually large collection of Maimonides manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, I shall occasionally take the opportunity to refer to these"), is pervaded with the deepest reverence towards the sage, and an admiration which taxes the biographer's power of self-restraint. In this essay, as in other biographies, the previously mentioned characteristic of the author is confirmed: Marx shows a decided preference for the facts, and lacks the quality of effusiveness. Whether he relates the story of the truly great men of the past, or of those of more recent days, some of whom he knew personally, he cannot indulge in elaborate description, characterization or praise. He would rather let the facts speak and allow the reader to draw his own conclusions.

A collection of texts by and about Maimonides introduces, among other items, an important epistle by the Jewish leader Shesheth ha-Nasi ben Isaac in defense of the Master in the conflict which was enveloping Spain and Provence. Though previously known, only small parts had been extracted by earlier scholars, and its presentation in full was most welcome. With the aid of new as well as more correct old texts Marx shed much light on the extent of astrological belief among Jews in the Middle Ages, the change of attitude towards the Jews of Provence by Maimonides, and the general cul-

ture level of those days.

Marx's bibliographic activity extended his historic interest beyond the Middle Ages. In a most interesting article, called "A Jewish Cause Célèbre in the Sixteenth-Century Italy," he displays a panorama of Italian rabbis and laymen, intrigues, quarrels, and court trials which are most revealing and dramatic. Another text stimulates him to discuss the activities of an Italian rabbi in the sixteenth century, which he regards as fairly typical of the rabbi's colleagues. A few additional studies, in English and Hebrew, on Jewish life in Italy, all based on previously unknown material, present a view of the communities in the peninsula which will certainly offer much valuable help to the interpreter of the life of Italian Jewry. The Jewish community in Cochin served as the theme of an essay built on correspondence between Cochin and the famous scholar of Egypt, David ibn Abi Zimra. It would require too much space to even mention all of Marx's learned studies. A reading of his essay on the importance of the Geniza for the study of Jewish history illustrates most clearly his wholesome respect for facts.

Biography

Biography was evidently an attractive field to Marx. Of some forty sketches which he wrote, twelve were collected into a book called Essays in Jewish Biography, which was published in 1947. These tell of the life and works of four medieval luminaries, Rab Saadia Gaon, Rashi, Rabbenu Gershom Meor ha-Golah, and Maimonides (reprinted from his earlier book), and of eight more recent scholars. In his prefatory remarks Marx accounts for his choices. Regarding the nineteenth-century men we are told that they "have to a greater or lesser extent helped to interpret Jewish life and literature for our day. In their case, too, I had a personal reason for selecting these men—in

one way or another each of them either affected my own scholarly career or was bound to me by ties of close friendship." The men of the Middle Ages were similarly vital influences in his life. In fact, the most vivid impression one carries away from a reading of these and other biographies is of the sense of deep piety felt by Marx towards his heroes. Notwithstanding the author's devotion to facts, and despite his decided preference to report rather than to eulogize, the personal gratitude, reverence, and warmth are clearly in evidence. These individuals were without question potent factors in his life. This can be gathered simply from his consent to write them. Marx did not have a facile pen, he was fully convinced that his contribution would be made best by bringing facts to light. His decision to turn biographer so many times is, therefore, in itself testimony of his devotion to these people. Moreover, Marx's return to some of them-Hoffmann, Steinschneider, etc.-of whom he wrote more than once, again illuminates the loyalty and admiration which he felt. At the same time, his quality of restraint is most impressive. It is certain that he felt deeply; his loyalty was genuine. If he nevertheless wrote with reserve and with little pathos, it is the consequence of an inner reticence, and a shyness of the outside world. We thus get a glimpse into a sort of strife within him. He found it difficult to give free expression to his sentiments, yet he needed to articulate an appreciation and an attachment which he could not contain within him.

Editor of Texts

An evaluation of Marx as editor of texts produces a sense of regret that he did not pursue this activity as an objective in itself. His doctoral dissertation, an edition and translation of the first ten chapters of Seder Olam, offers good proof to substantiate this observation. This ancient work on chronology, ascribed to Rabbi Jose ben Halafta, which served as the standard source for hundreds of years, naturally became a victim of changes, interpolations, copyists' errors, and other misfortunes. To discover, or better, to recover the authentic text as it issued from the pen of the first author or compiler becomes a scholar's task, not merely as an interesting piece of detective work, but in order to establish insofar as possible what the author actually said, so as to exonerate him from errors committed by others and to credit him for what is truly his. The painstaking care with which Marx checked and collated the manuscripts and the two editions which he utilized, the analytical keenness with which he grouped the several sources into families, the selection of the particular manuscript which would serve as the text, and the critical apparatus provided to show the variants to the interested student, the exegetical notes to clarify, support or challenge a statement in the text-all these demonstrate a meticulousness in scholarship. In his last years Marx was working jointly with one of his favorite students, Rabbi Gerson D. Cohen, on a critical edition of the complete Seder Olam Rabba, including the part previously done by him. Unfortunately, he was not privileged to see its publication.

Bibliography

The occupation with, and love of bibliography which was cultivated in Marx by his beloved and revered teacher, Moritz Steinschneider, proved a fertile field for his research and scholarship. Actively engaged in the acquisition of books and manuscripts, Marx was provided with stimulating opportunities for penetrating inquiries and revealing studies. His numerous prized publications and his invaluable notes are grand contributions to Jewish bibliography. His reports on the Seminary library, printed in the Registers of the Seminary, are full of information, not only concerning the titles added to the collection; there is also a large amount of learning in comparative description, corrections, supplementary evidence, and so forth. Occasionally Marx's reports provide sidelights on the writer, the copyist, or the owner, gleaned from the manuscript under examination. In addition, he published a large number of studies which are bibliographic in character. For instance, the article Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram (1908), offers a compact and very informative sketch of the history of prayer books in Gaonic times, and proceeds to a minute analysis of manuscripts and Geniza material which yield important variant material for the study of the Siddur. Marx's bibliographic researches, guided in large measure by the fortunes of discovery and acquisition, do not add up to a planned structure like the massive works of his master. They touch on disparate subjects, but each of them is a mine of information and full of interest, often even to the layman. To mention but a few of the studies which he selected for his volume Studies in Jewish History and Booklore (1944): "The History of David Oppenheimer's Library"; "The Literature of Hebrew Incunabula"; "Notes on the Use of Hebrew Types in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475-1520." In his short catalogue of manuscripts in the library, Marx published a list of seventy-two polemical tracts, and added a few valuable and interesting appendices.

Personality

People whose attention was not attracted by research, and who were not particularly interested in Marx's bibliographic and administrative labors, cherished him, as did his colleagues and admiring students, for his friendship and warmth. He loved people and people loved him. He was so free from pomp or vanity that men of all walks of life found equally ready access to him and were equally grateful for his kindness and his attention. His readiness to make conversation, his interest in people, his concern with human problems, were all revelations of that kindly disposition and the humane personality which made all who knew him forget the weaker traits and the foibles that are the share of all human beings. One recalls with deep yearning the many short and long occasions when one was granted the distinct pleasure of engaging in just ordinary conversation and deriving the gratification of being in the company of one who was so very, very human. It was always touching to observe Marx's fondness for children. There was something almost compulsive about his playing with them, his pinching them, his squeezing their hands which he undoubtedly enjoyed as thoroughly as the youngster who was the object of all this love. The kindness which his face expressed was truly heart-warming. To quote a few sentences from the words of his admiring pupil, the late Rabbi Solomon Goldman:

He was tall, slender, and handsome, brilliant, gentle and unaffected. His soft eyes, clear white skin, delicate features, and high forehead, gave his face a composite expression of shyness, meditativeness, congeniality and tenderness. His noble plainness of manner, transparent smile and hearty laugh, together with the uncommon retentiveness of his memory, made conversation with him a delight.

Piety

Alexander Marx was a truly pious person, observant, reverent, and deeply religious. His meticulousness about the prescriptions of Jewish law was on a par with his devoutness, which showed itself in his manner of praying. His intensely emotional recitation of the *Amidah* on the High Holy Days is one of the cherished memories which linger long in the mind. Yet Marx was not a fanatic. Not only did his open-mindedness manifest itself in his scholarly labors, which are models of honesty and objectivity, but he also expressed it occasionally. We particularly recall a remark of his that he felt close kinship with Abraham ibn Ezra, who was a religious man but was undoubtedly troubled by many questions. It was only to be expected that a man of Marx's learning and contacts encountered many dilemmas and numerous challenges. One admires Marx's uprightness and faith all the more that, realizing this to the best of his ability, he fashioned a view of life and a pattern of action which were consonant with his beliefs and did no violence to his integrity.

It is the natural course of events that, just as in a chain the last link is not attached to the first, although it is connected with it, so also in a living tradition, in learning, the disciple knows his master, and, through him, the long tradition preceding him. It is sad to reflect that the removal of a personality like Alexander Marx from the American Jewish scene signifies more than the passing of a leading scholar, a celebrated bibliographer, a warm friend. It signifies the removal of another irreplaceable link between the Old World and the New. For most Jews in this country men of the tradition and background of Alexander Marx are the only living proof of continuity, the only bridge between two different worlds, the only witness to a way of life and a philosophy of life which are, generally speaking, not being continued here. And when such a man leaves us, the world he represented goes with him, recedes into that revered past which is essentially intangible and, one fears, unreal—unreal because it does not play a vital part in the life of the people here, because the continuation is guided by others and inspired by different ideals. Only a fervent prayer can be offered that his blessed memory will remain a vital factor in the life of his colleagues, students and disciples who gained great riches from him in his lifetime and can learn much more from his literary legacy.

ABRAHAM S. HALKIN

HAYIM GREENBERG

THE MORAL and intellectual influence of Hayim Greenberg extended far beyond the American Labor Zionist movement of which he was the acknowledged leader. As Zionist theoretician, socialist thinker, writer on ethical and philosophical problems, and political spokesman, he affected various circles of the Jewish and non-Jewish world. One of the most unusual and sensitive personalities of his generation, he escapes easy labels and ready pigeon-holes. He must be viewed in his sometimes paradoxical totality.

Born in 1889 in Bessarabia, Hayim Greenberg early attracted attention as a wunderkind. By the age of fifteen he was already establishing a reputation as a remarkable orator for the young Zionist movement. Before he was thirty his brilliance as journalist, essayist, and lecturer had made him a leading figure in the cultural renaissance of Russian Jewry. At the outbreak of World War I, he was editor of a Russian weekly of Jewish interest, Razswiet ("Dawn"). After the Russian Revolution he lectured on medieval Jewish literature and Greek drama at the University of Kharkov. Arrested several times by the Soviet government for his Zionist activities, Greenberg left Russia for Berlin in 1921. There he edited Ha-Olam, the Hebrew weekly of the World Zionist Organization, and the Zionist monthly, Atidenu. In 1924 Greenberg left for the United States where he edited the official publications of the Labor Zionist movement, chief among them the Yiddish weekly, Der Yiddisher Kemfer, and the English monthly, The Jewish Frontier—posts which he held till his death.

The bare enumeration of the periodicals of which Greenberg was editorin-chief gives some notion of his extraordinary linguistic gifts. In three languages—Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish—he was a master of the written and

oral word, and he had an excellent literary command of English.

This multilingual existence corresponded to a complex and sometimes contradictory inner life. There was always a conflict between the meditative scholar, the prober into the sources of human conduct, and the party leader, subject to the daily pressures of journalism and politics. He resolved this conflict by permitting no essential dichotomy between the several worlds in which he lived. What might otherwise be a routine Zionist address would be illuminated by his cosmopolitan scholarship and his profound ethical concerns. He assumed that his audiences, whether they were Yiddish-speaking workingmen or a university faculty, wanted a high seriousness in regard to the examination of a public issue. Whatever his theme, he was incapable of the tacit insult of talking down to his listeners, and his audiences, even if they did not follow every subtlety and allusion, were grateful for the compliment. From Greenberg his disciples wanted nothing less. Similarly,

the readers of the party journals he edited learned soon not to be surprised if the chief article dealt with Hindu religion, Freud, or the meaning of the Crucifixion. His party comrades and his readers learned to examine the day's event philosophically, that is to say, not complacently but sub specie aeternitatis. It was a peculiar and sometimes disconcerting technique for an editorial board or an administrative committee to acquire, but it was Greenberg's characteristic laboratory method, which as much as anything earned him the name of "the conscience of the Movement."

At the same time, despite a genuine reluctance to assume public office, he found it impossible to refuse responsible posts in the world Zionist movement during the crucial years of struggle for the establishment of the State of Israel. As chairman of the executive of the Zionist Emergency Council in America during the war years, and later as member of the American branch of the Jewish Agency executive, in which he became head of the department of education and culture, he was always actively involved in the realities of the political struggle. Because of his special gifts and background he succeeded in establishing contacts with the progressive leaders of several Asiatic countries-contacts which were to prove invaluable during the period when the cause of Israel was being debated before the United Nations. He also played a major role in winning over many of the Latin American delegates to the Jewish cause. The fact that he had a common language with the leading intellectuals of his time, including the foremost Protestant clergymen and such Catholic philosophers as Jacques Maritain, enabled him to secure a sympathetic hearing for the Zionist case among circles ordinarily closed.

But no matter how surprisingly effective this delicate and reticent thinker proved as a political figure, his abiding influence lay in his dual role of writer and spiritual spokesman of the Socialist-Zionist movement in the United States. His essays, of which three volumes have by now appeared in Yiddish and one in English, reveal, if only partially, the richness of a mind too often deflected from its desired pursuits by the responsibilities of political leadership in a tragic and heroic time.

As one examines Greenberg's essays, certain subjects, the keys to his abiding and passionate concerns, reappear through the years. In this respect there is a curious consistency in Greenberg's intellectual life. Themes sometimes superficially antithetical establish their peculiar harmony in his thought: Socialism and nationalism, religion and psychoanalysis, rabbinical lore and modern scepticism—all serve to illuminate each other. The result is not, as might be feared, a dilettante, undigested mixture, but a body of thought which is marked by a fundamental consistency of outlook even though there may be contradictions in detail.

His attitude to Socialism was characteristic. He was a Socialist and always called himself one, but he rejected the dogmatism of the Marxist. The notion that man was solely a social or economic animal whose needs could be met purely in economic or social terms seemed to him the ultimate blasphemy. In his brilliant "Notes on Marxism" he dissects the limitations of Marxism: "The redemptive quality of socialism lies not in its capacity to

abolish suffering, but in its ability to free man from degrading suffering, from suffering that is zoological rather than human. . . . It cannot give more. No matter how high the socialist Tower of Babel should rise, it will not reach infinity." Socialism could liberate man from the indignity of physical need. To confuse this with a redemptive principle was to be blind to the complexity of man as a spiritual being. For this reason he opposed the Marxist attempt to establish a philosophical connection between Socialism and atheistic materialism.

In Russia, at the time of the Revolution, Greenberg had been a Social Democrat, a Menshevik. After his departure from the Soviet Union he continued to speak and write against the Bolshevik corruption of Socialist doctrine. Greenberg never made peace with the dictatorship and the repression of individual liberties within Soviet Russia and, unlike many liberals during the Twenties and Thirties, never permitted himself any illusions as to the regime. Long before the shock of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Greenberg was acutely analyzing the nature of Bolshevism, a task for which few in the United States were as thoroughly equipped as he.

In "To a Communist Friend," written in 1936, Greenberg refutes the

argument that the end justifies the means:

Ends and means in politics are analogous to form and content in art. Form in art is not merely technique; means in politics are not merely instruments. The content must be felt in the form. The means must contain the basic elements of the end. When this minimal harmony between ends and means is lacking, we get the stake at which the Holy Inquisition burns unbelievers to save their souls. I cannot subscribe to Nechaev's famous slogan: "Full speed ahead, right through the mud."

Free democratic Socialism, which respected the rights of the individual and which disavowed the concept of transitional generations, generations which could be brutalized or sacrificed for some remote future, was the only Social-

ism that Greenberg could accept or preach.

On one occasion, when Greenberg developed the idea that no individual must be viewed as the means for advancing the welfare of another because each man was an end in himself, he was accused by a labor audience in Palestine of implied opposition to the life of the Palestine pioneer. Greenberg answered this objection in uncompromising terms:

I would be an opponent of pioneering in Palestine if the hardships entailed in the rebuilding of a long-neglected country were imposed on Jewish youth from above and against its will, if the pioneers in Palestine were considered fertilizer on the fields of the country so that a later generation might enjoy its roses. But pioneering in Palestine is a voluntary task freely undertaken by those rejoicing in it.

Greenberg's fundamental expositions of the moral bases of Zionism led him into discussions far removed from the usual level of journalistic polemics. One of these occasions was an exchange of views with Mahatma Gandhi, whom Greenberg venerated as a saint. Gandhi's failure to oppose the dissemination of anti-Jewish propaganda among the Moslems of India by Arab agents was the starting point for several "Open Letters" to Gandhi. In

1937 Greenberg warned against the kindling of religious fanaticism among the Moslems of India. In the light of subsequent developments, particularly the emergence of Pakistan, the words then written have a prophetic ring. Greenberg's unilateral romance with Gandhi was sometimes viewed as one of Greenberg's philosophical quirks by hard-headed realists among his associates, but the fact remains that Greenberg was unique among American Zionists in his understanding of the shaping forces within Asia.

It is astonishing to observe the freshness he could bring to the restatement and rearguing of the Zionist position from every angle. In a life part of which was always devoted to the editing of Zionist periodicals, familiar dragons had to be re-slain not annually but monthly and sometimes weekly. Yet Greenberg rarely wrote a purely routine article. He was saved from mechanical repetition by the richness and variety of his knowledge and by the streak of poetry in his nature which enabled him to use his learning as leaven rather than ballast. Whether he was discussing patriotism and plural loyalties, or defending Socialist-Zionist theory, or answering Arab arguments, he would write on a level of seriousness which transformed many articles originally written as journalistic chores into classic expositions of the questions raised. Despite the fact that many of his best articles reached only a limited Yiddish-speaking audience, he was probably the most profound and eloquent Zionist publicist in the United States, whose work was regularly reprinted in South America and in the Palestinian press.

Greenberg's Zionism was as free from ideological fetishes as his Socialism. At a time when Labor Zionist circles proclaimed the return to "productive," that is to say manual, labor as a central thesis of the movement, Greenberg insisted on examining the slogans and rejecting the "masochistic self-flagellation" implicit in the notion that the Jewish middleman fulfills no productive function. In "The Myth of Jewish Parasitism" Greenberg takes a heretical position in addressing his party. He asserts that "any work which is socially useful or satisfies human needs is productive work," and that there is nothing shameful or unethical about the economic structure of the Jewish community despite the preponderance of the middleman. At the same time he

stresses the historic necessity of the Labor Zionist program:

Nor do I deny the need for a thorough restratification of our economic life, but this restratification ought not to be motivated by a sense of collective guilt. . . . A reshaping of Jewish economic life is a historic necessity, and it cannot be accomplished without the popular enthusiasm that Zionism generally, and Labor Zionism particularly, have aroused for these aims. There is nothing wicked in being a middleman. We are building a new nation in Palestine and we cannot succeed unless we make its economic life varied and many-sided and thereby relatively complete. It requires no effort and no propaganda on our part to create a Jewish merchant class in Palestine. But the emergence of a Jewish agricultural class cannot be a spontaneous process.

Within its historic context the exaggerated glorification of manual labor was essential.

Greenberg could accept a doctrine without becoming doctrinaire. This

quality of mind often resulted in his occupying a dissenting role in the party councils which he headed. In an address to the Zionist Congress held in Jerusalem in 1952 he shocked many of his Mapai comrades by his refusal to negate the Diaspora, and by his bald assertion that mass emigration to Israel was not currently on the agenda of American Jewry, no matter how many flaming resolutions about the "ingathering-of-exiles" would be adopted by the congress. Greenberg's unpopular position was motivated not only by a realistic appraisal of the frame of mind of American Jewry, but also by a profound appreciation of American democracy. Greenberg's love for the United States and his hopes for a rich creative Jewish communal life within its borders were strong and genuine. And while he believed that a dynamic and imaginative sector in American Jewry would have the vigor eventually to seek complete Jewish fulfillment in Israel, this meant for Greenberg no conflict in loyalties, but an enrichment of personality.

With no awe for the restrictions of dogma, Greenberg could function freely within an ideological framework, and he never hesitated to alter the design according to his lights. His chief difficulties were created by the exigencies of *Realpolitik*. All his life Greenberg had fought for the creation of a Jewish state, yet as a Socialist and pacifist he had always been repelled by the trappings of statehood—uniforms, protocol, a standing army, censors, and the rest of the inevitables. Often he was openly critical of specific development in Israel in this regard. At the same time he was wise and temperate enough to distinguish between minor expedients and major compromise. In fundamentals his moral insistence on the purity of the means

never yielded to rationalization.

In one respect he underwent a crucial change. His pacifism, largely inspired by Gandhi, could not survive the shock of Hitler's persecutions. He never intellectually renounced pacifism as the ideal solution to the problem of war, but like many other pacifists, he found himself personally unequal

to advocating pacifism after the rise of the Nazis.

One can do little more than mention the originality and penetration of much of Greenberg's writing on philosophical and literary themes. But there is one field which cannot be ignored—his writings on the nature of Judaism. Though he had long abjured outward forms and orthodoxies, Greenberg had a deep religious streak. He wrote of Jesus and of Buddha, as well as of the prophets. Under the forbidding title of "The Universalism of the Chosen People," he could analyze the nature of Jewish election with a richness of reference which elicited the admiration of theologians and a brilliance which charmed the general reading public. In an essay on the Book of Jonah, "Go to Nineveh," Greenberg summarized his conception of the Jewish ethos and man's calling:

Jewish prophecy in contrast to pagan prophecy knows no fatalism. There is no Fate within the whole Jewish concept. There is no faith in blind decrees. But there is Providence watching and listening over the world. Providence may be appealed to, may be prayed to, may be moved to do man's desire if that desire is just and pure. Jewish prophecy, therefore, is by its nature and function conditional rather than categorical. Jonah

wanted to see an immutable decree in God's decision to destroy Nineveh. . . . Therein lay his transgression. Instead of being a prophet whose prophecy would move the sinful to repent, he preferred being an oracle, a Golem, through whom spoke the blind, brutal future.

All of Greenberg's thought and action was predicated on the conception of man as a free individual venturing to shape his world according to his vision. This belief made him a Zionist and a Socialist. All his great gifts as writer and orator went to the service of this faith. Through his death in 1953 American Jewry lost one of its most remarkable personalities, and the world a tender and illuminated spirit.

MARIE SYRKIN

CALENDARS

CALENDARS

The year 5715 is called 715 (ממשח) according to the short system (לפּשׁק). It is a regular common year of 12 months, 51 Sabbaths, 354 days. It begins on Tuesday, the third day of the week. The first day of Passover falls on Thursday, the fifth day of the week. Therefore the year's sign is גובה for the third, כמדרה for the fifth. It is the fifteenth year of the 301st lunar cycle of 19 years and the third year of the 205th solar cycle of 28 years since Creation, according to the traditional Jewish reckoning. This is the third year in the cycle of Sabbatical Years (Shemitah) according to the traditional computation.

The year 5716 is called 716 (ממ"מה) according to the short system of reckoning (מְשַּהָּה). It is a complete common year of 12 months, 51 Sabbaths, 355 days. It begins on Saturday, the seventh day of the week. The first day of Passover falls on Tuesday, the third day of the week. Therefore the years sign is אַמָּה, ז for the seventh, ש for מַלְיִמָה (perfect) and a for the third. It is the sixteenth year of the 301st lunar cycle of 19 years and the fourth of the 205th solar cycle of 28 years since Creation, according to the traditional Jewish reckoning. It is the fourth year in the order of Sabbatical Years (shemitah) according to the traditional computation.

ABRIDGED JEWISH CALENDARS FOR 5715-16 (1954-1955)

Holiday	5715 (19	54-55)	5716 (195	55-56)
First Day of New Year Second Day of New Year Fast of Gedaliah Day of Atonement First Day Tabernacles Second Day Tabernacles Hoshana Rabba Eighth Day of Feast Rejoicing of the Law New Moon Heshvan, 1st day New Moon Heshvan, 2nd day New Moon Kislev, 1st day New Moon Kislev, 2nd day First Day Hanukkah New Moon Tebet, 1st day New Moon Tebet, 1st day New Moon Shebat New Moon Shebat New Moon Adar, 1st day New Moon Adar, 1st day New Moon Adar, 1st day New Moon Nisan First Day Passover Second Day Passover Second Day Passover Eighth Day Passover Seventh Day Passover New Moon Iyar, 2nd day Thirty-third day of the Omer New Moon Sivan First Day Feast of Weeks Second Day Feast of Weeks Second Day Feast of Weeks New Moon Tamuz, 1st day	Tues, 1954 Wed, Thur. Thur. Tues. Wed. Mon. Tues. Wed. Wed. Thur. Fri. Mon. Sat. Sun. Tues. 1955 Mon. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur. Thur. Fri. Wed. Thur. Fri. Sun. Tues. Wed. Thur. Thur. Fri. Sat. Thur. Fri. Sat. Thur. Fri. Sat. Tues. Sun. Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues.	Sept. 28 Sept. 29 Sept. 30 Oct. 7 Oct. 12 Oct. 13 Oct. 19 Oct. 20 Oct. 27 Oct. 28 Nov. 26 Dec. 20 Dec. 25 Dec. 26	Sat. 1955, Sun. Mon. Mon. Sat. Sun. Fri. Sat. Sun. Tues. Wed Sat. Thur. Fri. Sun. Sun. Sun. Mon	Sept. 17 Sept. 18 Sept. 19 Sept. 26 Oct. 1 Oct. 2 Oct. 7 Oct. 8 Oct. 9 Oct. 16 Oct. 17 Nov. 15 Nov. 16 Dec. 10 Dec. 16 Dec. 25 Jan. 14 Jan. 28 Feb. 13 Feb. 27 Mar. 13 Mar. 27 Mar. 28 Apr. 29 May 11 May 16 May 17 June 9 June 10
Fast of Tammuz New Moon Ab Fast of Ab New Moon Elul, 1st day. New Moon Elul, 2nd day. Eve of New Year	Thur. Wed. Thur. Thur. Fri. Fri.	July 7 July 20 July 28 Aug. 18 Aug. 19 Sept. 16	Tues. Mon. Tues. Tues. Wed. Wed.	June 16 July 9 July '17 Aug. 7 Aug. 8 Sept. 5

^{*}Fast observed on previous Thursday.

1955, Jan. 24—Feb. 22] SHEBAT 30 DAYS

[טבט] 5715

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
Jan.	3.5	Shebat			
24	M	1	New Moon ראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	
25	Т	2			
26	W	3			
27	Th	4			
28	F	5			
29	Sa	6	בא	Ex. 10:1-13:16	Jer. 40:13-28
30	S	7			
31	M	8			
Feb.					
1	T	9			
2	W	10			
3	Th	11			
4	F	12			{Judges 4:4-5:31 {Seph. 5:1-31
5	Sa	13	בשלח [שבת שירה]	Ex. 13:17-17:16	[Seph. 5:1-31
6	S	14			
7	M	15	ר"ה לאולנות New Year for Trees		
8	T	16			
9	W	17			
10	Th	18			
11	F	19			∫Is. 6:1-7:6; 9:5, 6
12	Sa	20	יתרו	Ex. 18:1-20:26	(Seph. 6:1-13
13	S	21			
14	M	22			
15	T	23			
16	W	24			
17	Th	25			
18	F	26	([/m /mm] manual		
19	Sa	27	משפטים (מב' הח') פ' שקלים}	Ex. 21:1-24:18; 30:11-16	[II. Kings 12:1-12 Seph. 11:17-12:12
20	S	28			
21	M	29	יום כפור קמן		
22	T	30	New Moon א' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	

1955, Feb. 23-Mar. 23] ADAR 29 DAYS

[אדר 5715

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
Feb. 23 24	W Th	Adar 1 2	New Moon ב' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	
25 26	F Sa	3 4	קרומה	Ex. 25:1-27:19	I Kings 5:26-6:13
27 28	S M	5			
Mar. 1 2 3	T W Th	7 8 9			
4 5	F Sa	10 11	תצוה, פ' זכור	{Ex. 27:20-30:10 Deut. 25:17-19	{I. Sam. 15:2-34 {Seph. 15:1-34
6 7 8 9 10	S M T W Th	12 13 14 15 16 17	Fast of Esther אסתר פורים Purim, Feast of Esther* Shushan Purim שושן פורים	Ex. 32:11-14; 34:1-10 Ex. 17:8-16	[Is. 55:6-56:8 Seph. none
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	Sa S M T W Th F Sa	19 20 21 22 23 24 25	כי תשא, פ' פרה ניקהל, פקודי, [מב' הח'] פ' החדש	{Ex. 35:1-40:38; 12:1-20	Ezek. 45:16-46:18 Seph. 45:18-46:15
20 21 22 23	S M T W	26 27 28 29			

^{*}The Book of Esther is read, both in the evening and in the morning.

1955, Mar. 24—April 22] NISAN 30 DAYS

5715 ניסון

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפשרות
Mar. 24 25	Th F	Nisan 1 2	New Moon ראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	
2 6	Sa	3	ויקרא	Lev. 1:1-5:26	Is. 43:21-44:23
27 28 29 30 31	S M T W	4 5 6 7 8			
Apr. 1 2	F Sa	9	צו, שבת הגדול	Lev. 6:1-8:36	Mal. 3:4-24 or {Jer.7:21-8:3;9:22,23 Seph. Mal. 3:4-24
3 4 5 6 7 8 9	S M T W Th F Sa	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	תענית בכורים Fast of First-Born Passover החסר ב' דפסח ב' דפסח	Ex. 12:21-51 Num. 28:16-25 SLev. 22:26-23:44 Num. 28:16-25 Ex. 33:12-34:26 Num. 28:19-25	[Josh. 3:5-7; 5:2-6:1,27 Seph. 5:2-6:1-27 [JI Kings 23:1 (or 4)] -9, 21, 25 Ezek. 36:37-37-14 Seph. 37:1-14
10 11 12 13 14 15 16	S M T W Th F Sa	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	חול המועד ז' דפסת Passover ח' דפסח אסרו חג שמיני, [מב' הח']	Num. 28:19-25 Deut. 15:19-16:17 Num. 28:19-25	II Sam. 22 Is. 10:32-12:6 {II Sam. 6:1-7:17 {Seph. 6:1-19
17 18 19 20 21 22	S M T W Th	25 26 27 28 29 30	New Moon א' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1–15	

^{*}Song of Songs is read.

1955, April 23—May 21] IYAR 29 DAYS

[אייר 5715

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפשרות
Apr. 23	Sa	Iyar 1	תזריע, מצורע, ב' דראש חדש	Lev. 12:1-15:33 Num. 28:9-15	Is. 66
24	S	2			
25	M	3			
26	Т	4			
27	W	5			i
28	Th	6			(Amos 9:7-15 or
29	F	7			Ezek. 22:1-19
30	Sa	8	אחרי מות, קדשים	Lev. 16:1-20:27	(or 16) Seph. Ezek. 20:2 (or 1)-20
May					(0/1/20
1	S	9			
2	M	10			
3	T	11	1		
4	W	12	•		
5	Th	13			
6	F	14	פסח שני		
7	Sa	15	אמר	Lev. 21:1-24:33	Ezek. 44:15-31
8	S	16			
9	M	17			
10	Т	18	ל"ג בעמר		
11	W	19	33rd Day of 'Omer		
12	Th	20			
13	F	21			
14	Sa	22	בהר, בחקתי	Lev. 25:1-27:34	Jer. 15:19-17:14
15		-			3
15	S	23			
16 17	M T	24 25			
18	W	26			
19	' Th	27			
20	F	28	\$ 6.00 tm, 400 to 600 tm an a		
21	Sa	29	יום כפור קמן במדבר [מב' הח']		
21	Sa	29	במדבר (מב' הווי)	Num. 1:1-4:20	I Sam. 20:18-42

1955, May 22—June 20] SIVAN 30 DAYS

5715 סיוון

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
May		Sivan			
22	S	1	New Moon ראש חלש	Num. 28:1-15	
23	M	2			
24	Т	3			
25	W	4			
26	Th	5			
27	F	6	א' דשבועות	Ex. 19:1-20:26 Num. 28:26-31	Ezek. 1:1-28; 3:12
28	Sa	7	Feast of Weeks* ב' דשבועות	Deut. 14:22-16:17 Num. 28:26-31	{Hab. 3:1-10 Seph. 2:30-3:10
29	S	8	אפרו חג		
30	M	9			
31	T	10			
June					
1	W	11			
2	Th	12			
3	F	13			
4	Sa	14	נשא	Num. 4:21-7:89	Judges 13:12-25
5	S	15			
6	M	16			
7	Т	17			
8	w	18			
9	Th	19			
10	F	20			
11	Sa	21	בהעלתך	Num. 8:1-12:16	Zech. 2:14-4:7
12	S	22			
13	M	23			
14	T	24			
15	W	25			
16	Th	26			
17	F	27			
18	Sa	28	שלח לך, [מב' הח']	Num. 13:1-15:41	Joh. 2
19	S	29	יום כפור קמן		
20	M	30	New Moon א' דראש הדש	Num. 28:1-15	
	1				

^{*}The Book of Ruth is read.

1955, June 21—July 19] TAMMUZ 29 DAYS

11טח 5715

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
June 21 22	TW	Tam. 1 2	New Moon ב' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	
23 24	Th F	3 4			
25	Sa	5	קרת	Num. 16:1–18:32	I Sam. 11:14-12:22
26 27 28 29 30	S M T W	6 7 8 9			
July 1 2	F Sa	11 12	חקת, בלק	Num. 19:1-25:19	Micah. 5:6-6:5
3 4 5 6	S M T W	13 14 15 16			
7 8	Th F	17 18	צום שבעה עשר בתמוז Fast of Tammuz	Ex. 32:11-14; 34:1-10	{Is. 55:6-56:8 Seph. none
9	Sa	19	פינחס	Num. 25:10-30:1	Jer. 1:1-2:3
10 11 12 13 14 15	S M T W Th	20 21 22 23 24 25			
16	Sa	26	משות, מסעי [מב' הח']	Num. 30:2-36:13	[Jer. 2:4-28; 3:4 [Seph. 2:4-28; 4:1, 2
17 18 19	S M T	27 28 29	יום כפור קמן		

1955, July 20—Aug. 18] AB 30 DAYS

[בא 5715

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
July		Ab			
20	W	1	New Moon ראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	
21	Th	2			
22	F	3			
23	Sa	_ 4	דברים, שבת חזון	Deut. 1:1-3:22	Is. 1:1-27
24	S	5			
25	M	6			
2 6	Т	7			
27	W	8			[Morning:
28	Th	9	צום תשעה באב	Deut. 4:25-40 Afternoon: Ex. 32:	Jer. 8:13-9:23 Afternoon:
29	F	10	Fast of Ab*	11-14; 34:1-10	Is. 55:6-56:8 Seph. Hos. 14:2-14; Micah. 7:18-20
30	Sa	11	ואתחנן, שבת נחמו	Deut. 3:23-7:11	Is. 40:1-26
31	S	12			
Aug.		12			
1	M	13			
2	T	14			
3	W	15			
4	Th	16			
5	F	17			
6	Sa	18	עקב	Deut. 7:12-11:25	Is. 49:14-51:3
7	S	19			
8	M	20			
9	Т	21			
10	W	22			
11	Th	23			
12	F	24			
13	Sa	25	ראה [מב' הח']	Deut. 11:26-16:17	Is. 54:11-55:5
14	S	26			
15	M	27			
16	T	28			
17	w	29	יום כפור קמו		
18	Th	30	New Moon א' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	

^{*}The Book of Lamentations is read.

1955, Aug. 19—Sept. 16] ELUL 29 DAYS

[515x 5715

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
Aug. 19 20	F Sa	Elul 1 2	New Moon* ב' דראש חדש שפטים	Num. 28:1-15 Deut. 16:18-21:9	Is. 51:12-52:12
21 22 23 24 25 26 27	S M T W Th F Sa	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	כי תצא	Deut. 21:10-25:19	Is. 54:1-10
28 29 30 31 Sept. 1 2	S M T W Th F Sa	10 11 12 13 14 15 16	כי תבא	Deut. 26:1-29:8	Is. 60
4 5 6 7 8 9 10	S M T W Th F	17 18 19 20 21 22 23	נצבים, וילך	Deut. 29:9-31:30	Is. 61:10-63:9
11 12 13 14 15 16	S M T W Th F	24 25 26 27 28 29	משכימים לסליחות Selihot* ערב ר"ה		

^{*}The Sephardim recite Selihot during the whole month of Elul.

1955, Sept. 17—Oct. 16] TISHRI 30 DAYS 5716

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS
Sept.	Sa	Tishri	New Year א' דראש השנה	{Gen. 21 Num, 29:1-6	I Sam. 1:1-2:10
18	S	2	New Year ב' דראש השנה	(Gen. 22	Jer. 31:2-20
19	M	3	Fast of Gedaliah הילקום	Num. 29:1-6 Ex. 32:11-14:34:1-10	[Is. 55:6-56:8
20	T	. 4	Past of Gedanali 11 7 12 = 12	24.32,11-14,04.1-10	(Seph. none
21	W	5			
22	Th	6			
23	F	7			Hos. 14:2-10;
24	Sa	8	האזינו, שבת שובה	Deut. 32	Joel 2:15-27 Seph. Hos. 14:2-10; Micah 7:18-20
25	S	9			(Is. 57:14–58:14
26	M	10	ום כפור Day of Atonement	Lev. 16 Num. 29:7-11	Afternoon: Jonah Seph. add: Micah 7:18-20
27	T	11	Day of Atonement	Afternoon: Lev. 18	7:18-20
28	W	12			
29	Th	13			
30	F	14			
Oct.		1.5		[Lev. 22:26-33:44	
_1	Sa	15	Tabernacles א' דסכות	Num. 29:12-16	Zech. 14
2	S	16	Tabernacles ב' דמכות	{Lev. 22:26-33:44 Num. 29:12-16	I Kings 8:12-21
3	M	17		Num. 29:17-25 Seph. 29:17-22	
4	T	18		Seph. 29:20-25	
5	W	19	חול המועד {	Seph. 29:20-28 Num. 29:20-28 Seph. 29:20-25 Num. 29:23-31 Seph. 29:23-28 Num. 29:26-34 Seph. 29:26-31	
6	Th	20		Seph. 29:26-31 Num. 29:26-34	
7	F	21	הושענא רבא שמיני עצרת	Seph. 29:29-34 [Deut. 14:22-16:17	[I Kings 8:54-66
8	Sa	22	Eighth Day of the Feast*	Num. 29:35-30:1	or-9:1
9	S	23	שמחת תורה	Deut. 33:1-34:12 Gen. 1:1-2:3	{Josh. 1 {Seph. 1:1-9
10	M	24	Rejoicing of the Law	Num. 29:35-30:1	
11	Т	25	1		
11 12	T	25 26	1		
	-				
12	W	26			
12 13	W	26 27	בראשית [מב' הח']	Gen. 1:1-6:8	I Sam. 20:18-42
12 13 14	W Th F	26 27 28	בראשית [מב' הח'] א' דראש חדש New Moon		I Sam. 20:18-42

^{*}The Book of Ecclesiastes is read.

1955, Oct. 17—Nov. 15] **HESHVAN 30 DAYS**

5716 חשון]

			1.		
Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפטרות
Oct.		Heshvan			
17	M	1	New Moon ב' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15	
18	T	2			
19	W	3			
20	Th	4			
21	F	5			
22	Sa	6	נח	Gen. 6:9-11:32	{Is. 54:1-55:5 {Seph. 54:1-10
23	S	7			(Sept. 5111-10
24	M	8			
25	T	9			
26	W	10			
27	Th	11			
28	F	12			
29	Sa	13		G 45 4 45 45	_
49	Sa	13	לד לד	Gen. 12:1-17:27	Is. 40:27-41:16
30	S	14			
31	M	15			
Nov.	CD.	1.0			
1	T	16			
2	W	17			
3	Th	18			
4	F	19			/TT TT:
5	Sa	20	וירא	Gen. 18:1-22:24	II Kings 4:1-37 Seph. 4:1-23
6	S	21			
7	Μ	22			
8	T	23			
9	W	24			
10	Th	25			
11	F	26			
12	Sa	27	חיי שרה (מב' הת')	Gen. 23:1-25:18	I Kings 1:1-31
13	S	28			
14	M	29	יום כפור קמן		
15	T	30	New Moon א' דראש חדש	N	
10	_	30	TACA MIONI MINIMALI N	Num. 28:1–15	

1955, Nov. 16—Dec. 15] KISLEV 30 DAYS

בסלום 5716

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS הפשרות
Nov. 16 17	W	Kislev 1 2	New Moon ב' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1–15	
18 19	F Sa	3 4	תולדת	Gen. 25:19-28:9	Mal. 1:1-2:7
20 21 22 23 24	S M T W	5 6 7 8			
25 26	F Sa	10	ויצא	Gen. 28:10-32:3	Hos. 12:13-14:10 or 11:7-12:12 or 11:7-14:10 [Seph. Obadiah 1:1-21]
27 28 29 30 Dec.	S M T W	12 13 14 15			
1 2 3	Th F Sa	16 17 17	וישלח	Gen. 32:4–36:43	Hos. 12:13-14:10 or 11:7-12:12 or Obadiah 1:1-21 Seph. Obadiah 1:1-21
4 5 6 7 8 9 10	S M T W Th F Sa	19 20 21 22 23 24 25	חנכה Hanukkah וישב [מב' הח'] Feast of Dedication	Gen. 37:1-40:23 Num. 7:1-17 Seph. 6:22-7:17	Zech. 2:14-4:7
11 12 13 14 15	S M T W Th	26 27 28 29 30	New Moon א' דראש חדש	(Num. 7:18-29 \Seph. 7:18-23 \Num. 7:24-35 \Seph. 7:24-29 \Num. 7:30-41 \Seph. 7:30-35 \Num. 7:36-47 \Seph. 7:36-41 \Num. 28:1-15; \T:42-47	

1955, Dec. 16—1956, Jan. 13] TEBET 29 DAYS

5716 מבתו

Civil Month	Day of the Week	Jewish Month	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL PORTIONS פרשיות	PROPHETICAL PORTIONS חופשרות
Dec.		Tebet		(37	
16	F	1	New Moon ב' דראש חדש	Num. 28:1-15; 7:48-53	
17	Sa	2	Last Day of Hanukkah מקן	Gen. 41:1-44:17 Num. 7:54-8:4	I Kings 7:40-50
18	S	3			
19	M	4			
20	T	5			
21	W	6			
22	Th	7			
23	F	8			
24	Sa	9	ויגש	Gen. 44:18-47:27	Ezek. 37:15-28
25	S	10	צום עשרה במבת Fast of Tebet	Ex. 32:11-14; 34:1-10	[Is. 55:6-56:8 Seph. none
25	M	11	(A dat of Etpet		
27	Т	12			
28	W	13			
29	Th	14			
30	F	15			
31	Sa	16	ויתי	Gen. 47:28-50:26	I Kings 2:1-21
Jan. 1956					
1	S	17			
2	M	18			
3	Т	19			
4	W	20			
5	Th	21			
6	F	22			
_	_	J	שמות [מב' הח']		(Is. 27:6-28:13; 29:22, 29
7	Sa	23	[111, 10] 1110A	Ex. 1:1-6:1	(Seph. Jer. 1:1-2:3
8	S	24			
9	M	25			
10	T	26			
11	W	27			
12	Th	28	יום כפור קמן מוקדם		
13	F	29			



ANNUAL REPORTS



American Jewish Committee

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^{*} Elected at the 47th Annual Meeting, January 1954.

OBJECTS OF THE COMMITTEE

The objects of this corporation shall be, to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur; and to compass these ends to administer any relief fund which shall come into its possession or which may be received by it, in trust or otherwise, for any of the aforesaid objects or for purposes comprehended therein.

-Extract from the Charter

HIGHLIGHTS OF 1953

BY IRVING M. ENGEL

* Chairman, Executive Committee The American Jewish Committee

NCE AGAIN it is my pleasant task to report to you on AJC's activities during 1953. A detailed account of the Committee's operations here and abroad would require a volume; hence these pages will cover only the highlights.

What sort of a year was 1953 in terms of our interests and responsibilities as

Americans . . . as Jews . . . as members of the American Jewish Committee?

It was not a placid year. Consider some of the problems abroad which included:

-Soviet-directed campaigns of open, then covert anti-Semitism against Jews behind the Iron Curtain;

-mounting conflicts in the Middle East;

-problems of encouraging democracy in West Germany while forestalling an upsurgence of neo-Nazism;

-Austria's refusal to continue restitution negotiations on matters agreed upon previously;

-assistance required by the Jewish communities of Western Europe to reorganize and improve their shattered communal patterns;

-tensions created by the Finaly affair in France;

-rising tides of Moslem nationalism which threatened the Jews of North Africa; -and finally-coming closer to home-requests by our coreligionists of Latin America for guidance in their community relations.

Nor was 1953 a placid year on our own national scene where we witnessed:

-rising pressures towards conformity;

-procedural abuses in investigations of espionage;

-the Rosenberg case and its exploitation by Communists to slander America;
-activity by ultra-nationalist groups against the public schools, UN, UNESCO

and other democratic institutions;

-efforts of the craftier anti-Semites to gain respectability by infiltrating these

ultra-nationalist groups.

—Pro-Arab propaganda attacking Israel and impugning the loyalty of American Jews.

These were but a few of our concerns in 1953. They engaged our interest because, through our Charter and various other declarations during past decades, we pledged ourselves to create a climate of opinion in which no man should suffer injustice, discrimination or humiliation because of his skin color, his birthplace, or his way of worshiping God.

Our work has become increasingly important, for the Hydrogen Age has made the development of the science of human relations a stern condition for mankind's

survival.

As H. G. Wells put it, "Humanity is in a race between education and catastrophe."

^{*} Mr. Engel was unanimously elected president of the American Jewish Committee on January 31, 1954.

Our problem therefore is one of education . . . of communication . . . of reaching the human mind.

In advancing our own education and that of our fellowmen, the American Jewish Committee during the past year circulated sixty articles, books and pamphlets, etc. Some were contributions from our own agency; others, prepared in cooperation with America's foremost national organizations. This material appeared in such widely-read magazines as Atlantic Monthly, Harper's Monthly, Reader's Digest, Time, Saturday Evening Post, American Legion Magazine, and in the publications of women's clubs, trade unions, and a variety of other groups including Catholic and Protestant journals. Reprints were called for by schools, libraries, educators, clergy, labor leaders and others. Similarly, we contributed to man's better understanding of his fellows through the media of motion pictures, radio and television.

The Committee's activities, however diversified, fall into five broad categories: I Combating various forms of discrimination. II Safeguarding our free institutions. III Improving intergroup understanding. IV Defending the civil and religious rights of Jews abroad. V Education in Jewish attitudes and community issues. Let us consider each in turn.

I. Combating Discrimination

On the sixth anniversary of the epoch-making survey by the President's Committee on Civil Rights, we issued our latest annual review of gains in civil rights practices, *The People Take the Lead*. While this record cannot report that discrimination has been swept from employment, housing, education, and public accommodations, it does cite heartening improvements.

After several months' delay, President Eisenhower reconstituted the Committee on Government Contracts, initiated by President Truman. The appointment to that key committee of Fred Lazarus, Jr., one of our own vice-presidents, is assurance that a determined effort will be made to attain results—an effort which we shall aid as fully as we can. At that committee's request, we proposed new sanctions to prohibit discrimination more effectively than is now done by government contracts. If we can help end discrimination in the millions of jobs involved directly or indirectly in government work, democratic practices in American industry and labor will be vastly strengthened.

While the Administration has promised to use all existing federal powers to end discrimination in employment, we were sorely disappointed by the failure this year to take any steps towards passage of a long delayed federal Fair Employment Practices Law. The value of this measure—as concrete proof of public policy against discrimination as an instrument of education as well as law—needs no argument here. Our long-range educational program to bring the merits of a federal FEP act before the American public will continue.

Meanwhile, on state and local fronts, progress continues steadily, if somewhat haltingly. Last March, Kansas became the twelfth state to pass FEP legislation, although the statute lacks enforcement machinery. Alaska adopted a fully enforceable law. Clairton, Penn., and Duluth, Minn., brought to thirty the number of cities with ordinances barring discrimination in employment. State or city FEP laws now cover approximately one-third of America's population.

If these newly-won laws are to prove effective, their use must be widely understood. The AFL and CIO requested our help in explaining to their millions of members how to file and pursue an FEP complaint under these new statutes. Accordingly, we prepared a 24-page pamphlet, Your Rights Under State and Local FEP Laws, which is now in wide use.

DISCRIMINATION IN NATION'S CAPITAL

Racial discrimination has tarnished our nation's capital and diminished our standing throughout the world. Recently, however, marked improvement has been

noted. Discrimination has largely ended in most motion picture houses, restaurants and hotels. Color barriers have been removed from parks, pools and other accommodations run by the Department of the Interior. By presidential order, discrimination has been largely routed from federal employment in the District of Columbia.

In paving the way for these gains, your Committee's experience in community relations and its skill in abating intergroup tensions were made available to the

national Administration.

In other localities, we have used various approaches to secure equality of opportunity in public accommodations. Last year, the National Convention of Negro Baptists selected Miami for its annual meeting of 15,000 members. Reservations for the convention were refused by hotel owners, fearful of violating local mores.

Our Miami chapter recognized this situation's explosive potential for endangering relations between Negroes and the white community, Negroes and Jewish hotelowners in particular, and between Jewish and Christian hotelowners. Through our chapter leaders, a constructive solution was quietly developed with the help of municipal officials, the Dade County Council on Human Relations, and Christian ministers. After months of skillful negotiation, hotel accommodations to house the

convention were secured, with no resultant ill feelings.

One instance of discrimination in public accommodations in New York State presented a new problem. To evade the state law against discrimination, some resorts have masked themselves as "clubs," granting "membership" to those who "satisfactorily" complete an application which inquires about religion and race. On the basis of our test complaint against a specific resort, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination established an important precedent: it struck down the pretext that a place of public accommodation can use "club" membership as a discriminatory device; it also ruled that the phrase, "a strictly selected clientele in a Christian community," cannot be used in advertisements.

COURT UPHOLDS AJC POSITION

Two years ago we joined other organizations in successfully urging the U.S. Supreme Court not to allow the courts to enforce restrictive covenants based on race or religion. That gain was consolidated in 1953 when the Court decided (Barrows v. Jackson) that if such a covenant is broken, the neighbors cannot sue to collect damages. The Court upheld the position maintained in our brief, filed jointly with the Anti-Defamation League, as a "friend of the court."

As a community relations agency, we have worked steadily, and usually without seeking public attention, to reduce the intergroup tensions so prevalent in changing neighborhoods. An illustration of our chapters' continuing programs is our Chicago chapter's activity in seeking to ease Negro-white conflict in a local community

housing project.

The Committee's long-range program to combat quotas in higher education, particularly in medical schools, has opened new opportunities for qualified applicants. Jews, and Catholics of Italian descent, have particularly benefited through the work of our New York Chapter's Committee on Discrimination in Higher Education, in cooperation with other groups. Although we still have far to go, progress in the last three years has indeed been striking. For example, of the seven medical schools in New York State which discriminated against Jews in 1950, six have reduced this practice markedly; one has eliminated it altogether.

MEDICAL SCHOOL ADMISSIONS

Our approach to this problem and our methods for its solution are so characteristic of the Committee that they are worth narrating. Sober examination of the policies of the seven medical schools preceded any action. After careful study of rigidly checked data, we were able to demonstrate how admissions criteria, such as "personality rating" and "geographic origin," were misused to cloak discrimination.

We discussed this evidence in private sessions with university officials, boards of trustees, admissions officers and others. These consultations resulted in the gains noted above,

We shall continue our efforts to end discrimination in medical school admissions. A successful campaign would not only strengthen democratic practices but would also insure maximum use of our nation's limited facilities to train the most promising prospective doctors.

Reduction of discrimination in medical schools was part of a happier pattern developing in American higher education. Deeply imbedded patterns of social discrimination are being uprooted. Invigorated by democracy's spread on the campus, students of some colleges have eliminated or revised the restrictive practices which turned many fraternities and sororities into breeding grounds for racial and religious discrimination. Students of Columbia University, for example, voted last year to ban any fraternity which practices discrimination. At other institutions, national fraternities with restrictive clauses are experiencing similar pressures for change from undergraduates and even some alumni.

While the end of discriminatory practices is still not in immediate sight, there is a growing awareness that they cannot be sanctioned in the educational world. Only in schools and universities that are free from bias will our youth adopt the practice as well as absorb the theory of democratic citizenship. The Committee will

continue to devote its resources and talents toward such goals.

AJC FURTHERS AMERICAN INTERESTS

In pressing for vitally needed gains in employment, housing, public accommodations, etc., the American Jewish Committee has been guided by no parochial policy

nor has it confined its aid to any single group.

Hence our contribution has been to the welfare and security of our nation as a whole. Testimony to this work's importance recently came from the Vice-President of the United States following his return from Asia. He stated in a coast-to-coast broadcast: "... by deed and word and thought, it is essential that we prove that the American ideals of tolerance and of equal rights for all do in fact exist, and that we are dedicated to them. A report of racial discrimination, of prejudice in the United States, is blown up by the Communists abroad, and it hurts America as much as espionage agents who turn over a weapon to a foreign enemy. Every American citizen can contribute towards better understanding of American ideals abroad, by practicing and thinking tolerance and respect for human rights every day..."

An educational experience similar to Mr. Nixon's trip abroad might convince every member of the U.S. Congress of the urgent need to remove inequities from our immigration laws. Failure by both political parties to remove the racist provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act was a major setback in 1953. As candidates, both General Eisenhower and Mr. Nixon explicitly condemned the Act's "national origins quota" provision as "a blasphemy on American democracy." Both pledged themselves to bring about the law's revision. To spotlight these unjust, unwise provisions, we produced with the Anti-Defamation League a Fact Sheet on the McCarran Immigration Act which had been requested by church groups, community organizations and prominent individuals. This is but one example of a host of educational efforts in which we cooperated.

Instead of redeeming its promise, the Administration supported only an emergency refugee bill which purports to admit 219,000 so-called refugees in three years. This measure has so many built-in barriers that the admission of more than a minute fraction of that number seems unlikely. The Act's harshness, compounded by the Immigration Service's rigid interpretation, has permitted only six refugees

to enter under its provisions in 1953.

Realism, and long experience with educational efforts to improve our immigration statutes, make us aware that this struggle will not be won easily or quickly.

II. Safeguarding Our Free Institutions

Another major AJC concern has been the defense of democratic institutions which promote the security and dignity of individuals. Consequently, we have been gravely troubled by those twin threats to civil liberties—the Communist conspiracy and the demagogues who exploit the country's justifiable concern about Communism to curtail our liberties.

A few widely publicized Congressional investigations have disturbed us—as they have disturbed so many other responsible organizations—by shamefully misusing Congress' necessary and useful powers of investigation. Individual rights have been callously disregarded in some cases; in others, the loyalty of entire groups—like the

clergy-have been impugned.

In combating bigotry, we have long since known that attacks against any group inevitably threaten the rights and security of all groups. Therefore, like many lay and religious agencies, we were indignant when: (a) two prominent rabbis, now deceased, were labeled as collaborators with Communists by a witness before the Velde Committee; and (b) when wholesale charges against the loyalty of Protestant clergymen were circulated this past summer by J. B. Matthews, who later became for a short time a staff member of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. President Eisenhower's denunciation of such "generalized and irresponsible attacks (against) the whole of any group of citizens (as) alien to America," drew our hearty endorsement.

IMPROVING CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES

Last November, Congressman Harold H. Velde (R. Illinois), Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, invited the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCCC), the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) and the American Jewish Committee to discuss his committee's procedures. We accepted his invitation but rejected a bid to evaluate the committee's accumulated

"knowledge and material."

It is worth noting that all three agencies united in suggesting a code of fair practices which would apply to all Congressional committees and would govern inquiries into the alleged subversive activities not only of the clergy but also of other groups and individuals. We agreed that regardless of the inquiry's nature, due process and the rights of the innocent must be scrupulously respected. Thus in concert with the NCCC and the NCWC, we placed at the Velde Committee's disposal our specialized skills and experience in legal-civic matters such as the procedures of Congressional committees. Moreover, we suggested that "hate groups" parading as anti-Communists be investigated.

While it is too early to predict the outcome, it is clear that a great step will have been taken if the House Committee is prevailed upon to improve its code of pro-

cedures and to initiate an investigation of bigots.

Another important development occurred this year when the American Friends Service Committee sought our help in calling an exploratory meeting on how national agencies might strengthen civil liberties in the face of rising assaults. Out of these informal talks has grown an equally informal continuing "Human Freedoms Conference" attended by leaders of sixteen national agencies whose total membership involves millions of Americans. Through effective, voluntary interchange, these organizations have been stimulating local and national activity on such problems as censorship, attacks on the public schools, and Congressional investigations. The Conference's healthy growth augurs well for the future defense of civil liberties in America.

EXPOSING COMMUNIST TACTICS

Our allegiance to democratic institutions has been responsible for our continued zeal in fighting Communism. Our task has been made more difficult by the anti-Semitic claim that all Jews are associated with Communists and by the equally false Communist cry that all anti-Communists are anti-Semites and/or fascists. An example of this Communist tactic occurred last June when Louis Harap, a witness before Velde's Committee, proclaimed that Jews were better off in the U.S.S.R. than in the United States. This Soviet apologist, editor of the Communist-line publication, Jewish Life, also declared that the Velde Committee had summoned him not because of his propaganda activities but because he was a Jew.

We promptly sent a statement to the Velde Committee which received prominent attention and was inserted into the Congressional Record. In unmasking Harap, we declared that he "is no more a spokesman for the religious group he seeks to exploit than for the democracy he professes to support, for Judaism and communism are utterly incompatible. His injection of the false charge of anti-Semitism . . . is a studied Communist maneuver in the long-standing attempt to besmirch America's treatment of its religious and racial groups while praising the Soviet

Union."

Another Communist propaganda campaign which we met through vigorous exposure concerned the Rosenberg case. Our interest was two-fold: (1) as Jews, we desired to repudiate the false claim of anti-Semitism raised by Communists to deceive American Jews; and (2) as Americans, we desired to protect our country's reputation from the circulation abroad of Communist-inspired slanders. Dr. S. A. Fineberg of our staff exposed Communist exploitation of the Rosenberg trial in the American Legion Magazine. The article was reprinted in Reader's Digest and then expanded into a book, The Rosenberg Case—Fact and Fiction. It was favorably received here and the State Department is encouraging its distribution abroad. There is obvious value in the fact that America's answer to world-wide Communist attempts to falsify the Rosenberg case as another Sacco-Vanzetti affair comes from a Jew—in this case, a rabbi on AJC's staff.

STRENGTHENING AMERICAN PRINCIPLES

The Committee's documented and illuminating exposure of Communism has been aided by Commentary again this year. Reprints of its articles were ordered by the Eisenhower Administration's top Federal Subversive Activities Control Board,

by schools and universities, and by many civic groups.

As part of our constructive effort to combat Communism by upholding American principles, we continued our association with more than fifty other national organizations in "Know Your America Week." This celebration, held in more than 1,600 communities, is the key program of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, in which we have played a leading role since 1950. President Eisenhower heartily endorsed the "Know Your America Week" educational programs to preserve American freedom. Secretary of the 1953 observance was Joseph J. Woolfson, Director of AJC's Veterans Division.

As part of a broad-gauged interest in America's free institutions, your Committee continued to share in their stout defense against malicious attacks. Let me emphasize that we are not concerned with responsible criticism of such institutions as the public schools and the UN. It is proper that they be subjected to public scrutiny and debate. In contrast to legitimate differences, however warmly held, were assaults against these institutions by unscrupulous groups, led in many instances by known anti-Semites. These attacks may well have passed their crest in 1953. They appear to be receding, as citizens who previously were only passive supporters of these

institutions now rally to defend them.

Like other thoughtful American organizations, we have been deeply interested in UNESCO, whose objectives in 1953 included:

-"the observance of Human Rights . . .

-"gathering scientific information about the progress achieved through education by members of ethnic groups in the process of integration into modern society...

-"[securing] the right to take part in the cultural life of the community . . . -"by the dissemination of information, and by teaching, to combat racial preju-

dice and discrimination . . .

-"to improve education [so] that it promotes harmonious development from early childhood and fosters among children a respect for human rights and dignity."

COOPERATION FOR UNESCO

To spread a wider understanding of America's stake in UN and UNESCO we worked with such national organizations as the American Association for the United Nations, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, U.S. Committee for UN Day, and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. In concert with them, we helped prepare fact sheets, radio programs, television shows, leaders' guides, and other materials.

For example, in response to requests from the Methodist Women, we prepared a popular booklet, *Don't Be Fooled*. It helps people identify malicious assaults on the UN as distinguished from sincere criticism. Some 60,000 copies have been distributed by religious groups, civil organizations, labor unions and others cognizant

of America's stake in the UN.

A second example is a fact sheet for Human Rights Day, December 10, requested by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. It has been widely used by the 1,600 daily newspapers and 2,200 radio and TV stations. You may recall that in 1952 we had produced for the AAUN an exciting 60-second animated cartoon, "There's a U in UN" which most of the nation's two hundred TV stations carried as a public service. It is gratifying to report that in 1953 this film was awarded top honors for advancing human relations by Ohio State University's Institute for Education by Radio-Television. This is the second year in a row that our competence in the burgeoning field of television has been hailed.

UNESCO RECEIVES STUDY

In view of our research program and demonstrated understanding of social action programs, UNESCO's Race Studies Division commissioned us to prepare a monograph, Racial Equality and the Law. The study evaluates American success with state FEP laws and discusses the vital role played by voluntary organizations like our own in educating the public about such measures. The monograph was prepared by Dr. Morroe Berger, formerly of our staff and now on the Princeton faculty.

To conclude this brief description of our activities in behalf of the UN and UNESCO, I report with pleasure that during the year our Executive Vice-President, Dr. John Slawson, served on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and

through his notable contributions enriched its program.

The extent to which these combined efforts in behalf of the United Nations and UNESCO proved fruitful can only be conjectured. However, as reported by Jacob Blaustein to our Executive Committee meeting last October, 84 percent of the American people want the United States to stay in the UN, according to a reliable nation-wide opinion poll.

In defending the public schools, we joined with many educational, religious and civic groups to alert the public to the forces that would imperil public education. Thus we aided the National Education Association in convening a conference on "American Education in a Dangerous Era." It enabled many organizations to ex-

plore such dangers as the drive to censor textbooks, and campaigns to restrict the curriculum to the 3 R's and thus cripple programs which promote intergroup understanding. This national meeting led to plans for regional conferences along parallel lines.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Since school-community problems affect all Americans, we welcomed opportunities to promote the exchange of views among the widest number of responsible organizations. Therefore, we participated in the Conference of National Organizations which held its second successful meeting at Arden House this past October. Full and frank discussions of many school-community problems were held by leaders of important national groups. These included the National Association of Manufacturers, American Farm Bureau Federation, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Daughters of the American Revolution, Steelworkers-CIO, the American Association of School Administrators, the National Council of Churches of Christ, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and twenty-five others. The Synagogue Council of America, although invited at our suggestion, has thus far failed to attend.

In contributing toward a broad awareness of America's stake in intergroup education we utilized the mass media channels. A provocative sixty-second animated TV cartoon, based on the brochure, The 6 R's, was produced by us and sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, National Education Association, American Legion and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. State teachers associations have distributed it to stations in virtually every state.

Again this year we helped to publicize the goals of American Education Week—when millions of taxpayers are urged to inspect their schools for themselves. We supplied a fact sheet about this occasion for radio and television and helped schedule radio-TV discussions of educational problems by prominent leaders.

EXPLORING CHURCH-STATE ISSUES

Church-state relations is another controversial issue related to the public schools. We have been gravely concerned lest deeply held convictions regarding this subject induce sectarian strife.

There has been a growing demand to use the public schools more intensively to overcome an alleged lack of religious training among America's youth. Since Bible reading, "released time," and similar "fringe" practices are viewed as inadequate, the introduction of religious subject matter is advocated, with the promise of handling it "factually." We regard such aims as laudable but not necessarily practicable. We fear that the widespread introduction of this proposed program into the public schools would prove prejudicial to religious amity in America.

In line with our interest in maintaining the constitutional wall between church and state, we have been pursuing a quiet but intensive long-range educational study to clarify the issues. Results are becoming clear—although they must be regarded merely as portents of how much remains to be done. For example, after considerable exchange of views, members of an influential American Council on Education subcommittee have begun to question whether religion can be treated "factually" below the high school level. Our staff served as consultants at seminars of both the NEA and the Religious Education Association where these issues were subjected to extended inquiry.

ANTI-SEMITISM'S NEW LOOK

Although healthy and vigorous democratic institutions continue to be our best and surest reliance against the spread of anti-Semitism, we necessarily have been

deeply concerned about the activities of certain ultra-nationalistic groups. Even it they are not now manifestly anti-Semitic, they may prove receptive to bigotry for

they are often the targets of professional bigots.

Unlike the old-line anti-Semites whose following during pre-Pearl Harbor days was largely confined to the "lunatic fringe," today's craftier demagogues are seeking respectable auspices. Since experience has taught them that the American public rejects blatant racist appeals, they have learned to mask their bigotry behind campaigns against public school progress, immigration reform, the United Nations and UNESCO, to cite their favorite issues.

Covert anti-Semitism, adroitly manipulated in contrast to overt anti-Semitism, is difficult to combat. To expose it we must scrutinize its mechanisms, personnel and promotional techniques. We must make clear to ultra-nationalists and indeed to all groups in American life their continuing responsibility to recognize and to rid

themselves of racists.

The new look in anti-Semitism has not ended the activities of old-line bigots. Prompt and vigorous counteraction is still required—a need which the Committee

not only recognizes but strives to meet.

Evidence that the defense of democratic institutions has in fact promoted the security and dignity of American Jews is reflected by an independent nation-wide poll conducted last June. It discloses that, with certain exceptions, attitudes expressed toward American Jews have improved through the past decade.

The use of nation-wide public opinion polls is but one instance of how the Committee seeks to ascertain the facts and then use the most effective techniques to achieve its goals. The application of social science to investigate the nature of prejudice and to reduce it has been one of the Committee's notable achievements.

A recent contribution to the broader understanding of prejudice and bigotry was our booklet, Science Looks at Anti-Semitism, the ninth leaflet of the This Is Our Home series. It summarizes the researches of more than a score of social scientists who helped to prepare the five-volume series, Studies in Prejudice, which AJC sponsored. The leaflet points out that the anti-Semite is usually an "authoritarian personality"—an inflexible, rigid person who is also likely to be anti-Negro, anti-foreign and anti-democratic.

The circulation of these facts to the widest possible audience is no less necessary than their discovery. To help teachers, ministers, editors, social workers, legislators and other civic leaders become as familiar with these findings as scholars, we long wished to supplement the five-volume study with a popular condensation. Lack of funds delayed commissioning this proposed volume until the past year. Now, however, with the aid of Harper Brothers and interested foundations, this project should be completed in 1954.

III. Improving Intergroup Understanding

Promotion of intergroup understanding is the third broad area of our activities. Our work was carried forward with the cooperation of leading sectarian and non-

sectarian groups, and through the mass media.

The Committee has always recognized the impact of Christian religious materials on intergroup relations. For more than two decades, we have cooperated in the study of Protestant teaching materials, carried on at Drew University for many years, and more recently at the Yale University Divinity School. Aided by Protestant editors and writers, Yale scholars have been reviewing the Sunday school materials of fourteen Protestant denominations with a membership of 38,000,000 to determine whether these teaching materials promote racial and religious amity or whether they inadvertently perpetuate prejudice. We have felt deeply honored to assist this most valuable survey.

Preliminary findings will be presented to the forthcoming annual convention of

Protestant editors, publishers and lesson writers. They will formulate criteria whereby the merit of each lesson's intergroup emphasis may be judged. These criteria will enable religious educators to help tomorrow's Protestant children develop a better understanding of their brethren of other faiths.

A similar study of Catholic human relations material is being considered by a

leading Catholic university.

In other ways, our cooperation with Catholic educators continues. The director of Pittsburgh's parochial school system invited our staff consultant on Catholic-Jewish relations to visit those institutions to discuss human relations—particularly those affecting Catholics and Jews—with students. Conferences are also held with teachers and religious advisors. Similar visits have been made in past years in Boston and Washington, D.C., and are now being made in New York City.

WORKSHOPS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

As you know, the Committee has acted as consultant to a number of universities which have established workshops in human relations. At these sessions teachers and group leaders come together and work out problems related to interpersonal

communication and understanding of ethnic and religious differences.

Two pioneering adventures in this field were inaugurated this past year at St. Louis University and at Loyola University in Los Angeles, both Catholic institutions. Our chapters in those cities cooperated as requested in supplying resources, stimulating attendance and providing scholarship aid. Chapter members and staff representatives served as consultants. St. Louis University is the first to finance a human relations center through its own resources and that of a large, general foundation—the Carnegie Corporation.

As a result of these successes, other Catholic institutions are expressing consider-

able interest in similar workshops.

As a concluding example of interreligious cooperation, let me report that both the National Council of Churches of Christ and the National Catholic Welfare Conference have indicated their desire to help celebrate the 300th anniversary of the settlement of Jews in the United States.

IN BEHALF OF YOUTH

We have worked with many youth-serving agencies including the YMCA, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, U.S. Assembly of Youth, National Social Welfare Assembly, Campfire Girls, and the National Jewish Welfare Board, among many others. All these agencies have evinced growing willingness to educate young Americans to accept and understand differences in racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds.

Since 1948, AJC's Youth Division has been formally affiliated with the National Social Welfare Assembly (NSWA). Among its seventy affiliated governmental and

voluntary agencies are twenty-one which serve youth.

Two years ago, the NSWA set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Prejudice and Discrimination at our suggestion. Time has proved the value of this committee and so this year it was permanently established to carry on year-round programs. We also assisted the NSWA in meeting the long-felt need for a bulletin to inform the professional staffs and lay boards of welfare agencies about newly published materials and to encourage conferences and institutes on intergroup relations.

A SURVEY ON CAMPING

The NSWA's Committee on Camping completed, with our aid, a careful survey of eighty-eight agency-sponsored camps in thirty-three communities. Our Youth Division and Scientific Research Department helped analyze intergroup practices in these camps and suggested improvement through better staff training. Lay boards as well as camp leaders have commended this work.

Another important youth-serving project is the United States Assembly of Youth.

Affiliated with it are the United Christian Youth Movement, National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Jewish Youth Conference and the YM and YWCA's. The Assembly convened over 300 youthful leaders last September in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to consider how to achieve "The World We Want"—a program which

we were asked to help develop.

In addition to working with the agencies that serve youth, we have also worked with publishers of the comic books so widely read by young people. A staff member serves as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Comics which has helped publishers eliminate racial and religious stereotypes and other divisive concepts. The industry now sets aside one page each month to teach its young readers about citizenship and the need for intergroup understanding. Recently that page featured immigration and highlighted the coming Tercentenary celebration of American Jews. The currency given these messages can be estimated from the fact that this page appears each month in forty magazines with a combined circulation of 10,000,000 and an estimated readership of 40,000,000.

PANEL OF AMERICANS

A significant development this past year was the launching of Panel of Americans as an independent organization. The Panel is an eleven-year-old dramatic experiment nurtured by us to improve human relations on the American campus. Each Panel consists of college students representing the major faiths and nationality groups who discuss frankly the particular problems they encounter as a result of their race, religion or cultural background. To date, Panel audiences total more than one million persons. The Panel's successful record has enabled it to become independent and to seek grants from private foundations. On its governing National Council are some of our most distinguished AJC leaders.

Our intergroup work is also advanced through films and other mass media. For example, in 1953 we issued a revised catalogue of the best 16 mm. educational films on human relations, community relations, democracy, American history and mental health. This catalogue, Selected List of Human Relations Films, has been used widely by schools, libraries and community organizations in our own country and

abroad since it made its first appearance in 1950.

Our film, "Make Way for Youth," produced in 1948, has now been seen by an estimated 25,000,000 people in the United States, Austria, Germany and Japan. Among those who have praised the film's effectiveness in improving the interfaith attitudes of school children is the Office of the United States High Commissioner

for Germany.

Though too gravely handicapped by lack of funds to produce other educational films—a subject which Dr. Slawson will explore in his address—we have sought to meet this need in some measure by adapting commercial films. For the past year, we have worked with the State Commissions against Discrimination of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island to adapt the intergroup "messages" of successful first-run Hollywood films to show to school children throughout the country. Two such adaptations have been completed, "The Lawless" and "A Medal for Benny."

We also carried forward our work in the Hollywood Motion Picture Project, established in 1948 to unify the cooperation of national and local Jewish organizations with the film industry. Through this project, we seek to help the industry

eliminate racial and religious stereotypes.

The recent decision of the Federal Communications Commission to grant educational television licenses to "community service stations" was most gratifying. Our chapters have been urged to join other local groups in establishing citizens commissions to select programs and to supervise station operations. These "community service stations" will help break down the walls of misunderstanding and enable TV to bring the spirit of democracy to every hearthstone.

IV. Defending the Civil and Religious Rights of Jews Abroad

Forty-seven years ago, our Charter committed us to defend the "civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world... to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews." In fulfilling these obligations, we have acted through altruism and also in our own self-interest. For in this steadily shrinking world, the infectious evils of bigotry and persecution are more contagious than ever before.

Since Jacob Blaustein and Zachariah Shuster will both discuss our work abroad, this section will be brief and will focus on the relation of these efforts to the

American scene.

As a prelude to considering events abroad, let me record two grave setbacks this past year on the international scene: our government's decision not to press for adoption of enforceable covenants to protect human rights; and our government's decision not to ratify the Genocide convention.

TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS

Like many other organizations, we deeply regretted the Administration's stand that it would no longer support Human Rights Covenants enforced by legally binding treaties. At the Executive Committee's Fall meeting, Judge Philip Halpern, Executive Committee member and legal adviser to the U.S. delegation to the UN Commission on Human Rights, presented the rationale for abandoning an approach previously adopted by our government and warmly supported by many American organizations, including our own. As you know, from the 1945 San Francisco Conference onward, we have wholeheartedly supported an affirmative program for the international protection of human rights.

After a spirited consideration of the reasons which prompted the Administration to substitute an "educational" approach for the "treaty" method, we decided to review our policy carefully in the light of post-war political developments. The Committee on International Organizations, headed by Mr. James Marshall, was requested to study the Covenant approach and other methods and to recommend

policy for consideration at a future national meeting.

In the course of that review, we cooperated in arranging a symposium last November on the international protection of human rights. It was held under the auspices of the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations, a non-governmental consultative organization consisting of the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Alliance Israélite Universelle and ourselves. At this symposium, the complex legal and political problems were discussed by specialists in international law and international relations. We reported the proceedings to our chapters and encouraged them to study the issues in preparation for the forthcoming report by the Committee on International Organizations. Meanwhile, we agreed that regardless of the difficulties and whatever means are selected as most practicable within the framework of American interests we shall continue our full support in behalf of international protection of human rights.

EXPOSING COMMUNIST ANTI-SEMITISM

The first few months of 1953 saw the continuation of an official, highly publicized campaign in the Soviet Union and its satellites against 2,500,000 Jews. Through fact sheets distributed last March to the nation's editors, columnists and other opinion molders, we outlined the strategy behind the Soviet campaign of anti-Semitism. Our fact sheet pointed out that like Stalin's previous drives against other ethnic and religious groups, agitation against Jews gave Communist-dominated peoples new scapegoats. Second, Communists used their anti-Semitic campaigns to

curry favor with neo-Nazis in Germany, extreme Arab fanatics in the Middle East and fascists in South America and elsewhere. These were the elements the Kremlin

sought to forge into a weapon against America and the free world.

As an example of the public service rendered through such fact sheets, let me cite the *Information Service Bulletin*, issued by the National Council of Churches of Christ last February, which was devoted to "Anti-Semitism—New and Old." In exposing so clearly the pattern of Soviet anti-Semitism, it drew heavily upon the

AIC with appropriate credit for our researches.

Stalin's death last March marked no end of state-directed anti-Semitism but merely a shift in tactics. The falsity of charges lodged earlier against the Moscow doctors—nine of whom were Jews—and the fact that their "confessions" had been extracted by torture were revealed in an extraordinary government statement. Subsequent events make clear that this admission was motivated by no belated concern for individual lives. Rather it was another maneuver in a complicated struggle for power among Stalin's successors. The Malenkov regime merely substituted covert anti-Semitism and secret or non-publicized prosecutions in place of the earlier, widely heralded anti-Semitic show trials and front-page accusations about "Zionism . . . rootless cosmopolitanism . . . Jewish bourgeois nationalism," etc. As revealed through reports from our European office anti-Semitism continues, although it is now carried on more covertly. Jewish community leaders have been arrested, tried and sentenced in Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In East Germany, almost every person of Jewish origin has been purged from public life; Protestants and Catholics too have felt the weight of state persecution.

WORLD OPINION IS BEST HOPE

We recognize that despite all our best efforts, the position of 2,500,000 Jews behind the Iron Curtain remains most precarious. Their strongest bulwark may well depend upon world public opinion-a force which even the Kremlin recognizes on occasion. To keep the world informed about Soviet practices and to destroy the myth that Communism protects ethnic and religious minorities, we continued to publish numerous studies and reports. Among the most significant is The Jews in the Soviet Satellites, a 637-page volume on Communist oppression of Jewish life in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary. On-the-scenes reports and careful study of official documents as well as uncensored material smuggled through the Iron Curtain make this book a major contribution to the free world's knowledge of Eastern Europe. The New York Times (December 27, 1953) called it-like its predecessor, The Jews in the Soviet Union-a "comprehensive and scholarly volume, bearing the same mark of careful scholarship and objectivity. . . . It can be regarded as a definitive work. . . . The four authors are thoroughly familiar with the background and the languages of the region. . . . The whole pathetic story [is] unfolded here with careful documentation.

The aftermath of Nazism is still with us, requiring heavy outlays of time and energy. Vigilance is still needed to forestall the revival of a tyranny which held

vast portions of Europe in thrall for ten terrible years.

Mr. Blaustein, as you know, has been a leading figure in German and Austrian restitution negotiations. In the past year he made his fourth trip to Europe on these matters, in addition to numerous other journeys on behalf of our goals.

RESTITUTION PAYMENTS BEGIN

As Senior Vice-President of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, his contacts with high government officials and his negotiating skills contributed signally toward securing the 1952 agreement whereby the Federal Republic acknowledged its moral responsibility for Nazi crimes against humanity. In partial restitution for material damages, Bonn pledged \$822,000,000 to Israel and to the

Conference to help alleviate the plight of Jewish victims of Nazism. A second phase of these negotiations concerned awards to *individual* victims of Nazi persecution. To insure this agreement's execution, Mr. Blaustein carried on numerous discussions with high American officials in 1953. These efforts were crowned by enactment of Bonn's Federal Indemnification Law which enables individual Jewish claimants to receive benefits estimated at \$700 to \$900 million.

In 1953, he also participated in negotiations aimed at securing similar agreements with Austria. Last spring, after years of delay, Austria finally invited the Committee for Jewish Material Claims against Austria to negotiate heirless property claims and related problems, including the right of living claimants to indemnities. We undertook these negotiations, supported by the U.S. government which agreed that solution of the heirless property problem is integral to any settlement. A much smaller sum is involved than in Germany's case. Heirless property left behind by one-third of Austria's Jews approximates \$12,000,000.

In the face of its prior agreement to take up heirless property claims, Austria unexpectedly declared this summer that it could not continue discussions until six months after the Allies' treaty with it becomes effective. Chancellor Raab was notified that if Austria persisted in its refusal, further negotiations would be impossible.

As the year closed, delegates of the Claims Committee, led by Jacob Blaustein, conferred with Assistant Secretary of State Robert Murphy. Assurances of support from the United States, Great Britain and France lead us to feel reasonably certain that however protracted and difficult the negotiations prove, they will ultimately be settled.

NEO-NAZISM STILL A PROBLEM

The Federal Republic of Germany-revived and vigorous-continues to concern the free world.

Last July, we published our third on-the-scenes report, Neo-Nazi Strength and Strategy in Western Germany. Its contents, widely noted in America's newspapers, and in publications of veterans organizations and free trade unions, apprised the American people of these dangerous undercurrents in German politics:

- -Systematic infiltration of neo-Nazis into a number of legitimate German political parties.
- -Revived endorsement of the "military virtues" which supposedly brought prestige and power to Germany.
- -Widespread transformation of German war criminals into war heroes.
- -Renewed activities by Nazi authors and ideologists.
- -Appearance of open anti-Semitic agitation for the first time since 1945.

On the surface, September's general elections favored democratic influences and were a crushing defeat for Communists and neo-Nazis alike. Nevertheless, the contest revealed dangerous tendencies which call for American vigilance. For example, all political parties, except the two largest, nominated former leading Nazis and militarists among their candidates. Campaign themes exploited by the extreme right included the charge that Jewish material claims were an unjustified burden on the German economy.

While a democratic leader won, his election was far more of a personal triumph than an endorsement of principles and issues. Underneath the relatively calm surface of Dr. Adenauer's regime linger some anti-democratic elements that previously led to catastrophe.

Obviously, continuing care must be exercised not only by the Federal government and the leading opposition party, both of which reject neo-Nazism, but also by all democratic forces.

The U.S. State Department has requested our cooperation in sending Dr. Fineberg of our staff to Germany in connection with the World Brotherhood Group. In the spring of 1954, he will discuss with German educators, religious leaders, members of the bar and other opinion molders how best to combat prejudice. We are happy to comply with our government's request and thus continue to aid in the broad effort to quicken democracy in West Germany.

REVIVING JEWISH COMMUNAL LIFE

Within the grave limits imposed by having only a two-man European Staff, we have endeavored to assist the Jewish communities of West Europe in the long task of reestablishing their community structure, rebuilding their cultural institutions, and fighting anti-Semitism. In Greece, where the hard-pressed Jewish community has dwindled to 7,000 we sought to intercede with the Greek government to grant them heirless property left by victims of Nazism. In Turkey, where 50,000 Jews are trying to build a more modern and effective community organization, we have supplied advice and guidance. We have encouraged democratic Jewish publications in France, Luxemburg, Austria and West Germany to expose Communist propaganda appeals to Jews.

Our resources for these purposes have been pitifully small compared to the magnitude and importance of the task. It behooves us, therefore, to augment our

efforts substantially along lines proposed by Zachariah Shuster.

THE FINALY AFFAIR

Among the problems which arose abroad in 1953 was the "Finaly affair." It generated considerable interreligious tension in France and might have had repercussions in America had not an amicable solution been expedited. Time magazine, Commentary, and other publications have publicized the facts about these two young Jewish boys whose custody was the subject of a prolonged and unhappy contest. After years of evasive tactics and considerable litigation, their self-constituted Catholic guardian was ordered by France's highest court to surrender the Finaly boys to relatives of their parents who had been killed by the Nazis. In defiance of the court's order, the boys were hidden temporarily in Catholic institutions in France and Spain. We advised Jewish community leaders in France of the difficult public relations aspects of the case which was widely regarded abroad not as a contest between two religious groups but a clear-cut issue of church and state. To prevent the spread of tensions, we discussed an amicable solution with the French Ambassador to the United States, a representative of the Spanish government and with leading members of the American Catholic hierarchy. In addition, we supplied background material to the American press. As you know, the boys were returned and are now living with relatives in Israel.

An important role in influencing French opinion on this matter, as on other community questions, was played by the magazine, Evidences. This French counterpart of Commentary, published by our Paris office, is closely read by French intellectuals and other opinion molders. Like Commentary, it has contributed to a wider understanding of Soviet totalitarianism, Communist exploitation of the Rosenberg case, Arab-Israel tensions and matters of Jewish communal interest. Indeed, American officials have commended its effectiveness in winning friends for the United States and counteracting Communist propaganda on the Continent.

Recent unrest and violence between the French and Moslems have made us increasingly aware of the precarious position of 500,000 Jews in North Africa and the even more critical position of 80,000 Jews in independent Arab countries. Although the past year was marked by no serious anti-Semitic outbreaks, the rising tide of nationalism constantly threatens Jewish security.

JEWS OF FRENCH MOROCCO

In the past year we published *The Social and Legal Status of the Jews of French Morocco*, an English summary of the first study ever made of those 200,000 Jews. Sponsored by our sister organization, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the survey revealed that Jews have neither the status of French citizens nor of subjects of the Sultan. Jews are viewed as "guests" who remain in the country on sufferance. Their social, legal and economic status is subject to the whim of administrative officials.

As we have noted in previous years, there is no one clearly marked approach whereby we can help overcome these difficulties in short order. The utmost tact,

diplomacy, patience and skill will be required.

Although we are not a relief organization, in 1953 the Committee supported the resettlement of thousands of homeless, stateless Jews by persuading the Swiss government to release \$3,300,000 in blocked German marks. This accomplishment was achieved last fall after seven years of delicate negotiation in Washington, Geneva and London. As part of the German reparations to the Allies, this sum went to the International Refugee Organization which allocated most of it to the Jewish Agency and the Joint Distribution Committee.

SOUTH AMERICAN JEWS

Many of Latin America's 630,000 Jews know the insecurity of living under undemocratic regimes. Although these governments have not recently been hostile toward Jews, the latter cannot risk engaging in political movements to secure democratic rights lest the various administrations crush such efforts through anti-Semitic retaliation. On the other hand, if they cooperate with present regimes, they run the risk of arousing the antipathy of liberal groups. The third alternative—refusing to be counted on either side—means an unhealthy, sterile isolation.

Within the severe limits imposed by a small budget and a staff of one professional for an entire continent, we have sought to help the Jewish communities face their problems realistically. In general, our approach has been to encourage them to recognize that integration is most likely to afford lasting security. Through contributions of staff services, but with relatively little financial aid, we have stimulated certain aspects of a constructive community relations program. In Argentina, for example, we have cooperated closely with our sister organization, the *Instituto Argentino de Cultura e Informacion*, which has engaged in Jewish cultural activities and community relations work. The *Instituto*, aided by our representative, has launched a new quarterly magazine of high caliber whose resemblance to *Commentary* is symbolized by its title, *Commentario*. The *Instituto* also issues a weekly press service and sponsors a weekly radio program. A prize is awarded annually to the best book on problems of liberalism and democracy in Latin America. Another award was made to a book about the contributions of Jews to the struggle to gain independence from Spain.

In Chile, Uruguay and Brazil, where Jewish communal organization is less advanced than in Argentina, we have also worked with existing associations. AJC's Latin American representative, Maximo Yagupsky, has become active in the Jewish community life of several other nations. He founded the new *Instituto Judio* of Peru, helped to organize an office for the placement of a thousand Jewish immigrants in Paraguay, and has been asked to help reorganize the Jewish school system

of Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Among our activities in Latin America, we publish a semi-monthly Yiddish digest about the Jewish communities of the United States and Latin America. We also issue a monthly bulletin in Spanish for the Latin American press. We have inspired the translation into Spanish of articles on genocide and our reports on neo-Nazism. The latter have helped counteract Nazi influences in South America.

MIDDLE EAST: AREA IN CRISIS

At other sessions of this Meeting, we shall deal at length with the relationship of American Jews and Israel and also with the rising tensions in the Middle East. Since Dr. Isador Lubin will explore these subjects in his presentation, this section

will be very brief.

The past months have seen a most dangerous deterioration in Arab-Israel relations. Border clashes, retaliatory raids and hundreds of other "incidents" have kept the Middle East in turmoil. Following the deplorable Kibya attack, our Executive Committee last October forthrightly condemned acts of violence that had been committed by both sides. We called upon the United Nations "... to deal with the entire Middle East situation" and to help fashion the "enduring peace ... which alone can bring to this region political stability and vital economic development." We also called upon America, France and Great Britain to fulfill their responsibilities assumed under the Tripartite Declaration of 1950, to maintain peace in the Middle East.

The explosive Middle East situation has had multiple repercussions in our own country. The Arab League, for example, spent vast funds in 1953 to propagandize against Israel and to impugn the loyalty of American Jews. Convinced that a full and impartial presentation of pertinent facts is the best way to counteract such propaganda, our staff discussed various aspects of Arab-Israel disputes with scholars, magazine writers, and editors of Protestant and Catholic publications. It is heartening to report that this exchange of viewpoints proved helpful. We likewise placed these facts before radio and TV program directors and commentators. To cite one specific example—we helped prepare a half-hour dramatic radio program about Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk's soil restoration projects in the Middle East and his proposal for a Jordan River Valley authority.

REJECTING BOTH EXTREMES

Israel's relations with the bordering Arab states obviously concerned us as Americans and as Jews. Should we also be concerned about certain of Israel's internal actions as a sovereign state, such as its Nationality Law, its Land Acquisition Act, its treatment of minorities and even the nature of its church-state relations? To what extent do such measures impinge upon our own position? How should wenin the light of the past six years—interpret our 1949 Statement of Views which declared: "Citizens of the United States are Americans and citizens of Israel are Israelis; this we affirm with all its implications. . . . Within the framework of American interests, we shall aid in the upbuilding of Israel as a vital spiritual and cultural center. . . ."

Careful examination of AJC policies regarding Israel, the relationship between Israelis and American Jews, and our procedures to implement those policies was entrusted to a special ad hoc Committee on Israel, with Dr. Lubin as Chairman. While we have been subjecting our own conceptions to the most searching scrutiny, ideological extremists—some Zionist leaders at one end, and some Council for Judaism leaders at the other—have exchanged recriminations publicly. We have eschewed general debate with either group, except for one internationally publicized declaration last August which we could not permit to go uncorrected. At a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, its acting president was quoted as declaring that "there is no other state in the world where nearly 90 per cent of the people live outside of it. . . . Jews in the Western world must support Israel but above all they must go to live in Israel."

An unequivocal reply which summarizes our philosophy was released the next day by Jacob Blaustein. He noted that Dr. Goldmann's strange doctrine was "refuted by virtually all Jews in the free world, including the United States" and had

also been specifically repudiated, three years earlier by the Prime Minister of Israel himself.

Our statement, which was supplemented by similar expressions from others, including our Honorary Vice-President, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, concluded:

"Those Jews who of their own volition wish to go to Israel or need to go there will of course do so. This is a matter of individual choice. But to speak of immigration to Israel as a duty of Jews throughout the world is to subvert the basic conception of citizenship and to assume that Israel is the only place where Jews can live in security and dignity. We reject this false doctrine unqualifiedly and in so doing we are confident that we speak in behalf of virtually every American Jew. In practice the falseness of this view propounded by Dr. Goldmann is fully demonstrated by the fact that since the founding of the State of Israel more than five years ago, less than 2,000 American Jews have emigrated to Israel. This small number should be related to a Jewish population in America of approximately five million.

"To American Jews, America is home. The American Jewish Committee opposes any ideology which implies that Jews have not built or cannot continue to build a wholesome, enduring, and integrated life for Jews in the United States."

V. Jewish Attitudes and Community Issues

It is self-evident that the security of Jews in America is directly related to an appreciation of our spiritual heritage and our understanding of how the highest ideals of Judaism and Americanism are mutually enriching. With this in mind, we published in 1953 the tenth pamphlet in the popular *This Is Our Home* series. Its title, *For Those Who Are Searching*, indicates the intent to stimulate personal reflection about our Jewish heritage and its meaning for ourselves and our children. Its focus is not on theology—it is not a pamphlet to persuade readers to orthodox, conservative or reform Judaism. Rather, it explores questions which we ourselves must answer if we are to enhance our own sense of security and self-acceptance, and to develop the most satisfying relations with our fellow men.

RESEARCH INTO JEWISH ATTITUDES

An effective program to promote self-acceptance among American Jews and to perpetuate the vitality of our spiritual heritage must be grounded on factual knowledge of current attitudes and practices. While the views of non-Jews concerning Jews have been widely studied, comparatively little is known about the attitudes of American Jews toward themselves and their non-Jewish neighbors. To meet this need, our Scientific Research Department conducted more than 400 intensive interviews with approximately 200 Jewish families in Trenton, New Jersey. Their opinions were recorded about anti-Semitism, Israel, intermarriage, social relations with non-Jews, religious observance, Jewish education for their children, and other basic subjects. As part of this ground-breaking study, we also inquired into the extent to which children share or reject their parents' views. The final report is not yet ready but these general findings have become evident:

-Eight out of ten adults and nine out of ten teen-agers define themselves as Jews principally in terms of religion.

-Overwhelmingly, their primary political and emotional ties and allegiance are centered in America.

 Almost unanimously, both adults and adolescents express favorable attitudes toward Israel.

These findings are heartening indications that AJC's philosophy is widely accepted. When completed, this survey will provide useful information and fresh

insights to carry forward our program based on the philosophy of full participation in American life and retention of Jewish traditions.

JEWISH RELIGION AND CULTURE

It is worth noting that in 1953 we devoted considerable efforts to promote a wider understanding of Judaism through radio and television programs. With our cooperation, scores of radio and TV programs were presented over America's major networks and stations. In this work, as in other areas, we aided other organizations and individuals to contribute toward the common goal. Thus, the first radio and television workshop for rabbis was launched in 1953 under the auspices of the New York Board of Rabbis and our New York Chapter. Fifty-four rabbis from six states received a comprehensive introduction to television and radio techniques so that they might help elevate the standards of religious broadcasting and enlarge their contribution to better interfaith understanding. That workshop, made possible through the Columbia Broadcasting System, was so successful that we were asked to help run it annually in New York and to introduce it to other major cities. A similar workshop has been set up in Los Angeles through our chapter; others will be held in various AJC chapter cities.

Our role in this project is more than another demonstration of our "know how" in utilizing mass media to promote interfaith understanding; it also indicates how,

as a secular agency, we have cooperated with Jewish religious bodies.

The past year witnessed a variety of other AJC activities to help create a better understanding of Jewish values among Jews as well as non-Jews. The enlightening article in Look magazine, "What Is a Jew?" by Dr. Morris Kertzer, head of our Interreligious Division, was expanded into a popular book of the same title. Eliezer Greenberg, our Yiddish press specialist, and Zachariah Shuster, Director of our European office, attended the 25th International Congress of Poets, Essayists and Novelists, which was held in Dublin. They were responsible for its theme: "The literature of people whose language restricts wide recognition." Both helped convey a wider appreciation of the richness and flexibility of Yiddish and emphasized its deeply humanistic character.

The fifty-fourth annual edition of the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK as usual was hailed for its scholarly presentation of events and trends in Jewish life here and throughout the world. Among its 627 pages were articles of special interest covering Jewish population data; state laws against discrimination; curriculum trends in Jewish education in the U.S.; political trends in West Germany; developments behind the Iron Curtain, particularly the Czechoslovakian purges; economic, political, cultural and demographic developments in Israel; and finally, a report on German

collective indemnity to Israel and world Jewry.

COMMENTARY'S CONTRIBUTIONS

This report to you would not be complete without special mention of Commentary, now in its eighth year. In the previous pages, I have cited articles which helped illuminate various areas of our work. Recent issues have explored the relation of American Jews to Israel, Soviet strategy, group life in America, threats to civil liberties, problems of intergroup relations, and helped interpret the meaning of

the Old Testament and classical Jewish writings for today's world.

A major segment of Jewish communal leaders and opinion molders in the United States are among Commentary's 23,000 readers, who also include many of the intellectual leaders of sixty-six countries. In his Phi Beta Kappa oration last June at Harvard, Elmer Davis quoted from the magazine mentioning it by name. Its articles are frequently cited by leading magazines and newspapers and have been widely used by government agencies such as the National War College, ECA and the U.S. Information Agency. Thus its influence extends beyond that of many larger publications.

Our work went forward in such full measure in 1953 because the American Jewish Committee has continued to grow and its leadership has been augmented by

younger men and women throughout the country.

Indeed, this past year, perhaps more than ever before, our chapters made the agency's national program meaningful through their own vigorous activity. This report has already covered the human relations workshops established at various universities through the cooperation of our Los Angeles, St. Louis and Indianapolis chapters; our Seattle chapter is planning a similar venture. Our Wilkes-Barre chapter conducted with other agencies a fruitful all-day institute on community relations problems. Our Los Angeles chapter effectively represented our national organization by making our participation in the Hollywood Motion Picture Project a valuable endeavor.

Twelve chapters now conduct discussion groups and fifteen issue their own newsletters. Eight chapters have been engaged in a careful evaluation of local community needs which require action. These are but a few scattered examples since Dr. Slaw-

son will cite others in his address.

CHAPTERS GROW IN STRENGTH

Our chapters' increasing influence in their communities can be seen in the fact that the downward trend of welfare fund allocations to the Joint Defense Appeal (fund-raising arm of AJC and the Anti-Defamation League) has been halted in Philadelphia, Newark, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Miami, among other cities. Our chapters have also provided necessary leadership to the independent JDA campaigns in New York and Chicago and have sparked direct giving to JDA in various welfare fund cities.

Indeed, the increasing desire of our chapters throughout the country to overcome the barriers of geography, time and expense to participate more fully in the formation and execution of policy, led to the creation last May of a special ad hoc Committee on Lay Committees. Its purpose: to revamp our lay structure so as to utilize the talents and resources of devoted members even more effectively than in the past.

OUR FAITH IN THE FUTURE

The recent launching of the world's first atomic-powered submarine and the fearful explosions of the H-Bomb are grim reminders of man's new-found ability to destroy himself. Like most Americans, we soberly recognize this dread possibility, but we are nevertheless buoyed up by the conviction that it will be averted through progress in our moral and social order. Our nation's history sustains this faith and heartens us as we engage in the never-ending task of changing man's outlook through education.

It is fitting to conclude an annual review on a note of historical perspective. Therefore it might be useful for us to remember that we are engaged in no small or temporary enterprise. Ours is a far-flung endeavor. If we survey its whole range, not in terms of weeks or months, but across the years, we cannot fail to sense stirring achievements. A new climate of religious and racial amity has been generated in the last decade. This accomplishment reinforces our faith that today's

plans will result in even greater progress tomorrow.

As we strive to obtain for all mankind the rights set forth in America's basic documents of freedom, we claim no monopoly and seek none. The American Jewish Committee proudly joins with men of good will everywhere to bring to fruition the American dream of justice, freedom and equal opportunity for all.

Jewish Publication Society of America

REPORT OF THE SIXTY-SIXTH YEAR

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(as of September 1, 1954)

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2nd Vice President SOL SATINSKY

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¹ Term expires in 1955. ² Term expires in 1956. ³ Term expires in 1957.

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THE SIXTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE SIXTY-SIXTH Annual Meeting of The Jewish Publication Society of America was held on May 16, 1954, at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, 9th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., at three o'clock in the afternoon. The Honorable Louis E. Levinthal, President of the Society, presided. In attendance were members of the Society, Officers, Trustees, and members of the Publication Committee.

Treasurer's Report

Myer Feinstein, Treasurer of the Society, reported as follows:

The Jewish Publication Society, which operates on an annual budget of nearly one quarter of a million dollars, conducts a fairly large small business, so that it would be quite time-consuming if I were to read a detailed income statement and balance sheet. Instead, I should like to give the high lights of the auditor's report for the year 1953.

First, let me point out that we lived within our means during the past year, since our total income amounted to \$248,792.62 while our total expenditures amounted

to \$244,064.04, so that we had a balance of \$4,728.58, which was transferred to the surplus account. Included was \$90,633.83 from membership dues; \$63,632.48 from sale of Bibles; \$59,304.89 from sale of other books; \$10,080.33 from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund; \$16,622.31 from other donations and subventions; and \$8,518.78 as "miscellaneous" income.

May I point out that this fine achievement was made possible by the receipt of \$26,702.64 in subventions from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund, Welfare Funds and donations from individuals. Without these subventions, the Society would have incurred an operating loss of \$21,982.06.

Expenditures of \$244,064.04 break down to \$136,666.37 for the production costs of books sold and \$107,397.67 for other operating expenses. The Society was faced during 1953, as in the preceding postwar years, with increasing external costs for the compositor, printer, and bookbinder as well as increasing internal administrative costs. Still, we have held the line on membership dues and made no increases during 1953 in the selling prices of our books and Bibles.

Our comparative balance sheets also reflect a healthier condition. We reduced the valuation of our inventory of books from \$71,982.06 at the end of 1952 to \$41,011.08 at the end of 1953 in order to appraise this value more realistically. Also, we reduced our loans payable from \$24,842.63 to \$8,506.00 and our accounts payable from \$24,292.16 to \$19,188.29. This improvement in our cash position was made possible by the receipt of \$20,500.00 from the sale of machinery previously used by the Hebrew Press.

In summary, may I point out that the Society is putting its financial house in order, but on a strictly day-to-day basis. We have no reserves (other than the restricted Jacob R. Schiff Fund) with which to plan for essential long-term projects, nor do we have any operating reserve for current administrative purposes. Such financing is essential if the Society is to operate on a solid financial basis in order to fulfill its great capacity for service to the cultural life of American and world Jewry.

Respectfully submitted,
MYER FEINSTEIN, Treasurer

The Executive Secretary, Lesser Zussman, reported that the Society's applications for inclusion in the 1953 campaigns of Federations and Welfare Funds had been approved by thirty-one communities, with many more pending for 1954. Consequently, it is hoped that the Society will be able to stabilize its financial structure through welfare fund subventions. In the course of his report, the Executive Secretary introduced and paid tribute to Mrs. Pearl Forster, who has completed thirty-five years of devoted service as the Society's membership representative in New York City.

Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Chairman of the Publication Committee, reported on the manuscripts and projects considered by his committee. In 1954—American Jewry's Tercentenary year—the Society plans to publish ten books, of which five will be in the field of Americana.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, President, submitted his annual report (as printed on p. 640-47).

Report of the Nominating Committee

The Nominating Committee takes pleasure in presenting this report.

We unanimously recommend the following as officers, honorary officers, and trustees of the Society—the officers and honorary officers for a one-year term, and trustees for terms of three years.

OFFICERS

EDWIN WOLF, 2ND, President (1st term)
CHIEF JUSTICE HORACE STERN, 1st Vice President (43rd term)
SOL SATINSKY, 2nd Vice President (2nd term)
DR. JACOB R. MARCUS, 3rd Vice President (1st term)
MYER FEINSTEIN, Treasurer (2nd term)
LESSER ZUSSMAN, Secretary & Executive Secretary (5th term)
JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL, Chairman, Publication Committee (11th term, having served 10 terms previously, from 1939–49)
DR. SOLOMON GRAYZEL, Editor (16th term)

HONORARY PRESIDENT

J. Solis-Cohen, Jr.

HONORARY VICE PRESIDENTS

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TRUSTEES

The following trustees have completed their terms of office and are recommended for re-election to three-year terms:

PHILIP W. AMRAM, Washington
JUDGE BENJAMIN LENCHER, Pittsburgh
JUDGE THEODORE LEVIN, DETROIT
PHILIP W. LOWN, Abburn, Maine
JOSEPH MEYERHOFF, Baltimore
LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ, NEW YORK
MORTON H. WILNER, Washington

For election as a trustee for a three-year term, we recommend:

MRS. MAX L. MARGOLIS

Respectfully submitted,
SOL SATINSKY, Chairman
JOSEPH FIRST
JACOB C. GUTMAN
FRANK J. RUBENSTEIN
LESSER ZUSSMAN, Secretary

The report of the Nominating Committee was adopted unanimously. Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, assumed the Presidency after a brief speech of acceptance.

Mr. Robert D. Abrahams, author of three JPS books for the young adult, presented a provocative paper on "Books for Young Jewish Readers." The paper created much discussion.

The membership meeting was adjourned at five-thirty in the afternoon. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Society held its sixty-sixth annual dinner

in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel. In attendance were more than two hundred members and friends of the Society, with Chief Justice Horace Stern as chairman.

The program consisted of tributes to Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, former Chairman of the Publication Committee; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, former President; and Edwin Wolf, 2nd, newly elected President. Each responded with a stimulating address. In addition, Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the American Jewish Congress, presented the Stephen S. Wise Award for 1953 to the Society "for its distinguished contribution to the dissemination of Jewish knowledge through the publication and distribution of books of enduring Jewish value."

The dinner was concluded at ten o'clock in the evening.

Respectfully submitted,
LESSER ZUSSMAN, Secretary

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE YEAR 1953

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In every annual report that I have been privileged to submit since 1949, when I became your president, I have had occasion to discuss the urgent financial problems confronting our organization, and to stress the inescapable fact that without adequate capital funds the Society cannot be expected to continue to maintain its high cultural and literary standards. Although we are far from being affluent today, a cursory examination of the figures in the Treasurer's Report will reveal that we are beginning to achieve some degree of financial stability. This amelioration of our fiscal condition, I venture to suggest, has made possible the significant improvement and expansion of our publication program in recent years.

Publication Program

For 1953:

The first title, published in January of 1953, was The Life and Thought of Franz Rosenzweig, by Nahum N. Glatzer, co-published with Schocken Books, Inc. An initial edition of 1,500 volumes was exhausted by early summer, and a second printing of 1,185 volumes was ordered. A total of 2,019 volumes were distributed during the year.

The second title, also published in January, was A Treasury of Jewish Letters, in two volumes, by Franz Kobler, co-published with the East and West Library of London. A first printing of 2,000 sets was sold out by October, so that a second printing of 960 sets was ordered. A total of 2,202 sets were distributed during the year.

Also in January, a third book was co-published with Harper and Brothers, entitled *Joel*: A Novel of Young America, by Nora Benjamin Kubie. We published 2.009 volumes, of which 1,507 were distributed during the year.

In April, we published *Israel Between East and West*, by Raphael Patai. Of the first printing of 4,018 volumes, 2,891 were distributed during the year.

Also in April, we published Early American Jewry, Vol. II, by Jacob R. Marcus, originally scheduled for 1952. This was our first book subventioned by the Jacob R. Schiff Fund and launched the Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy. We printed 3,500 volumes, and distributed 3,111 during the year.

In May, we published *For the Sake of Heaven*, by Martin Buber, which is a reprint of an earlier edition with a new preface. We printed 1,500 volumes, of which 1,084 were distributed during the year. Also, a trade edition of 1,000 volumes was printed by us for Harper and Brothers.

Also in May, we published *The Spiritual Values of Life*, by Horace Stern. We printed a special edition of 2,000 volumes, of which 696 were distributed during

the year.

A third book published in May, although originally scheduled for 1952, was Don Isaac Abravanel, by Benzion Netanyahu. We printed 3,600 volumes and dis-

tributed 2,302 during the year.

May—a banner month—saw a fourth book published. Its title was *The Book of Jonah*, with illustrations by Jacob Steinhardt and calligraphy in Hebrew and English by Franziska Baruch. We printed 6,347 of this artistic book, and distributed 3,016 during the year.

In October, we published The Well of Gerar, by Ruben Rothgiesser. We printed

4,000 volumes and distributed 1,853 before the end of the year.

In January 1954, we published *Of Making Many Books*, by Joshua Bloch, which was scheduled for 1953. We printed 2,000 volumes, and distributed 754 upon publication.

In February 1954, another 1953 publication entitled Personalities and Events in Jewish History, by Cecil Roth, came off the press. We printed 5,000 volumes and

distributed 2,286 upon publication.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 55, co-published with the American Jewish Committee, was ready for distribution in March of 1954. An edition of 2,750 volumes was printed for The Society, and 2,264 were distributed upon publication.

For 1954:

Our list for 1954 emphasizes books on American Jewish history and biography, since this year marks American Jewry's Tercentenary. Ten books are scheduled, of which five will be subventioned by the Jacob R. Schiff Fund and will be added to the Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy. It is our hope that these books will play an important part in the celebration of the Tercentenary.

The five books to be included in the Jacob R. Schiff Library are as follows:

Myer Myers, Goldsmith, by Jeanette W. Rosenbaum, a beautifully illustrated monograph on the life and works of a Jewish colonial craftsman, who made sacred objects for synagogues and churches, as well as many objects of art for private individuals.

The Commodore: The Adventurous Life of Uriah P. Levy, by Robert D. Abra-

hams, a novel intended for young people.

A Jewish Tourist's Guide to the United States, by Bernard Postal and Lionel Koppman, lists, and in many cases illustrates, the numerous points of Jewish interest in the various parts of the United States.

Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West, by S. N. Carvalho, with an introduction by Bertram W. Korn, is an interesting account of the expedition to

the Far West made in 1853 by General John C. Fremont.

For Zion's Sake, by Norman Bentwich, a biography of Judah L. Magnes, native American Jewish spiritual, cultural, and communal leader, a towering figure first in the United States and later in Palestine.

In addition, the following five books are planned for publication in 1954:

Awakened, a novel by Margaret Abrams, is largely autobiographical, telling an interesting story with religious overtones in the setting of a small American town.

The Responsa Literature, by Solomon B. Freehof, reveals how social and economic problems were solved when learned men and sometimes whole communities turned to the foremost authorities in Jewish life for advice in the application of Jewish law to the conditions and problems facing them.

On Jewish Law and Lore, by Louis Ginzberg, contains a selection of memorable essays which, though previously published, have not been readily available. It will have an introduction by Eli Ginzberg, the distinguished son of the sainted and beloved author.

Harvest of Hate, by Leon Poliakov (translated from the French), is being copublished with the Syracuse University Press. The book uses primary source material in documenting the Nazi program for the extermination of the Jews of

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Volume 56, edited by Morris Fine and co-published with the American Jewish Committee, will feature three special historical essays commemorating the Tercentenary. In addition, it will include reviews of the major events of the year in American and overseas Jewish life, as well as the reference features which have appeared in previous volumes.

Reprints

During 1953, we reprinted seven of our prior publications as follows: 34,500 copies of the Bible, making a total of 550,500 in print; 10,500 of Pathways Through the Bible, by Mortimer J. Cohen, making a total of 75,500 in print; 5,400 of A History of the Jews, by Solomon Grayzel, making a total of 29,750 in print; 2,200 of A Century of Jewish Life, by Ismar Elbogen, making a total of 11,200 in print; 2,500 of History of the Jews, by Margolis and Marx, making an estimated total of 36,300 in print (estimated, because exact records for the early years are not available).

Publication Distribution

We distributed a total of 84,071 books during 1953, of which 34,332 were selected by our members; 46,523 were sold to members and the trade; and 3,216 were distributed as free books. This compares with a total of 82,086 in 1952, of which 31,455 were selected by members, 48,166 sold, and 2,465 distributed free.

Our Bible sales continue to increase, with 26,430 sold in 1953, compared with 25,536 in 1952 and 23,319 in 1951. Pathways Through the Bible, our best seller next to the Bible, is also showing steady increase. We sold 9,606 volumes in 1953 compared with 8,581 in 1952 and 7,095 in 1951.

Publication Committee

The distinguished members of our Publication Committee, under the capable and efficient chairmanship of Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, have continued to volunteer their valuable time in reading manuscripts and in studying projects submitted to them for their consideration. Our devoted and gifted Editor, Dr. Solomon Grayzel, has examined more than sixty-five manuscripts and projects submitted to him during 1953.

Board of Trustees and Officers

To the active members of the Board of Trustees and to my fellow-officers, I extend my thanks for their helpful cooperation. I am confident that they will continue to give to my successor their devoted support and assistance. To Mr. Lesser Zussman, our Executive Secretary, I am particularly grateful for his tireless labors on behalf of the Society, and especially for his faithful compliance with the declared policies of our governing bodies. I am sure that our Executive Secretary will be of inestimable value to my successor, as he has been to me.

Jewish Book Council

The Jewish Book Council of America, sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board, continues to receive our very active cooperation. Our Editor, Dr. Grayzel, continues as the editor of *In Jewish Bookland*, and Dr. Mortimer J. Cohen, a valuable member of our Publication Committee, still served (in 1953) as editor of the *Jewish Book Annual*.

The JPS and the Tercentenary Committee

One of the most important projects of the National American Jewish Tercentenary Committee is the preparation of a ten-volume documentary history of the Jews of the United States. A special coordinating committee has been created to provide administrative supervision for the preparation of this history. Members of the committee represent the American Jewish Tercentenary, the American Jewish Historical Society, and The Jewish Publication Society of America. The documentary history is under the direction of Dr. Salo W. Baron, an outstanding member of our Publication Committee, as well as one of our most popular and scholarly authors, who is also the President of the Historical Society and the Chairman of the Tercentenary Committee on Research and Publications. It is hoped that the ten volumes now being planned will present all the significant documents in American Jewish history, and will provide ample source material for historical volumes recounting the full participation of Jews in American life in all its aspects. The relationship of this project to our own, the Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy, is obvious.

Public Relations and Public Recognition

We are grateful to the Anglo-Jewish, the Yiddish, and the Hebrew press throughout the world for their generous reviews of our publications and for their complimentary appraisal of our achievements. While in Israel and in England last summer, I was delighted to note in what high regard the Society is held among Jewish cultural and spiritual leaders in those countries.

We are particularly appreciative of the signal honor paid the Society on March 17, 1954, when the American Jewish Congress announced that our organization had been chosen as the recipient of the 1953 Stephen S. Wise Award for Outstanding Service to Jewish Culture and Education. In commenting on this

award, Congress Weekly said in an editorial:

For sixty-five years, the Jewish Publication Society of America has been making a consistent and enduring contribution to the dissemination of Jewish knowledge and culture through the publication in the English language of books of Jewish interest. Scores of significant volumes of Jewish scholarship probably would never have been made available had it not been for the JPS. The award to The Society is well-merited recognition for a highly creative and significant contribution to American Jewry, a service which, because it has been made without fanfare and the blare of trumpets, has not always been adequately appreciated.

We are grateful for the compliment paid to the Society by the distinguished committee headed by Mr. James N. Rosenberg, which made the selection, and by the organization, the American Jewish Congress, headed by Dr. Israel Goldstein, which made the award. We are mindful of our obligation to continue to deserve the esteem of all the constructive forces in American Jewish life.

Membership Statistics

Our membership in 1953 declined slightly from 1952, with 8,343 as compared with 8,743. Of the 8,343 members enrolled, 1,592 were new and 6,751 were renewals. As to classifications of membership, 4,239 were enrolled at \$5.00; 3,076 at \$11.25; 357 at \$22.50; and 671 at \$25.00 and higher.

It is obvious that the most pressing problem confronting the Society is how to increase our total enrollment, how to retain all our present members, and how to

acquire as many new members as possible.

Despite the oft-repeated, pessimistic view that the clientele of Jewish book-dealers consists chiefly of so-called "Jewish professionals," a term applied to rabbis, educators, writers, and lecturers—a group comprising only about two thousand potential customers—the Society has demonstrated time and time again that there is an appreciable market for books of Jewish interest in English among educated American Jews who have no special professional interests whatsoever. I am confident that as we improve the quality of our wares, and as we make the Society more generally known, our enrollment will steadily and substantially increase.

During the year we launched a modest advertising campaign in a limited number

of periodicals. It is too early to appraise the value of this effort.

JPS Bookmark

In February, 1954, the first issue of the JPS Bookmark appeared. This is intended to be a bimonthly bulletin, enabling the Society to keep in closer touch with its members by informing them of its plans and achievements. We also hope to publish in the Bookmark brief articles of literary interest to our members.

Community Welfare Funds

The most effective method of bringing home to the Jewish population of the United States the spiritual values of the Society, of making intelligent Jews throughout our country aware of the advantages to themselves of membership in our organization, and at the same time of securing needed financial support for its operation, is by applying for allocations from Jewish Community Welfare Funds.

Early in 1953, our representatives appeared before the Large City Budgeting Conference (LCBC) and presented our case for subventions from Federations and Welfare Funds. The LCBC response was encouraging, as was also the reaction of the leadership of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. We thereupon filed our requests with the local community funds, and I am pleased to report that we received affirmative replies during 1953 from thirty communities, with indications from others that our applications would receive favorable consideration in 1954. Although we only obtained \$4,984.41 from this source in 1953, the initial response is reassuring.

It should be noted that we have no desire or intention to solicit excessive grants from the organized communities, already burdened as they are with so many pressing appeals for funds. We do, however, require a minimum of \$40,000 as an annual subvention to bridge the gap between our normal income and our essential expenditures. We confidently anticipate that as more and more of our communities become aware of our aims and our activities, their allocations to the Society will aggregate the amount we require. But this is not all. As a by-product of these community grants, more and more individuals will enroll as members of the Society and receive our publications. Indeed, the educational effect of the

Society's appeal to the communities is no less significant than the financial aid we hope to obtain.

Necrology

During the past year the Society has suffered serious losses among its co-workers and friends:

Miss Helena Frank (1872–1953), not of the Jewish faith, was a friend of the Society for many years. She compiled and translated two of our publications: Stories and Pictures, by J. L. Peretz, in 1906; and Yiddish Tales, by various authors, including Peretz, Sholom Aleichem, and others, in 1912. For this purpose she learned Yiddish, and in recent years she undertook the study of Hebrew.

Louis Ginzberg (1878–1953), the foremost Jewish scholar of his generation in the United States, was a member of the Jewish Classics Committee from 1916 to 1945. He joined our group of distinguished authors with his monumental work, The Legends of the Jews, universally recognized as the most scholarly work ever produced by the Society. Its seven volumes appeared between 1909 and 1938. In 1928 we published his collection of essays: Students, Scholars and Saints. Shortly before his passing we undertook to publish another collection of his scholarly essays. It will appear within the next few months, under the title of On Jewish Law and Lore.

Solomon Goldman (1893–1953), outstanding rabbi and communal leader, was a member of the Board of Trustees from 1938 to 1949 and of the Publication Committee for many years. To its publications he contributed *The Book of Books*, in 1948, and its sequel, *In the Beginning*, in 1949.

Max Grunwald (1871–1953), noted rabbi and folklorist and historian, spent his declining years in Israel as a refugee from Nazism. He prepared for us The History

of the Jews in Vienna in 1936.

Alexander Marx (1878–1953), outstanding scholar and bibliophile, served as a member of the Publication Committee since 1916 and as Chairman of our Jewish Classics Committee since 1943. With the late Max L. Margolis he prepared the first one-volume history of the Jews in the English language, History of the Jewish People, which was published in 1927. In 1947 we published his collection of biographies under the title: Essays in Jewish Biography.

The Society deeply mourns the loss of each of these devoted friends and valued co-workers. Their books will be their memorial, and through them future genera-

tions will be blessed.

Five Years in Review

In submitting this, my fifth and last report as your President, permit me to express my profound gratitude for the privilege you have given me to serve the cause of Jewish culture through the Society during the past five years. These have been challenging and critical years for our organization. For me, they have been

exciting and, for the most part, gratifying years.

At the end of 1948 our organization was burdened with a current indebtedness of \$123,186.30, in addition to a mortgage of \$28,000 on our building. The operating deficit for that year alone amounted to \$23,496.81. With the cooperation of all my fellow officers, particularly of Mr. Sol Satinsky, who assumed the treasuryship of the Society at that time, we embarked upon an energetic program to overcome our financial difficulties. I am happy to be able to report that the total of our current obligations at the end of 1953 has been reduced to \$44,527.84, our mortgage to only \$10,500, and that for the past three years we have been operating without incurring any deficit whatsoever. These results have been made possible by generous

gifts, by the sale of the equipment of the Hebrew Press, and by careful economy

in our expenditures.

Our total income for the five-year period amounted to \$1,102,939.11, exclusive of the initial grant of \$150,000 from the Jacob R. Schiff Estate. You will recall that as President of the Society I was privileged to serve first with General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Dr. Harry N. Wright, Presidents respectively of Columbia University and the City College of New York, and more recently with Dr. Grayson Kirk and Dr. Buell Gallagher, the present heads of those educational institutions, as a member of the committee charged with the duty of allocating the residue of the Jacob R. Schiff Estate to charitable and educational institutions. You know that we have set up a special fund for the subvention of the Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy. I am happy to be able to announce that an additional terminal grant of \$100,000, making a total of \$250,000, will be available for this purpose.

The Society has, thank God, made a satisfactory physical recovery during these recent years. But you will recall that our traditional synagogue prayer for the sick entreats the Almighty to send a Refuat Ha-nefesh as well as a Refuat Ha-goof, a healing of the soul as well as a healing of the body. When we contemplate that our membership at the end of 1953 was only 8,343, and that during the period under review we distributed a total of only 494,055 books, of which 111,845 were copies of our Bible, we must realize that The Society has not yet been blessed

with a Refuat Ha-nefesh.

With the full cooperation of the affirmative elements of American Jewry, our enrollment should be at least five times what it is today, and our book distribution should be multiplied tenfold. This is not fantastic, wishful thinking. I believe it is within the range of our realistic potentialities. For under the impact of the annihilation of six millions of our brothers and sisters in Europe—the most frightful tragedy in our tragic history-the Jewish consciousness of our people here, particularly that of our youth, has been powerfully aroused in recent years. Then, too, that miracle of redemption, the realization in our day of the dream of the rebirth of Medinat Yisrael-of the State of Israel-has had a potent influence on our people in this country. Furthermore, all of us anticipate that the observance of the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in North America will intensify our Jewish loyalties and stimulate a dignified pride in our Jewish heritage. We have every right to hope, to expect, that the Tercentenary we celebrate this year will be followed a hundred years from now by a Quadricentenary to be commemorated in dignity and with honor by our descendants in this country, and that in due course it will be followed by a Quincentenary to be similarly celebrated by their descendants, and so on forevermore.

But let us not be too sure that Jewish survival will be automatic and spontaneous. I have long been firmly convinced that if there be any way of guaranteeing the preservation of Jewish identity and Jewish creativity, it can only be by transmitting our authentic traditions and ideals to our children and children's children. Cecil Roth is not the only historian to have made the categorical statement that "it has never happened that any body of Jews imbued with their ancestral culture has withered away." It is axiomatic that Jewish education is the only conceivable assurance of Jewish survival. The JPS plays a vital role in the realm of Jewish education and culture, because books, instructive and inspirational books, of Jewish interest in the English language, are invaluable if we are to preserve and hand down to future generations the glorious heritage we have received from our ancestors.

Permit me to make but one suggestion as to how the Society might well improve the execution of its program. Instead of waiting for authors to submit their manuscripts on topics selected by themselves, which may or may not be of primary importance, we should as frequently as possible invite writers to produce volumes which our Publication Committee considers to be needed and valuable. The Society

should take the initiative in having books written and translated in essential fields. Indeed, some of our most notable publications during the sixty-six years of our Society's existence have been so projected. We should adopt this as our customary

method of operation in the future.

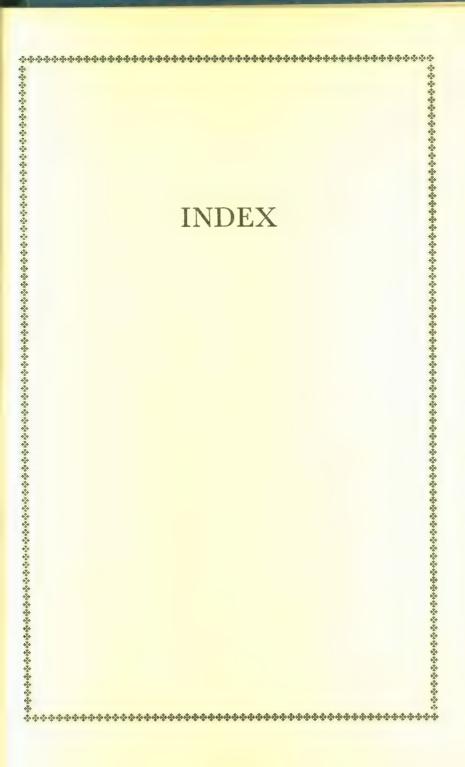
Ours is an American and also a Jewish organization. It is of course only by chance that this meeting is being held on "I Am An American Day," a day set aside to stress the importance of American citizenship. But I venture to suggest that there is a deep symbolism in this coincidence. As American citizens we have a special obligation to enrich the spiritual and cultural treasury of our country. The most precious gift we as a Jewish organization can contribute to American civilization is a collection of books that will convey to cultured and intelligent readers, of all creeds and national origins, the unique quality of our religious and intellectual inheritance. And as Jews we have a parallel responsibility to contribute to that vast and precious storehouse we share in common with our fellow-Jews everywhere. Many of our books should be exported and widely disseminated in Canada, in Great Britain, and in other countries where English is read. Some of our books should be translated into other languages, particularly into Hebrew, for the use of readers who are not familiar with our vernacular. Similarly, the best of present-day Hebrew literature in the State of Israel is worthy of translation into English, and would be welcomed by discriminating Americans, non-Jews as well as Jews.

I have the hope that the JPS, as the recognized communal publisher for American Jewry, is destined to assume even greater importance in creating and transmitting Jewish values than it ever enjoyed in the past. But in the final analysis, this hope of mine can be realized only if American Jews are willing to avail themselves of the Society's publications. It is obvious that the vigor of the Society depends upon the vitality of American Jewry. All our educational and religious forces and institutions—the synagogues, seminaries and schools, the rabbis, educators and teachers—must recognize their need of the JPS, as the JPS must recognize its dependence upon them. As their effectiveness grows, our ability to serve will increase. Working together, we may confidently look forward to a Refuah Shlemah—a complete recovery—not only of The Jewish Publication Society, but of all

American Jewish life, speedily and in our own days.

Respectfully submitted, LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL, President







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